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FOR FREE, FAIR AND TRANSPARENT ELECTIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Review of Previous Elections

In October 2003, the second municipal elections in the history of the country took place. An understanding of the nature of events in the 2003 municipal election process may provide an understanding of the context in which the third

general elections, due on 1 and 2 December 2004, will occur.

However, the main focus for providing a context for the forthcoming elections will be an analysis of the general elections held in December 1999.

In the 1999 elections Joaquim Chissano was re-elected President, but by a much smaller margin than in 1994, while Frelimo increased its parliamentary majority. Renamo challenged the result and demanded a recount, but

the Supreme Court rejected the appeal on 4 January. The election won high praise from national and international observers, but faced unexpectedly serious problems.

Heavy rains in the Zambeze River valley in the days before the election caused logistical problems that delayed the opening of some polling stations and forced the extension of the election for a third day; 11 polling extensions never opened and almost 8000 people did not vote. The biggest problem, however, was

the high error rate in reports submitted by polling stations. Each polling station (of up to 1000 voters) is independent and does its own count as soon as the polls close. The count typically takes six to eight hours, and is undertaken by candle and lamp-light by an exhausted polling staff. At the end of this process, well after midnight, the staff has to fill in logs and short report forms (*actas and editais*). Unexpectedly, there were errors in one-fifth of the short reports (*editais*). Many of these were simple adding mistakes.

However, 6.6% of the presidential *editais* and 8.7% of the parliamentary *editais* had errors of such gravity that those polling stations were excluded from the final results.

In addition, the National Election Commission had to reassess more than 500,000 invalid ballot papers (*nulos*); of these, more than 130,000 were considered to be valid.

These problems delayed the announcement of the results by two days, and also formed the basis of Renamo's objection to the Supreme Court. The margins were sufficiently large (4.5% in the presidential race), that the excluded votes could not have changed the outcome.

The unexpected closeness of the race and the considerable number of problems led to growing tension, distrust and antagonism within the National Election Commission (NEC), which contained eight (8) members nominated by Frelimo, 6 by Renamo, 1 by the UD, and 2 by the Government.

By law, the NEC was to announce the results within 15 days, by Monday 20 December. In the event, results were announced by the NEC President Rev Jamisse Taimo at 9 am on Wednesday 22 December. The six Renamo members of the NEC had walked out of the all-night session at 3 am, and were not on the platform with other NEC members when the results were announced.

The total number of voters in the presidential election was about 5.3 million, slightly down on the 5.4 million who voted for the President in 1994. However, the percentage of the registered voters who actually voted is sharply down: from 88% in 1994 to 74% in 1999.

The 1999 elections turnout could not be precisely determined due to the large number of excluded polling stations.

Election technicians admitted in year 2000 that *editais* problems meant that hundreds of polling stations were also excluded in 1994, but that this was never mentioned in NEC reports.

The results announced by the National Election Commission (NEC), for the 1999 elections were as follows

Chissano	2,333,333	52.9%
Dhlakama	2,133,655	47.7%

In this election there were only 2 presidential candidates, compared to 1994¹ where there were 12.

¹In 1994 (the first democratic election in Mozambique) the results were:

Joaquim Chissano	2,633,740	53.3%
Afonso Dhlakama	1,666,965	33.7%
Others	640,777	13.0%

The percentages are of valid votes; blank votes were 6.5% and invalid votes 2.9% of a total of 4,934,352 votes. The Supreme Court reported that 6.6% of polling stations were not counted in this result, which suggest a total vote of just below 5.3 million.

Although Renamo's leader made major gains in the presidential race, Renamo itself made only small gains in the Parliamentary race; both Frelimo and Renamo increased their number of seats, but Frelimo strengthened its position as majority party.

There were 12 parties and coalitions in the 1999 parliamentary race, compared to 14 in 1994. None of the small parties passed the 5% threshold in this election, which meant there were only two groups in Parliament. In 1994, the UD gained 5.15%, which gave it 9 MPs. However, in 1999, Renamo stood as part of the Renamo Electoral Union with 10 small parties. At least 15 leaders of these parties were elected to Parliament.

The votes in 1999 were as follows

Frelimo	2,005,713	48.55%
Renamo-Electoral	1,603,811	38.8%
Others	522,799	12.7%

Percentages are of valid votes; blank votes were 9.6% and invalid 4.9% of 4,833,761 total votes. The Supreme Court reported that 8.7% of polling stations were not included, which again suggests just under 5.3 million total voters.

Percentages are of valid vote; blank votes were 5.8% and invalid votes 2.8 %

The 1994 votes were as follows

Frelimo	2,115,793	44.5%
Renamo	1,803,506	38.8%
UD	245,793	5.2%
Others	608,133	12.7%

Constituencies	1999		1994		
	Frelimo	Renamo	Frelimo	Renamo	UD
Niassa	6	7	7	4	0
Cabo Delgado	16	6	15	6	1
Nampula	24	26	20	32	2
Zambézia	15	34	18	29	2
Tete	8	10	5	9	1
Manica	5	10	4	9	0
Sofala	4	17	3	18	0
Inhambane	13	4	13	3	2
Gaza	16	0	15	0	1
Maputo Prov.	12	1	12	1	0
Maputo City	14	2	17	1	0
TOTAL	133	117	129	112	9

Thus this election showed that Mozambique was divided into three zones:

- Frelimo had a large majority in 5 provinces: Cabo Delgado in the North and Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo Province and Maputo City.
- Renamo had a large majority in 3 central provinces: Zambézia, Manica, and Sofala.
- Three central and northern provinces were now closely balanced, with Renamo having a one or two seat lead: Niassa, Nampula, and Tete.

Smooth Voting Process Draws High Praise

The voting days on 3-6 December drew high praise from national and international observers. The vast majority of polling stations opened on time and ran smoothly. Turnout was high and voting orderly.

“Our observers, with a wide experience of elections, were quite unanimous in their conclusions that the election in Mozambique was second to none in any country our people have observed,” declared Pertti Paasio, head of the European Union observer team on 12 December. He added, “In my country of Finland, we have quite a lot to learn.”

Former US President Jimmy Carter said he was “very pleased at the success of this election, compared to those in other countries where we have observed elections.”

Former Botswana President Ketumile Masire was also part of the Carter team, and he said that “election officials did a marvellous job.”

The largest group of national observers, organised by FECIV (Civic Education Forum) and AMODE (Mozambique Association for Democracy), called the elections “free and acceptable... there were no reports of intimidation and all citizens had the right and opportunity to vote.”

Despite this high praise from the national and international observers, Renamo-Electoral Union challenged the result and appealed to the Supreme Court. The court appeal by Renamo-Electoral Union demanded a recount and was based on 24 claims. All were rejected.

Before the appeal, Afonso Dlhakama, the Renamo-Electoral Union leader, told a press conference on 5 December that “In Africa, fraud is the culture” He went on to say that “fraud, by its very nature is secret, so cannot be

shown or proven, but the Mozambican state has all possible mechanisms to commit fraud in this election.”

He continued, saying that a ballot box stuffed full of votes had been seen in the house of a Frelimo official in Nacala (Nampula Province); similar ballot boxes had been seen in other provinces.

The international community did not accept this line. Pertti Paasio, head of the European Union observer team which praised the election, was asked at the 6 December press conference about the Renamo-Electoral Union claims of hidden ballot boxes. He said: “No one on our staff has been shown any information. We call on those who make allegations to provide evidence. We need proof.”

Former US President Jimmy Carter, who also praised the election, was asked the same question at his press conference on 6 December. He replied, “I talked to the chair of Renamo today and he made no allegation to me.”

Renamo attempted to create a climate in which a claim that fraud has occurred is to be regarded as proof, even when the suggestion is manifestly false. It tried to create a kind of “virtual reality”, in which some people saw an entirely artificial world, and expected others to believe it to be real, and therefore question the democratic process.

Still, it is also important to consider that the process was not without some problems. No election is problem free and in Mozambique, problems were

compounded by a combination of poor education, bad roads and general underdevelopment. The national and foreign observers cited four types of problems:

- Difficulties with the register, which meant that at most polling stations some people could not vote;
- Crowd control problems at many polling stations;
- Problem with the explanation of how to vote; and
- A slight increase, compared to 1994, of what might be called improper campaigning at polling stations.

Several of these problems became serious in the 2003 municipal elections. After the 2003 local elections, the Constitutional Council and international observers from the Carter Centre and the European Union all called for a clean-up of the voter's register. Thousands of people holding voters' cards were unable to vote because they were not on a register, furthermore, no one seemed to know how many people were on the register; In 2003 the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat (STAE) issued three sets of widely varying figures.

The registers were displayed during the July 2004 registration exercise, and observers reported that nothing had been done to correct the problems. This caused an outcry. STAE attempted to minimise the problems but observers disagreed and civil society then demanded an independent audit of a sample of the registration books. An

audit would reveal whether the STAE statement was correct and the mistakes few, or if they are more widespread. The system has become complex. There have been three registrations – a totally new national registration in 1999 plus updates in 2003 and 2004. Initially, people are registered manually by handwritten entries in books, and the information is then computerised.

The computerisation process was fraught with errors, and it appears that many of the registration books were never proofread to check for mistakes. In addition, there were printing errors – names or birthdates repeated dozens of times, or large blank spaces omitting dozens of voters. Voters' numbers were often changed; if a voter had been omitted the subsequent numbering is wrong. Observers also reported many computer-printed register books with unexplained hand-written corrections and changes.

Demands for a Single, Clean List

A Constitutional Council ruling on the 2003 local election, 14 January 2004 stated as follows: "Although the voting process was done on the basis of the computerized registration list, the hand-written books were also used. In future, this practice must be avoided and a single, updated registration book must be used." This stance was reiterated in the EU Observation Mission Report, 2003: "The lack of a single reliable voter list remains a matter of concern."

"The use of various versions of the voters list in polling stations

created mistrust and confusion and it is recommended that there shall be only one unified, nation-wide, computerized voters list in future" – this was noted in the EU Observation Mission Final Report, 2004. Again, in the Carter Centre Observation Report, 2003: "It is hoped that election authorities (will) establish a single consolidated voter's roll."

Registered Political Parties

There are about thirty nine political parties in Mozambique. Among these one can find those which have a real *raison'être* and ability to be in power, and those which are completely unknown. Their appearance in the political arena and race for the power is, perhaps motivated by the money that is normally channeled by the government to fund political parties in their election campaigns.

Many of these parties do not differ in terms of their electoral and political manifestos. Slight changes in the names of parties denote their focus but in many cases, the names of the political parties do not carry any real sense or meaning in terms of voter mobilisation and interest. The political parties can be divided into 4 groups.

First group

This group comprises those parties that have a clear ability to win political power in Mozambique, such as Frelimo Party, Renamo Party and Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD).²

² This political party was registered in 2004 but it's the surprise of the current electoral campaign.

Second group (registered between 1990 and 1994)

Party	Founder
Mozambique National Union, UNAMO	Carlos Alexandre Reis ³
Mozambican People's Progress Party, PPPM	Padimbe Mahose Kamati
Mozambican Nationalist Movement, MONAMO	Maximo Diogo Dias
Mozambique United Front, FUMO	Domingos Arouca ⁴
Liberal and Democratic Party, PALMO	Martins Bilale ⁵
Democratic Party of Mozambique, PADEMO	Wehia Monakacho Ripua ⁶
Democratic National Party, PANADE	José Chicuarra Massinga
Progressive Liberal Party, PPLM	Neves Serrano ⁷
Mozambican National Party, PANAMO	Marcos Juma ⁸
United Congress of Democrats, CDU	Antonio Palange ⁹

³This party stands for the autonomy of the provinces and provincial governors in relation to the central government. It also advocates that provincial governors should be elected, as with the municipalities where the mayors are democratically elected. Truly, this is an instance of the federalisation of the country.

⁴Retired

⁵Retired. He had a seat in the Parliament in 1999 as a representative of Democratic Union Coalition-UD

⁶Retired

⁷He claims to be an engineer, but he can not recall the name of his former university in Germany. This is perceived not to be usual for educated people.

⁸He had a seat in the Parliament in 1999 in representation of Democratic Union Coalition-UD

⁹He had a seat in the Parliament in 1999 as a representative of Democratic Union Coalition-UD

Third group (registered between 1994 and 1999)

Party	Founder
Democratic Renewal Party, PRD	Maneca Daniel
Independent Party of Mozambique, PIMO	Yacub Sibindy ¹⁰
Patriotic Action Front, FAP	José Carlos Palaco
United Democratic Front, UDF	Janeiro Mariano
National Unity Party	Hipolito de Jesus Couto
Independent Alliance of Mozambique, ALIMO	Khalid Hussein Sidat
Party of National Reconciliation for Mozambique, PAMOMO	Albano Maiopue
The National Party of Workers and Peasants, PANAOC	Armando Gil Sueia
Social Broadening Party of Mozambique, PASO	Francisco Campira
Ecological Party of Mozambique, PEMO	Alberto Ismael
Mozambique National Democratic Party, PSDM	Alberto Assane
Party for All Nationalists of Mozambique, PARTONAMO	Mussagy Abdul
Free and Democratic Party of Mozambique, PLDM	Pedro Ferro
Youth Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, MJRD	Luís Manuel Cossa
Democratic Alliance and Social Renewal Party, PADRES	Júlio J. Nimeine
Social-Liberal Party, SOL	Casimiro Nhamitambo ¹¹
Popular Democratic Party PPD	Marciano Rodrigo Fijamo
Solidarity and Freedom Party PAZS	Carlos Inácio Coelho
Mozambique Socialist Party, PSM	João da Rosa Likalamba
African Conservative Party, PAC	Alexandre A. Panone

¹⁰He is a contender for the 2004 presidential elections

¹¹Deceased.

Fourth group (registered between 1999 and 2004)

Party	Founder
Green Party (PVM), PVM	Armando Sapemba
Union for Change Party, UM ¹²	Francisco Maindane Muariva
Ecological Party-Land Movement, PECMT	João Pedro Massango
National Reconciliation Party, PARENA	André José Balate
Independent Social Democratic Party, PASDI	Marcelino Afonso

Presidential Elections

The Constitutional Council accepted five of the eight presidential nominations for the 1-2 December election. Three were rejected because they did not present at least 10,000 valid supporting signatures from registered voters.

There were strong grounds for believing that many of the signatures they did present had been fraudulently obtained. In one case, the Council said the forms "had almost all been obviously filled in and signed by the same handful of individuals".

The five approved candidates are: Armando Guebuza (Frelimo Party); Afonso Dhlakama, (Renamo-Electoral Union coalition); Raul Domingos (Party for Peace, Development and Democracy: PDD); Carlos Reis (Coalition for Change and Good Governance); and Yaqub Sibindy (Independent Party of Mozambique: PIMO).

¹² This party stood for the municipal elections in 2003 and won a seat in Gurue municipality in Zambeze province.

The three rejected candidates are: Neves Serrano (Progressive Liberal Party of Mozambique: PPLM); Joaquim Nhota (Democratic Liberal Party of Mozambique: PADELIMO); and Jose Chicuara Massinga (National Democratic Party: PANADE).

From the accredited candidates for the 2004 presidential elections, only Armando Guebuza and Afonso Dhlakama have qualified to be in position to win the election. Both may not to lose the election, by law (full information in Update Number 2).

Armando Guebuza is standing for the first time but has the strong support of his party which has been in power since national independence. He enjoys enormous popularity in the rural areas where he carried out an intensive pre-election campaign over the last two years.

Afonso Dhlakama is standing for the third consecutive time. He stood and lost in 1994 in favour of Frelimo candidate Joaquim Chissano with a difference of 20% of the valid votes. Joaquim Chissano obtained 53.3% of the valid votes while Afonso Dhlakama obtained 33.7%. Afonso Dhlakama stood in 1999 and lost once again in favour of his close rival, Joaquim Chissano but this time with a slight difference of 5% of the valid votes. Joaquim Chissano obtained 52.9% against Afonso Dhlakama's 47.7%.

An opinion poll¹³ carried out by the Instituto Superior Politécnico e Universitário, (ISPU), confirms this hypothesis. It puts Armando Guebuza in a superb winning position over his main rival, Afonso Dhlakama. According to the same opinion poll, Armando Guebuza obtained 72,8% of the intention to vote and Afonso Dhlakama obtained only 23, 6% of the intention to vote. Raul Domingos (PDD) took third place with 2% of the intention to vote and the fourth and fifth places went to Ya-Qub Sibindy (PIMO) and Carlos Reis (MGB coalition) with 1,5% and 1% respectively.

This survey covered about 10.668 of the potential voters in the 11 national constituencies, referred to as Maputo city and Maputo province, Gaza, Inhambane, Sofala, Manica, Tete, Zambézia, Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado.

Parliamentary Elections

There are fifteen political parties and five coalition political parties giving an average of twenty political forces involved in the electoral process.

Initially, there were eighteen political parties, seven coalition political parties and one group of citizens referred as Democratic Movement for

¹³ It must be noted that this opinion poll was done when ISPU was involved in a dispute with Maputo municipality (governed by Frelimo Mayor), concerning the illegal construction of a university campus. Taking this in to consideration, the results presented may have been manufactured in order to influence those with ties to people in power.

Social Change (MDMS) that signified their interest in the presidential race to the National Election Commission (NEC).

The NEC rejected two political parties, two coalition political parties and the only group of citizens. The rejected political parties are Mozambique National Reconciliation party (PAMOMO)¹⁴, Progressive Liberal Party (PPLM)¹⁵. The rejected coalition political parties are Grand Opposition (GO)¹⁶ (composed of the Mozambican National Party (PANAMO), the Democratic Congress Party (PACODE) and the Social Insertion Block (BIS) which consists of three parties: the Youth Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MJRD), the National Party of Workers and Peasants (PANAOC)), and the Independent Social Democratic

¹⁴PAMOMO (Party of National Reconciliation for Mozambique) is only noteworthy because its leader, Albano Maiopue, was once a judge. In 1983 he unjustly sentenced AIM journalist Fernando Goncalves (currently editor of the weekly paper "Savana") to a year's imprisonment, during a grotesque attempt to evacuate the unemployed from the cities, which went under the misnomer "Operation Production".

¹⁵ The Progressive Liberal Party (PPLM) – which once called itself the Progressive Liberal Party of Mozambican Religious Communities, although not a single church supported it – is led by the eccentric figure of Neves Serrano. Its most successful feat was to take 50,000 US dollars from a US-run trust fund for political parties in 1994, and then fail to provide a single candidate for that year's elections.

¹⁶Due to lack of previous registration at the Ministry of Justice

Party (PASDI); finally, the Democratic Movement for Social Change (the group of citizens) was also rejected.

The stated argument for the rejection of the Democratic Movement for Social Change was the fact that, according to the law, no groups of citizens should stand for general elections. They can only stand for municipal elections.

The fifteen political parties accepted by the NEC¹⁷ are:

- Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo);
- Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD);
- Labour Party (PT);
- Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO);
- Liberal and Democratic Party (PALMO);
- Social-Liberal Party (SOL);
- Green Party (PVM);
- Ecological Party-Land Movement (PEC-MT);
- Social Broadening Party of Mozambique (PASOMO),
- National Reconciliation Party (PARENA);
- Democratic Renewal Party (PAREDE);
- Popular Democratic Party (PPD)
- Democratic Liberal Party of Mozambique (PADELIMO)
- Solidarity and Freedom Party (PAZS)
- United Congress of Democrats (CDU).

¹⁷The law establishes that the candidatures for the presidential elections must be presented to the Constitutional Council and those for parliamentary elections must be presented to the NEC.

The five coalition political parties standing for the parliamentary elections are:

Renamo-Electoral Union¹⁸ which comprises ten political parties apart from Renamo. As in the 1999 elections, Renamo reserved two places on its list of full candidates for each of the ten minor parties in the coalition. The reason for this coalition was to avoid dispersion of votes as, it was argued, happened in the 1994 elections.

The only change in the composition of the coalition from the one that fought the 1999 elections is that the Mozambique National Union (UNAMO) has left, to be replaced by the Ecological Party of Mozambique (PEMO).

Enlarged Opposition Front (FAO) consists of the Liberal Front (FL)¹⁹ and the African Conservative Party (PAC). The FL results from a split in the Patriotic Action Front (FAP), one of the minor parties in the Electoral Union.

Democratic Union (UD), formed by the National Democratic Party (PANADE), and the Mozambican National

¹⁸The ten political parties that compose the coalition are: National Convention Party (PCN), Mozambique United Front (FUMO), Mozambican Nationalist Movement (MONAMO), Patriotic Action Front (FAP), Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), Independent Alliance of Mozambique (ALIMO), National Unity Party (PUN), United Democratic Front (UDF), Mozambican People's Progress Party (PPPM), Ecological Party of Mozambique (PEMO).

¹⁹The FL president is the dismissed FAP general secretary, Mr. Raul Conceicao

Party (PANAMO), took 5.15 per cent of the vote and won nine seats (largely because of its favourable place on the ballot paper).

Since then the name UD has remained but the composition has changed. It was formed in 1994, but in 1999, PALMO broke with the UD, the UD's vote collapsed to 1.5 per cent and it lost all of its seats.

United Front for Change and Good Governance (MBG)

This coalition is composed of the following parties Mozambique National Union (UNAMO) and Party for All Nationalists of Mozambique (PARTONAMO).

Union for Salvation of Mozambique (USAMO) This consists of the following parties: Democratic Alliance and Social Renewal Party (PADRES), Mozambique Socialist Party (PSM) and Union for Change (UM).

Twenty competing political forces (parties and coalitions) will make for an extremely unwieldy ballot paper, increasing the risk that many illiterate voters will make mistakes, and their ballots will be rejected as invalid.

However, only three political forces will run in all thirteen constituencies. The other will race in one or two or more constituencies.

Political forces contesting in all thirteen constituencies, including the two constituencies in the Diaspora

- Frelimo Party;
- Party for Peace, Development and Democracy (PDD); and
- Renamo-Electoral Union

Political forces contesting in all eleven (11) national constituencies

- Social-Liberal Party (SOL);
- Ecological Party-Land Movement (PEC-MT);
- Social Broadening Party of Mozambique (PASOMO),
- National Reconciliation Party (PARENA);
- Democratic Renewal Party (PAREDE);
- Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO);
- Green Party (PVM).

Political forces only standing in some national constituencies

- Labour Party, (PT);
- Liberal and Democratic Party (PALMO);
- Popular Democratic Party (PPD);
- Solidarity and Freedom Party (PAZS);
- United Congress of Democrats (CDU);
- Democratic Liberal Party of Mozambique (PADELIMO);
- United Front for Change and Good Governance (MBG);
- Union for Salvation of Mozambique (USAMO);
- Democratic Union (UD); and
- Enlarged Opposition Front (FAO).

However, of these parties and coalitions only three have some realistic chance of securing election to the country's Parliament, the Assembly of the Republic. They are the ruling Frelimo Party, and the Renamo-Electoral Union opposition coalition. In the current Parliament, Frelimo holds 133 seats and the Renamo coalition, 117.

Under Mozambique's electoral legislation, to win any seats at all, a party must win at least five per cent of the national vote. Of the minor parties, only one is well enough known to achieve this.

This is the Party for Peace, Development and Democracy (PDD), led by Raul Domingos, who was once the number two in Renamo. Although he was once chief of staff of the Renamo army in the war of destabilisation, and headed the team that negotiated the 1992 peace agreement with the government, Domingos was summarily expelled from the party in 2000. The PDD acts as a magnet for Renamo dissidents, and is likely to cost Renamo votes, and perhaps several parliamentary seats, particularly in the Renamo strongholds of central Mozambique.

None of the other parties can be regarded as serious contenders. A few have stood in elections before, performing very badly, while others are newcomers, entirely unknown to the public.

Of the established minor parties, Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO) has at least proved itself able to win seats in local elections – in the municipal elections of November 2003. It won three seats in municipal assemblies (in the northern towns of Nampula, Angoche and Cuamba).

In the 1994 general election, PIMO won 1.2 per cent of the vote, but in the 1999 election this decreased to 0.7 per cent.

The Labour Party (PT) also stood in both previous

elections, taking 0.6 per cent in 1994, but rising to 2.7 per cent in 1999. It stood in several municipalities in the 2003 municipal elections, but did not win a single seat.

The Social-Liberal Party (SOL) won 1.7 per cent of the vote in 1994 and two per cent in 1999.

In 1994, a coalition called the Democratic Union (UD), formed by the Liberal and Democratic Party (PALMO), the National Democratic Party (PANADE), and the Mozambican National Party (PANAMO), took 5.15 per cent of the vote and won nine seats (largely because of its favourable place on the ballot paper). Since then the name UD has remained but the composition has changed.

In 1999, PALMO broke with the UD, the UD's vote collapsed to 1.5 per cent and it lost all of its seats. In 1999, PALMO won 2.5 per cent. Democratic Liberal Party of Mozambique (PADELIMO) and Social Broadening Party of Mozambique (PASOMO) only stood in 1999. The former took 0.8 per cent of the vote, and the latter came last with 0.1 per cent.

There are now three ecological parties in Mozambique. One, PIMO, is part of the Renamo-Electoral Union. The other two are the Ecological Party-Land Movement, and the Green Party (PVM). They are without any notable electoral record, apart from a miserable showing in the local elections when PIMO and the PVM ran for the Maputo municipal assembly, the former winning 0.53 per cent, and the latter 0.27 per cent. Despite their names, these

parties undertake no environmental campaigning and publish nothing. It is unclear what differences between them justify the existence of three separate parties.

The opinion poll by ISPU on the parliamentary elections places the Frelimo party in first place with about 72,5% of the vote against 24,4% of Renamo-Electoral Union.

The Labour Party²⁰ was the third preferred political party with 2% of the vote. The Independent Party of Mozambique and Party for Peace, Development and Democracy had 1,4% and 1,1% respectively.

The ISPU poll predicts that the turnout will be about 88,5% of the 9,105,595 registered voters. About 25% of those interviewed say that they will not show up to cast of their vote because politicians never fulfil their promises. 23,2% say they will do the same because the candidates only want their votes but afterwards they forget about the people who have voted for them.

One example of the behaviour which inspires this attitude was visible over the past three months, when street vendors were chased by the municipal police. However, now that it is election time, nobody is bothered.

²⁰In its Manifesto this party defends the reintroduction of death penalty to the Mozambican judicial system by arguing that “who kills must be killed”.

Manifestos and Factionalism within Political parties

Frelimo Party

After the 2003 experience, the Frelimo party promoted internal elections in all eleven national constituencies so as to elect candidates to serve as Members of Parliament (MPs).

The Frelimo party internal elections brought a new development to the Mozambican democratic picture. This is the dispute for a place in the lists of candidates for MPs within the urban elites that live in the capital, and local elites that live and work in the provinces and keep the party active during the inter-election period.

The urban elite in Maputo are mainly from outside the capital and but for electoral events they remain in their zones of origin and dispute places in the lists of candidates for MPs.

In the 1994 and 1999 elections, the so called urban elites did not need to dispute a place in the list of candidates as they were simply nominated by the party. They only had to go back to their zones of origin for campaigning.

In the 2004 elections, these prominent figures had to struggle for a place on the list of candidates for MPs together with those living in the provinces in internal elections. Surprises were soon evident as most of these figures, including appointed ministers, did not qualify.

In the Gaza constituency, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Dr. Leonardo Simão and the former governor Mr Eugénio Nhumaio

did not manage to obtain a place on the list.

In the Inhambane constituency, the former governor, Francisco Pateguane, was also not successful. The former spokeswoman of the party in Parliament was placed last on the list and therefore, if the 1999 results in this constituency were to be repeated she would not be reelected.

In the Zambezia constituency, the former Governor, Orlando Candua, former Minister of Health, Aurélio Zilhao and the Ex-Combatant of Liberation War Feliciano Gundana were not able to obtain places.

In the Tete constituency, the former governor Virgílio Ferrão, the Ex-Combatant of Liberation War Mariano Matsinhe and the former Minister of Security and one of the most influential MPs in the last legislature, Sérgio Vieira, experienced the same fate.

In the Nampula constituency, the General in Reserve, Eduardo da Silva Nihia did not manage secure a place as an MP.

Interestingly, within Frelimo there is tremendous movement of party list heads.

Head of list	1999	2004
Verónica Macamo	Gaza	Maputo Province
Alberto Chipande	Cabo Delgado	Sofala
Manuel Tome	Manica	Nampula
Eduardo Mulembwe	Niassa	Tete
Margarida Talapa	Tete	Niassa
Tomas Salomão	Inhambane (nr 2)	Manica

The list changes have two dimensions:

- political maturity and “strengthening of national unity”; and

- internal conflict management within the “comrades,” as they are called. In these heads of the lists, none are campaigning in their province of origin.

The “harmony” that is evident within the Frelimo party derives from this internal capacity to manage the conflicts. There are many alliance blocks within Frelimo party which became very obvious in the last six (6) months. However, all of them are already unified by sharing the same electoral ideals, even those who did not manage to secure a place in the lists for MPs.

In this party, the Political Commission indicates one head of the list per constituency. On average, there are eleven nominated list heads. Some members of the party maintain that the system should change, considering that the Political Commission should indicate at least 30% of the candidates for MPs in order to avoid such constraints. Furthermore, they also argue that while the underlying logic of the elites living in the provinces is to go to the Parliament to earn money and status and therefore need to fight for a place on the list.

On the other hand, they argue that the urban elites understand an MP as someone who is going to engage him- or herself in serious debates on public policies and other relevant issues. In providing an example, they say that there are MPs who spend five years in Parliament without engaging themselves in any debate. They only raise their hand to vote for issue papers.

This scenario leads some people within the Frelimo party to argue that while the party is still in power there are no problems, but should the party become the opposition, they would have trouble maintaining party unity.

From a political science point of view, at least one figure can be confirmed. The tendency towards dispute between the urban elites and the rural elites in the internal elections for candidates to MPs is overt.

In relation to gender, the Frelimo party lists of candidates for MPs show an increase in two perspectives:

- in number, 106 women; and
- active in election campaign.

Four of the eleven head of the lists are women. In 1999, only two of the eleven heads of the lists were women in Niassa and Gaza. In period 1994 to 2004, there was a total of 133 Frelimo MPs in Parliament, 54 of whom were women.

Should the 1999 parliamentary results be repeated in 2004, Frelimo would have 59 women of the 133 MPs, which means a growth of five women compared to 54 women in 1999 elections.

Renamo-Electoral Union Coalition

The former head of the list for Maputo constituency in 1999, Rahil Khan, stepped down. The ex-head of the list in Maputo constituency, Jeremias Pondeca²¹ heads the list of

²¹ Jeremias Pondeca came to public attention because of his impolite attitude when addressing an audience and his tendency to encourage others to ignore the

Renamo-Electoral Union (REU) in Gaza constituency. Gaza constituency is a Frelimo stronghold and Renamo has never won a single seat since 1994, excluding the year 2003 when it managed to secure two seats in Chibuto municipality in the 2003 municipal elections with a margin of about 900 votes.

Sending Pondeca to the Gaza constituency was certainly a diplomatic way of removing him from the next legislature (see Update Number 2).

In the Sofala constituency, the Frelimo former governor (who joined Renamo in 1998) and Chico Francisco, one of the most influential MPs, were not elected in the internal elections for MP candidates.

In the Manica constituency, Dionísio Quelhas (MP and university lecturer) was part of the team that conducted the opinion poll. He received no more than a decreasing position, as 13th place in the list. This means that if the 1999 results were to be repeated he would not manage to be reelected. This place on the list of Renamo-Electoral Union for Dionísio Quelhas may be punishment for his participation in the team that produced the opinion poll predicting a bad result for the Renamo-Electoral Union and its leader Afonso Dhakama.

In the Tete constituency, the ex-head of the Renamo-

Head of the State when addressing the nation or the parliament. This behavior is part of the protest presented by his coalition, Renamo-Electoral Union, regarding the 1999 electoral results. The protest alleged electoral fraud.

Electoral Union list in 1999, Dr. David Aloni, lost his place and did not even manage to obtain a place on the same list.

In the Nampula constituency (the major constituency in the country), the ex-head of the list in 1999, Francisco Xavier Marcelino (head of the Renamo group in NEC since 1994) also lost his place. Still in the Nampula constituency, the ex-chief of the Renamo Electoral Union and ex-member of the Permanent Parliament Comission, Ossufo Quitine, was not elected as MP candidate.

Some people within the party argue that Afonso Dlhakama did not demand the inclusion of those who did not manage to gain a place as an MP candidate in the internal elections because he wanted to get rid of some of them. It is believed that Ossufo Quitine might be one of them.

In order to sustain the above statement, it is said that in the Zambézia constituency some of the most influential MPs were placed at the top of the list, contrary to what actually happened in the internal elections in that constituency.

According to the same source, Luís Boavida, José Manteigas and Luís Benedito Gouveia are said to be some of those placed at the top of the list. It is believed that those not on the list are unhappy and to some extent, feel excluded from the party.

It seems to be a common rule that when elections are about to happen, new faces appear while others are chased away. In electoral events, internal problems in Renamo party

become notorious and this somehow weakens the party image in the eyes of potential voters.

A new aspect to the list for this coalition are the candidatures of António Eduardo Namburete²², Ismael Jamus Mussa²³ and João Carlos Colaço²⁴. It is less probable that these newcomers in REU could serve a unifying function as their inclusion means the exclusion of others

²²He was the Head of the Press Office at the Eduardo Mondlane University Recterate. At present, he is the Director of Arts and Communication School – Eduardo Mondlane University Annex. He was exonerated by the University Rector soon after his public appearance as Chief for Renamo-Electoral Union Electoral Office. His appearance was a surprise to many because of his loyalty to the Eduardo Mondlane University Rector. It must be stated that in some areas of the country, it is still a stigma to join Renamo, in particular when one is a senior state employee. Namburete was the National Electoral Commission spokesman in 1994 when the present Eduardo Mondlane Rector, Bazao Mazula, was in charge of this electoral body. Namburete is from Inhambane and he is standing in Maputo City constituency.

²³ He was the Director of Social Services at Eduardo Mondlane University; is a Political Science lecturer at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Eduardo Mondlane University. He recently returned from Lisbon where he completed his Masters Degree in African Studies as part of a government scholarship.

²⁴He obtained his Masters Degree in Sociology in Brasil. He is head of a Central Department in the Ministry for Woman, Coordination and Social Affairs. He is a Sociology lecturer at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. He is from Zambézia and is standing in that constituency.

with a questionable history in the Renamo party, particularly Ossufo Quitine.

In the present legislature (1999-2004), there were 25 women of the 117 MPs in the Renamo-Electoral Union coalition,

Again, if the 1999 results were repeated, the Renamo-Electoral Union coalition would have 26 women in Parliament which means one more woman than 1999. Neither in 1999 nor in 2004 was a woman elected as head of the list.

Party for Peace, Democracy and Development, PDD

In the PDD party, this kind of problem does not exist because the party is still new and the candidates will stand for the first time. In addition, there was not much manoeuvring in the internal elections because most privileges were given to people who founded the party.

An interesting fact is that most heads of the lists in the various constituencies that stood in favour of the Renamo-Electoral Union in 1999 and were elected MPs, are the heads of the lists in this party today. The President himself, Raul Domingos, former head of the list for Renamo-Electoral Union in 1999, is now heading the list of his party in the same constituency.

The former Renamo General Secretary, Joaquim Vaz, is heading the list for PDD in Tete constituency.

Almeida Tambara, who was placed in sixth place for Renamo-Electoral Union (REU) in 1999 in Manica, is heading the list for PDD for the same constituency.

Rachid Tayob Mahomed who was ranked ninth in 1999 for REU in Zambezia constituency, is now leading the list for PDD in the Nampula constituency.

The PDD presents, in its lists, 59 women of the 250 candidates who stood for MPs. From these 59 women only one is a head of list in Maputo City constituency.

Political Party Financing

The government has allocated 45 billion meticaís (over \$2 million) to finance political party campaigns, as called for in the electoral law (art. 2, law 7/2004, dated 17 June 2004). This year, there is no donor money for parties.

The money will be disbursed in the same way as in 1999, one-third for presidential candidates, one-third for parties currently holding seats in Parliament based on the proportion of seats held, and one-third for parties standing for Parliament based on the number of candidates.

Funds will be disbursed in three tranches: 50%, 25% and 25%, with each additional tranche released only after a party justifies the expenditures under the previous one.

Frelimo will get at least \$550,000 and Renamo \$500,000. PPD and PIMO, the only two smaller parties with presidential candidates and parliamentary candidates for all seats, should get at least \$175,000. A party which stands only for Parliament but which put up candidates for all seats will receive about \$33,000.

Apart from REU, the opposition political parties are against the way they are asked to prove their expenditures in order to receive the remaining amounts. This is allegedly so because it is difficult to get vouchers both in the rural areas and informal markets which are predominant factors in the Mozambican context.

In 1999, it was agreed that parties needed to account for only 70% of the money they received. Initially it was intended that the funds would be disbursed in three tranches, with government money first and later tranches of donor money disbursed to parties and coalitions that could provide receipts proving that they used the earlier ones for legitimate campaign expenses.

However, the initial distribution of funds was so late that this was not allowed, and by mid-November the entire \$2 million had been distributed without waiting for receipts. This surprised the donors, but in the end it did not cause problems.

Many candidates and political parties complained about the delays in channelling funds for the electoral campaign. They say that they received the funds seven days after the campaign started which to some extent may have determined the very late start of electoral campaigning for most political forces involved in the process.

The main opposition forces, namely REU coalition and PDD, started with their campaigning on the scheduled dates despite the above-mentioned constraints.

The total cost of the presidential and parliamentary elections will be \$ 21.5 million. The European Union (EU) has provided \$14 million and the United Nations Development Program, UNDP, \$1 million.

The balance is to be taken from the government budget. The EU has paid for past elections and had tight control over the money; this time the money was provided as special budget support, and was handed over in June. Thus all funding for election this year (other than the UNDP money) is part of the government budget and is controlled directly by government and not by the donor community.

Media²⁵

The media in Mozambique was controlled by the state through the Ministry of Information until 1990, when the first multiparty constitution was approved. In this constitution, there are legal tools that govern the present functioning of the referred body, namely:

- Number one of article 74 states that, "every citizen has the right to freedom of expression and to press, including information."
- Number three of article 74 establishes that, "the freedom of press comprises the freedom of expression and access to sources of information, protection of independence and professional confidentiality; the right to create printed papers (newspapers) and other sorts of publications."

²⁵ Further information is contained in Update 2.

In the light of these legal instruments, the number of publications has multiplied resulting in the broadening and diversification of perspectives in the discussion and handling of public information being released. However, all were based in Maputo.

From this period, two notorious blocks started to emerge in the media arena: the state media and the independent (private) media.

The Main State Media

Radio and Television

- Radio Mozambique (RM) is an information body with wide coverage throughout the country; and
- Mozambican Television (TVM), the national public television station.

Printed papers

- *Notíciais*, the major daily news paper in the country;
- *Domingo*, the major and the oldest weekly (every Sunday) of the country;
- *Diário de Moçambique*, printed in Beira, (centre of the country, Sofala constituency).

On the whole, all these public media to some extent devote much privilege to the incumbent Frelimo government.

Still in the category of state media, we can add the community radios (some from the Social Communication institute and others from UNESCO). These radio stations used to refuse to involve themselves in electoral affairs, allegedly because their mandate limits them to social, poverty

mitigation, HIV/AIDS issues and civic education.

Surprisingly, this year they have decided to provide broadcasting arenas for candidates and political forces. It must be noted that the community radios have a large potential in the rural setting because they use local languages which is fundamental for the majority of the voters, who are illiterate.

The main independent (private) media

Radio and Television

- Radio and Television Mira Mar (focused on entertainment);
- Soico Television, STV;
- Radio Terra Verde.

Printed Papers

- *Savana*, the first independent weekly newspaper in the country;
- *Zambezi* – this weekly publication is only two years old but because of its editorial director's critical position against the government, it has wide circulation;
- *Demos* – the circulation of this weekly newspaper is confined to Maputo city;
- *Embondeiro* is a weekly newspaper with only three editions and it is also confined to Maputo readers.

Still in the area of independent media, there are some fax publications such as *Media Fax*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Expresso da Tarde*, *Imparcial*, *Correio da Manhã* and *Vertical*, all of which are faxed from Maputo. In the provinces there is the *Wamphula Fax* in Nampula, *Fax do Interior* in

Tete, *Faísca* in Niassa and *Baia Fax* in Nacala, etc.

Among these faxed publications, it is noteworthy that the *Metical* has closed after the assassination of its owner and editor, Carlos Cardoso, in September 2000.

Beside the lobbies and editorial guidelines, there are homogeneous factors to be considered in order to understand Mozambican media: low salaries; poverty. Consequently, vulnerability is shown by some journalists, in particular those from private media.

Considering the factors presented above, the state and independent media normally adopt codes of conduct to be observed by journalists when elections are imminent and when covering electoral campaigns. The most noteworthy clause in such codes of conduct is that journalists should never accept any favours or bribery from politicians.

However, there are newspapers that pay politicians to inform the public of only the positive aspects of certain candidates and parties. (further information is contained in Update Number 2).

On 28 and 29 October, the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) established two regional forums for public and independent media on electoral coverage in the southern and the central areas of the country.

In these two fora, several topics were discussed, with particular emphasis on the electoral code

of conduct for journalists, SADC electoral norms and standards and the role of the media in the promotion, prevention and resolution of electoral conflict.

Media activity is supervised by the High Council of Social Communication²⁶ (CSCS). The CSCS has been monitoring and assessing the media's electoral coverage since 1994.

The 1999 monitoring produced the following findings:

- Frelimo and Renamo campaigns benefit from much press coverage, affecting negatively those political parties considered to be small. They were only being mentioned as part of the process;
- In relation to the content of the news, it was noted that most of the time, journalistic opinion could be confused with events, which was prejudicial or beneficial to a party or a candidate
- Some newspapers published visibly manipulated information and others (e.g. the faxed publication *Imparcial*) went further by conducting private opinion polls in flagrant violation of the law;
- Another aspect that came to light in relation to the Frelimo and Renamo campaign press coverage during the elections is that "there was no equality in all aspects. Reasons that

²⁶The right of access to information, freedom of printed papers and independence of social means of communication as well as the broadcasting antenna are secured by the High Council of Social Communication.

were demanded by the course of the events may have dictated the differences";

- The CSCS was deeply concerned by the Renamo posture because this political force threatened *Noticiais* journalists; and
- There was a general tendency to criticise the following media by some parties and candidates: Radio Mozambique (RM), Mozambican Television (TVM), *Noticiais* and *Domingo* printed publications – all state bodies.

In order to improve their roles, the CSCS recommended, *inter alia*, the following:

- Clarification of the CSCS role during all electoral processes, in the context of state bodies;
- The involvement and consideration of the CSCS in decision making and elaboration of laws and electoral regulations concerning the media;
- The CSCS must have an active role in the elaboration of broadcasting antenna regulations as well as in the monitoring of these activities.

In the context of the 2004 general elections, the CSCS is monitoring the coverage done provided via the audio-visual media and it is hoped that by the end of the process it will also deal with the printed press, given that it is filed.

National Election Commission, NEC, and the Electoral System

Number one of Article 129 of the Republic's Constitution

establishes that universal, direct, equal, secret, individual and periodic suffrage constitutes the norm of designation to holders of citizenship in democratic and sovereign bodies.

Number two of the same article establishes that determination of the electoral results obeys the system of proportional representation (using Method of d'Hondt).

Number three of the same article establishes that the supervision of the voter registration and the electoral events, *per se*, are the responsibility of an independent body, which composition, organisation, functioning and competencies are set out in the law.

This body is the National Election Commission (NEC). The present NEC was established under the law 20/2002, dated 10 October. According to Article 2, the NEC is a state body, independent and responsible for voter registration, electoral events and referendums.

The NEC is composed of nineteen members, one of whom is President, two Vice-Presidents and sixteen voting members, according to number one of Article 4.

The NEC members are designated in the following manner:

- The president is appointed by civil society;
- Eighteen members are to be appointed by the political parties or coalition parties which have seats in the Parliament, in accordance with the principle of

parliamentary representation;

- The NEC president is appointed and inaugurated by the President of the Republic, among those proposed by the civic society and elected by the NEC;
- The candidature proposals to elect the National Electoral Commission President are presented by legally instituted civil society organisations.

It must be noted that this was the first time that the NEC President was proposed by civil society, which differs from the 1994, 1998 and 1999 elections where the NEC President was chosen by the President of the Republic from people he trusted.

Conclusion

Of the accredited candidates for the 2004 Presidential Election, only Armando Guebuza and Afonso Dhlakama are in a position where it is possible to win the election.

Of the 20 political forces (political parties and coalitions), only three have some realistic chance of securing election to the country's Parliament, the Assembly of the Republic. They are the ruling Frelimo Party, Renamo-Electoral Union opposition coalition and the recently registered Party for Peace, Democracy and Development.

Twenty competing political forces (political parties and coalitions) will make the ballot paper extremely unwieldy, thus increasing the risk that many illiterate voters will make

mistakes, and their ballots will be rejected as invalid.

The tendency towards disputes between the urban and the rural elites in the internal elections for candidates as MPs was overt and it seems that they will be at the centre of debate in future elections.

Both Frelimo and Renamo experienced internal problems (factionalism and frictions) that were made evident almost as soon the electoral process began. The main difference between Frelimo and Renamo is that, while within Frelimo party personal interests are put aside in order to concentrate on the election, within the Renamo party, the internal problems have become obvious and to some extent the quest for power is easily detectable.

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