



Promoting Credible Elections and Democratic Governance in Africa

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The National Election Commission Rejects the Request of Exclusion for Raul Domingos in Electoral Process

The National Election Commission (NEC) has rejected the request to exclude Raul Domingos, Carlos Reis and Yacub Sibindy from the electoral process. This request was submitted by Renamo-Electoral Union (RUE) allegedly because these candidates committed the crime of double candidature by

standing as Presidential candidates and as Members of Parliament.

The coalition RUE understands that this is illegal and punishable by law. They evoked article number 123(3)¹ in conjunction with article 159² of the electoral law (law 7/2004, dated 17 June). As

¹Not more that one candidature for presidential election can be submitted to the electoral authorities by each candidate.

²No one can be MP candidate for more that one list.

explained in the footnotes, this was not the case and the NEC rejected it. It is our understanding that the coalition RUE wants Raul Domingos out of the race as they perceive him to be a threat. Raul Domingos was the Renamo vice-President until 2000. He was expelled from the party allegedly because he had a good relationship with Frelimo party leaders.

However, credible sources inside the Renamo party maintain that his exclusion had

nothing to do with his relations with Frelimo leaders but rather, with his acting as a “shadow” to the President of his party, Afonso Dhlakama. “Dhlakama was afraid of me, and that’s why he orchestrated this story that I was a friend of Frelimo leaders. It’s a lie,” said Domingos last week.

Politicians and Journalists Agree on Electoral Code of Conduct

In Beira city a workshop, attended by politicians and journalists, was held on electoral press coverage. In this workshop, the two main political forces in Mozambique, Frelimo and Renamo, appealed the journalists to be impartial and to show professional ethics during the electoral process. The secretary for Mobilization and Propaganda for Frelimo party in Sofala province, Djalma Lourenço, said that “...the dispute for political power brings with itself quarrels, falsehood, even dishonesty. Then, the journalist should be aware of these situations so as to ease emotions and prevent violence.” Manuel Pereira, MP and political delegate for Renamo party in Sofala province said that “informing the public is not the use of professional status to endanger public order, rights and freedoms.”

In their turn, the journalists appealed to the political parties, the coalition of parties and the presidential candidates to avoid political violence during the electoral campaigns and to solve their conflicts through dialogue as recommended in the Code of Conduct for the political parties. This was the

second workshop after the one in May 2004, where, on their own initiative, 22 political parties (including Frelimo, Renamo and PDD) have subscribed to an electoral Code of Conduct for political parties with the slogan “for tolerance, democratic and peaceful cohabitation during the December elections.”

This code of conduct for political parties consists of 19 articles, the commitment to electoral law being the most important.

Electoral Registration

According to figures from the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat, STAE, the country has about 9,095,185 voters, besides 47,000 voters registered in the Diaspora, in two constituencies, namely Africa and Europe. This number is divided into the eleven (11) national constituencies as shown below:

Constituency	Voters
Niassa	453,461
Cabo Delgado	794,270
Nampula	1,831,897
Zambézia	1,749,121
Tete	660,741
Manica	531,264
Sofala	802,149
Inhambane	579,356
Gaza	609,214
Maputo Province	483,493
Maputo City	600,249
Total	9,095,185

The approximate number of 47,000 voters in the Diaspora is divided into two constituencies as follows:

1 African constituency

Country	Voters
South Africa	32,186
Zimbabwe	4,812
Tanzania	4,812
Suazilândia	2,921
Zambia	764
Quénia	699
Malawi	676

2 European constituency

Country	Voters
Portugal	911
Germany	190

Problems and Protests during the Updating Voters’ Registration

More than 1.2 million voters were registered in the period 28 June-15 July. This is nearly double the 700,000 predicted by electoral authorities. This followed the updating of the register to include those who turned 18 years old this year, or who lost their voter’s card.

The process had significant problems, and has only been reluctantly accepted by national and international observers. Some people were not able to register, and there is some evidence to support Renamo’s claims that some of its potential voters were excluded.

New registrations total 697,000. In addition, 217,000 people who moved registered at a new location, and 330,000 registered a second time saying they had lost their card.

Meanwhile, the condition of the actual register books remains chaotic, and little has been done to solve problems which became obvious during local elections in November 2003. Renamo has called for an extra registration period, while civil society has called for an audit of the registers to determine just how serious the problems are. (See Update No 1).

New Electoral Law (7/2004, dated of 17 June): Similar to 1999 & 2003

The new electoral law (7/2004, dated of 17 June) is almost identical to the law for the 1999 national elections (4/1999) and

very similar to that for last year's local elections (19/2002).

The law retains the 5% threshold for parties to enter Parliament – a party or coalition must obtain at least 5% of the national vote to have MPs elected. Thus a party which wins enough votes to again a seat in a province will not be given that seat unless it has more than 5% of the total national vote.

Some Improvements

Eight significant changes have been introduced, all responding to problems in previous elections:

1. Polling station staff, police and journalists can now vote at any polling station. Previously, voters could only vote at the polling station where they were on the register, which disenfranchised most polling staff.
2. Following complaints from the opposition and observers about Frelimo using government vehicles and facilities, there is now a ban on the use by a party of any goods or property belonging to central or local government, or state owned or controlled companies. (This does not, of course, apply to things available to all, such as the use of public halls.)
3. Following the omission of some party symbols from ballot papers last year, parties now have the right to check ballot paper proofs before printing.
4. Party polling station agents will receive their credentials from the district electoral commission, ending the confusion that

characterised previous elections.

5. Counting will still be done at provincial level but results will also be published district-by-district.
6. Voting can no longer be extended for a third day.
7. In an attempt to reduce the large number of errors made by tired polling station staff on the formal results sheets compiled after the count, the number of votes gained by each candidate must be written in both figures and words.
8. In the event of other documents being missing, the copies given to party polling agent (nominated by the candidates and parties) can be used for the count (this follows the incident in Beira in the 2003 local elections, in which records from several polling stations disappeared).

Four Changes Introduced Last Year for Local Elections are Maintained

Exit polls are effectively banned. No opinion polls can be published between the start of the campaign and the declaration of results.

Because some party polling station agents are illiterate, they were not able to accurately write down results after the count, for use by parties for their own parallel count. Now they are given a copy of the official result sheet and formal minutes to take back to their party. At least two of the five polling station staff must speak the local language.

Polling station staff are hired in a public competition and parties

are allowed to suggest candidates.

Many Problems Remain over Seats & Counts: Three Serious Problems in Past Electoral Laws have not been Resolved

First, the method for allocating the number of parliament seats to each province has not been changed and remains arithmetically wrong; there are supposed to be 250 seats, but when the method was used in 1999 it led to allocation of 251 seats, and one seat had to be arbitrarily taken away from one province to bring the number back down to 250.

Second, all spoiled ballot papers must be sent to the National Election Commission, NEC, in Maputo and rechecked. In 1999, the NEC reassessed 500,000 ballot papers and accepted 130,000 as valid and added them to the results. There simply is not enough time to recheck that many ballot papers and results have been late in every previous election because of this. It has often been suggested that this rechecking could be done at provincial level.

Third, with the exception that the number of votes is given in both figures and words, no change has been made in procedures for polling station staff to complete result sheets. Staff are tired after two days of voting followed by an all-night count and many mistakes are made.

In 1999, 6.6% of presidential summary sheets and 8.7% of parliament result sheets were excluded from the final count because of errors issued which could not be resolved. The

NEC could still issue regulations and design a better summary sheets form, but this is not set out in the law.

The Political Environment in the Pre and During the Electoral Campaign

European Union (EU) Confronts National Elections Commission (NEC) over Transparency

The dispute over electoral observation between the European Union and Mozambique's National Elections Commission (NEC) is still unresolved, the head of the EU Observer Mission, Javier Pomes, told reporters in Maputo on Tuesday, 2nd November.

"So far the Mission and the NEC have not reached agreement", said Pomes, "but the Mission still hopes that we will find, together, practical formulae that will allow effective observation."

The difficulty remains as to how to observe the tabulation of votes at provincial and national level. At the polling stations themselves there is no problem – political party monitors, accredited observers and journalists will be allowed to observe everything that happens at the polling stations.

The problem lies in the later stages of the count: the compilation of the polling station results sheets; first into provincial results and finally into a national result. Here, the NEC has not budged from its original position that the observers will not be allowed into the rooms where the polling station results are fed

into computers, much less into meetings of provincial election commissions or of the NEC itself.

On 19 October, at his first meeting with the press, Pomes had declared he was confident that agreement with the CNE over the rules for observation was close. A fortnight later, there seems to have been no change at all in the NEC's position.

All that is on offer is a window through which observers can peer into the computer rooms: but people who have used such facilities before describe them as useless, since it is impossible to see what is being typed into the machines.

Pomes pointed out that observation is not complete, if it does not take in all stages of the count. He insisted that both the electoral law passed by the country's parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, in May, and the regulations on observation, allow the physical presence of observers at provincial and national vote tabulation.

The NEC spokesperson Filipe Mandlate claimed that the demand for observers to be present at the provincial and national stages of the count is contrary to the country's electoral legislation.

We consulted the law governing presidential and parliamentary elections (Law no. 4/2004 of 17 June) and cannot find any paragraph that specifically outlaws the presence of observers at the later stages of the count. There is no paragraph that specifically permits it either – but a good

legal principle is that when something is not prohibited, it is allowed.

The NEC, through its spokesperson Filipe Mandlate, has retorted that, since the NEC is a state body, the normal rule that "what is not explicitly forbidden by law may be allowed" does not hold. Instead, the NEC has adopted an extremely restrictive interpretation of legal principles, whereby unless something is specifically stated in the law, it cannot be permitted.

The arguments based on the law would be much stronger if the electoral commissions were genuinely independent bodies. Instead, thanks to demands by Renamo, they are intensely politicised and the vast majority of their members are directly appointed by the two main political parties. Commissions formed in this way have a credibility deficit from the outset, and cry out for greater public scrutiny.

Pomes read out the first article of the electoral observation regulations, which refers to observing the various stages of the electoral process. It provides for no exceptions, and so a common sense interpretation is that observers ought to be present at vote tabulation. "We want to be present at the count," insisted Pomes.

"The theory of observation says it's more important to see who's counting than who's voting." The whole experience of the EU and of other international observers was that there should be no "dark rooms" in an election, he declared.

In the past, Mozambican elections have won high praise from international observers. However, by making the demand at such a high level, it will be impossible for the EU to declare the December election acceptable without some concession from the NEC. Counting at polling station level is open to the press and observers, but the tabulations by provincial and national election commissions are not.

These are important because the NEC deals with reconsideration of spoiled ballot papers, and both provincial and national electoral commissions make decisions about polling station result sheets which contain errors. This is done in secret, and has always been assumed to include some degree of political horse trading. In 1999 the NEC excluded nearly 7% of polling stations from the presidential count and reconsidered 500,000 spoiled ballot papers. Because the results are posted at each polling station, it is possible to do a parallel count which will show the results approximately. But if the results are close, as they were in 1999, then these secret decisions could make a difference.

The importance of the secret sessions became apparent in 1999 when the election was very close and it was reported that a surprisingly large number of polling stations were excluded.

The problem was prominent in local elections last year when the NEC issued three different sets of results in less than a week, the first two riddled with errors. Observers were unable

to see how the results were arrived at or how changes were made.

Last year international observers from both the Carter Center and the EU praised the actual conduct of the election, but criticised the lack of transparency in the final count, cited possible misinterpretations of the law by the NEC and objected to bureaucratic obstructions to observation. There were also concerns about the secrecy of the final computerised tabulation. In accepting the government's invitation to observe this year, the EU demanded that it be able to watch the election commission counting and tabulation processes. The EU demand was voted on by the NEC, with the Renamo minority voting to open up but the Frelimo majority voting to retain secrecy.

On Tuesday 12 October President Joaquim Chissano told reporters from Mozambican Television and radio that he had "instructed" the NEC to "accommodate the requests from the European Union." The next day, the NEC met but Chissano's instruction had not even been put on the agenda, according to the NEC spokesperson, Mr Filipe Mandlate.

The EU responded on Friday with its statement. It revealed that the outgoing President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, had recently requested President Chissano "to ensure full transparency in the conducting of the coming elections." The statement went on to cite the Commissioner for External Relations, Chris

Patten, saying "it is essential that the mission is allowed to carry out its mandate in line with international standards and practice in this field." The Commissioner for Development, Poul Nielson, called for the EU's observation mission to be able to work "without any restrictions."

If the NEC once again, with nobody watching, reclassifies hundreds of thousands of invalid votes and tosses out dozens or hundreds of *editais*, the results, in the event of a close election, will lack credibility.

Pomes made clear that this was the only sanction the EU observer mission has available. If no agreement was reached with the NEC, he said, the mission would be unable "to grant credibility to the full process." There was no question of EU financial sanctions against Mozambique. EU aid to Mozambique (which includes financing the greater part of the election budget) had "absolutely nothing" to do with the observer mission, Pomes said. He added that the EU is not acting alone – its views on observation are shared by the other foreign observer missions that have arrived (from the Commonwealth and the US-based Carter Centre), and by Mozambican observer groups. Pomes was also at pains to stress that the mission was not being manipulated by any European political party or government. "This is an independent mission that does not accept interference by parties, states or governments," he said.

"The EU has given full freedom to members of this mission. We

will not accept any interference or pressure."

Last week, the President of the Republic, Joaquim Chissano, used metaphors to show his discomfort with the demands of the international observers in a briefing with accredited Diplomats in Mozambique which can be seen as a 180 degree turn from his previous position. "We cannot offer money to someone to buy a suit and then keep on telling him the way he must wear something that was conceived as gift ... if the countries [of those diplomats] have an interest in funding elections in Mozambique, it must be from their good will ... we sometimes feel like having to undress the coat but not because it is too cold," said the President.

Last August, Mozambique, through its President, subscribed to the SADC electoral norms and standards. According to these norms, access should be given to the electoral observers either foreign or national to all electoral stages and premises without any restrictions. As at 5 November, 42 international observers had registered; 32 from the European Union, nine from the US-based Carter Centre, and one from Japan.

In discussions with the NEC, the EU has stressed that registration of observers does not imply acceptance of restrictions, and if access continues to be blocked, the EU would be unable to declare the election internationally acceptable. The EU is funding a substantial part of the election: almost two thirds of the entire budget.

STAE Promises Transparency in Vote Tabulation

On Thursday Antonio Carrasco, General Director of the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat (STAE), the electoral branch of the Mozambican civil service, guaranteed to reporters that observers, journalists and political party monitors will be able to observe tabulation of votes in the forthcoming general elections through a computer link.

Carrasco showed reporters the arrangements being made at the computer centre in STAE's Maputo headquarters. Although no unauthorised person may enter the computer centre, there is a room alongside it that provides observers with a view into the centre. More importantly, there will be six computers in this room, linked to the computers in the centre.

Carrasco said that this will allow observers to follow the figures that operators are typing into the computers. Any polling station result sheet (known as an *edital*, plural *editais*) typed into the computers, can also be called up on screens in the observation rooms. This is a considerable improvement on 1999, when only one computer was available for journalists.

Carrasco said it would also be possible for observers to enter the computer centre, accompanied. However, they would be searched on entering and leaving: this same security procedure would be used for members of the NEC who wanted to go into the centre.

Nobody would be allowed to bring paper or pens into the centre, Carrasco stressed, but the physical presence of observers was not ruled out.

"Any observer who wants to see what's going on can ask to enter," said Carrasco. "He will be accompanied, he can look, but he cannot speak to the operators."

This arrangement seems to go a long way towards meeting the request by the European Union for full access by its observers to this level of the count. Carrasco said he has explained this procedure to the EU.

The computer system contains an built-in check against attempts to tamper with the *editais*. The system consists of two parallel networks, and each *edital* must be typed in twice, by two different operators: if they type in different sets of figures, the computer will not accept them.

Each operator has a unique password, allowing the computer system to keep a complete check of who is doing what and when. This audit trail should be a strong disincentive to attempts at fraud.

Similar computer centres and observation facilities will be available in all the provinces, Carrasco said.

This may solve the problem of access to provincial and national vote tabulation – but it does not deal with decisions taken inside the NEC, whose meetings are held behind closed doors.

The most important, judging by the experience of 1999, are decisions concerning whether to accept or reject *editais* that contain serious mathematical errors, or appear to have been tampered with.

On Tuesday, the head of the EU observer mission, Javier Pomes had urged that there should be no "dark rooms" in the count. The NEC spokesman Filipe Mandlate told reporters at a Thursday briefing that there are no "dark rooms" in dealing with *editais*. Any observer at a polling station is entitled to a copy of the *edital*, as is any political party monitor, and a further copy of the *edital* is fixed to the polling station wall to inform the public. "There are plenty of opportunities to see the *editais*," said Mandlate. "If this is the 'dark room' the EU was referring to, then it's no longer dark."

Carter Centre Shares Worries over Transparency in Count

The Atlanta-based NGO, the Carter Centre, founded by former US President Jimmy Carter, has, like the EU Observer Mission, expressed concern at a possible lack of transparency in the counting of votes in Mozambique's general elections, scheduled for 1-2 December.

Cited in a press release from the Carter Centre, a senior associate of the Centre's Democracy Programme, David Pottie, said, "Although Mozambique introduced some electoral reforms since 1999 [date of the previous general elections], the Carter Centre shares the concerns of other observers as regards the

transparency of the count." Pottie pointed out that, "the accepted regional and international norms establish that election observers should have access to all the critical phases of the elections, including the count, so that they can carry out their work in a credible fashion." He hoped that in Mozambique, "appropriate conditions may be created so that the observers can fully evaluate the process."

The press release further states that, in general, the Centre found, "a calm environment, although some isolated signs of intimidation were observed in Tete and Gaza provinces." These are the two provinces with the most complaints by opposition parties against Frelimo harassment – in the case of Gaza, the CNE itself confirmed that Renamo members of the Chicualacuala District Elections Commission fled from the district fearing for their lives.

The Carter Centre noted that the Code of Conduct signed by all political parties in May, "does not seem to have been fully respected throughout the country."

An Open Letter to the Mozambican Nation from Afonso Dhlakama

In a meeting held on the 18th, October, the European Union, UE, asked Afonso Dhlakama to put pressure on the government and the NEC in order to allow the observation to proceed according to the UE terms. Following this, Afonso Dhlakama has been publishing in the form of a paid advertisement, an open letter to the Mozambican nation

entitled, "EU electoral observation: the only way for electoral transparency".

In this letter, Dhlakama poses a question, reaches a conclusion and challenges the NEC: the question is, "Who is really afraid of the EU Observation?" The conclusion is that, "it is unquestionable how important this observation is, as it is the unique internal and international guarantee for the legitimacy of the December elections final results."

"The EU must have the doors widely opened so as to be able to observe all the steps of the electoral process."

However, when Dhlakama addressed a rally in Nampula, on the 3rd November, he said that he was confident he would win this time, because the new electoral law, passed by the Mozambican Parliament in May, "prevents any possibility of fraud."

It must be noted that the electoral law (7/2004 dated of 17th, June) was approved with the Renamo vote in favour. In no instance has Renamo questioned electoral observation under the terms demanded by the EU while discussing the approval of the electoral law in the Parliament.

The Salim Ahmed Salim Perspective

The former OUA (now known as the African Union), General Secretary, Salim Ahmed Salim, responded to a question put forward by one of the delegates in the Africa Development Forum in Nairobi. He stated that, "It is a scandal for us, as Africans, to still depend on foreigners to observe our elections." He also remarked

that, “As Africans, we should do it through our national, regional and continental bodies ... we must observe the elections in a credible way ... this is the only way that Africa must follow.”

However, the Mozambican Association for Democracy (AMODE), an institution that works for electoral civic education, understands that the pressure by the UE on the NEC, “is the best thing that has ever happened in the last eight years, at least in the sense of creating opportunities for other stakeholders like journalists, to have access to the tabulation places at the provincial and national levels” said Otilia Aquino.

Some are of the opinion that the EU makes demands because it is funding the elections in Mozambique. There are still those who argue that it is necessary to comprehend that the EU itself is not a homogeneous body and that there may be hidden agendas being served: “...this pressure has to do with interest rather than “credebilization” of the electoral process” said the editor of one of main weekly papers in the country.

Economic Sustainability of the Elections in Mozambique

The above comments raised another issue: the economic sustainability of elections in Mozambique. The problem is that for the elections to take place without any pressure, allegedly from those who fund them, it is necessary that the country creates conditions for them to happen without resorting to external funding.

Mozambique probably does not have adequate resources to fund the elections without relying on external contributions, but it would significantly reduce external dependence.

The first condition for a cost-effective election in Mozambique would be the agglutination of both the General and Municipal Elections, which means that a single electoral event would complete both elections. For example, in 2003 the Municipal Elections were carried out and in 2004 holding of the General Elections doubles the costs.

However, we believe that the agglutination of these two electoral events may present problems (e.g. spoilt ballots) for the majority of Mozambicans who can neither read nor speak Portuguese. Still, we are confident that these procedural problems may be overcome with a good electoral civic education programme.

Further, it is essential that the government include the elections in the State General Budget. This would create an electoral fund where monthly deposits could be channeled.

In the arena of legislation, it is necessary that the Parliament approve a definite electoral law so as to avoid spending unnecessary time trying to approve new legislation that can accommodate current circumstances. Electoral legislation has implications for the electoral authorities who must follow an electoral calendar. They depend on the approval of this instrument to begin working.

The Constituencies

After studying the results of the electoral registration, the NEC concluded that, “the Mozambicans living in the Diaspora [can] participate for the very first time in the Presidential and Legislative Elections scheduled for 1 and 2 December.”

Frelimo party supports the happening of elections in the Diaspora as well as it supported the electoral registration there. The opposition parties do not agree with the extension of elections to the Diaspora constituencies and they did not support the electoral registration there. “The NEC started badly, it is heading in a wrong way and will end up badly with this process,” said António Palange from the United Democrats Congress (CDU).

Renamo party does not agree with elections in the Diaspora, considering that the conditions are not yet created for such an event to happen. Via Magalhães, Renamo General Secretary and former NEC member for Renamo, said that his party was against emigrant votes, “but it was necessary that conditions should be created for it to happen, which did not happen.”

It must be noted that one of the issues put forward by Renamo since electoral registration concerns the supervision of the process. The problem is that Renamo and other opposition political forces say that they have no conditions to monitor the process.

Another figure that is added to justify the disagreement with

elections in the Diaspora is related to the fact that although the NEC predicted voter registration of 300,000, only 47,000 voters were registered. With the confirmation of the elections in the Diaspora, the number of constituencies has increased from eleven to thirteen.

The 250 seats in the parliament are divided in the following way:

Constituencies: Number of seats

Constituency	2004	1999	1994
Niassa	12	13	11
Cabo Delgado	22	22	22
Nampula	50	50	54
Zambezia	48	49	49
Tete	18	18	15
Manica	14	15	13
Sofala	22	22	21
Inhambane	16	17	18
Gaza	17	18	16
Maputo Province	13	13	1
Maputo City	16	16	18
Diaspora Africa	1	0	0
Diaspora Europe	1	0	0

In order to provide a good illustration of this issue, the progressive number of seats per constituency since 1994, the year of first general elections in the country, is provided in the above table.

Again, a basic arithmetic error in the electoral law leads to a misallocation of seats. After the election, candidates are assigned to seats by the d'Hondt method, which leads to a correct result. This same method should be used to assign seats to provinces, but it is not.

Instead, the law (law 7/2004, art, 150) stipulates a different procedure: divide the number of voters by 248 to give the number of voters per seat, and then divide the number of voters in a province by the number of voters per seat, to obtain the number of seats per

province. Where the remaining number is more than half, the province gains an extra seat.

Thus, there are 36,674 voters per seat and Inhambane gains 15.8 seats. Since 8 is more than half, the number of seats is increased to 16. Mathematically, this is incorrect, since it will not always result in 248 seats.

In 1999 (with no Diaspora seats) it led to 251 seats. This year, for The 248 seats it gives a correct result.

However, if the two Diaspora seats are reallocated, there are 36,381 voters per seat and only 249 seats are allocated; only Manica gained an extra seat. Maputo City was given 16.499 seats and 499 is just less than half. In order to bring the number up to 250, the NEC had to violate the law and give the extra seat to Maputo City.

Many More Polling Stations This Year

There will be 12,804 polling stations this year, compared to 8,334 in 1999, the National Elections Commission (CNE) announced on 4 November.

The division of polling stations within Mozambique

National Constituencies	Voters	Polling Stations
Niassa	453,461	724
Cabo Delgado	794,270	1,391
Nampula	1,831,897	2,290
Zambezia	1,749,121	2,370
Tete	660,741	916
Manica	531,264	722
Sofala	802,149	1,039
Inhambane	579,356	786
Gaza	609,214	992
Maputo Province	600,249	752
Maputo City	600,249	762
TOTAL	9,095,185	12,744

As pointed out above, there are serious problems with the figures for the electorate, since the latest data from the National Statistics Institute (INE) put the total voting population at 9.1 million as of August 2004, which suggests an impossible 100% registration.

There is no process for removing people who have died or registered a second time, which means there is no accurate registration figure and thus it will be impossible to estimate turnout.

The number of polling stations reflects both the number of voters and population density. Thus, although the Zambezia electorate is slightly smaller than that of neighboring Nampula, it gets more polling stations because Zambezia's rural population is more spread out.

Mozambicans living outside the country will be able to vote for the first time, and there will be 60 polling stations outside the country. There will be 40 in South Africa, including some at workplaces such as mines. There are also five polling stations in Zimbabwe, four in Tanzania, three in Swaziland, two in Malawi, two in Kenya, and one in Zambia. In Europe there will be two polling stations in Portugal and one in Germany.

Meanwhile, Antonio Carrasco, director general of the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat (STAE), said on 4 November said that all the register books from the 1999, 2003 and 2004 registrations had been computerised, corrected and consolidated.

That means there should be just one computerised register at each polling station containing the names of everyone who registered there in 1999, 2003 and 2004. Others close to the process warn that this task will not be completed for some polling stations.

Polling Station Staff

Training of polling station staff is due to begin next week. Mandlate said that 35 national trainers will be trained. They will then train over 1,000 provincial trainers, who will be responsible for training the 66,000 polling station staff.

Electoral Campaigns

The thirty days electoral campaigns are showing that this election will close than ever. As we have referred to in Election Update Number 1, these elections focus around two parties, namely Frelimo party and Renamo party, and two presidential candidates; Afonso Dhlakama and Armando Guebuza.

Dhlakama cannot afford to lose because he is racing for the third consecutive time. He lost in 1994 and 1999 in favor of Joaquim Chissano.

Within Renamo party, Mozambican society and the international community, Dhlakama is beginning to be seen as the loser. It is said that pressure from internal and external supporters to hand over the party, should he lose this election, is high.

However, we are not sure that Dhlakama will abandon the leadership even if he loses in the forthcoming elections, because his continuity in

Maputo as the party leader is an advantage for political stability. Another argument is that within Renamo party nobody is capable of openly confronting Dhlakama and demanding that he hand over the leadership of the party.

Guebuza is facing similar pressure. He is 61 years old and his biggest challenge is to convince his internal critics in the party that he enjoys popularity. He does not want to enter the history of Frelimo as a negative perspective, such as being the first Frelimo presidential candidate to lose an election. He is aware that in the year 2009 (when the next general elections will be held), he will encounter difficulties attaining support for his candidature.

We spoke about two main candidates and parties but it is also crucial to note that the party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) and its candidate, Raul Domingos, is – to everyone's surprise – gaining support as a significant third political force in the national scenario.

The PDD was formed in May 2004 from the ashes of the Institute for Peace and Democracy, IPADE (see Update Number 1). This was constituted in 2002 after Raul Domingos was expelled from Renamo party.

IPADE stood in the 2003 municipal elections and did not fare well. Against all expectations, it only managed to secure two seats in the thirty three municipalities where elections were held: one in Dondo and one Beira. Both of these municipalities are in

Sofala province. Due to this bad performance, it was previously thought that PDD and its candidate would need much more time to build a profile in the national political sphere. However, something contrary to this expectation is being observed. It appears well equipped in terms of electoral campaign materials, with a physical presence in all national territory and coherence in its slogans and speeches at all levels.

This party began campaigning in all national constituencies on the very first day, despite the late release of funds by the NEC.

Asked where the PDD had obtained the money for its campaign, Domingos replied, "We have received support from our members, sympathisers and people who regard the PDD as the hope for the future of Mozambique. These are our sources of finance."

"Is it a crime in this country to be a well-organised party with one's own resources?" he asked.

"If it's required that we inform the Mozambican people of the origin of our party's funds, then let's ask the same question of all the political parties."

The PDD and Raul Domingos' positive performance in this electoral campaign leads some to wonder at a possibility which would have been unthinkable before the campaign started: a possible second round in the Presidential Elections.

In the Parliamentary Elections there are two scenarios being considered:

1. the PDD stealing votes from Renamo-Electoral Union in the central region of the country (Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézia provinces) and Frelimo party maintaining its voter support and gaining a majority in the Parliament; and
2. the PDD gathering votes from the main rivals, Frelimo and Renamo, and thus none of these rivals obtaining a majority in the Parliament.

The second scenario would oblige a post-electoral accord between one of those main rivals with PDD in order to get the majority in the Parliament.

In relation to the presidential elections, it is thought that there will be a dispersion of votes due the fact that there are many candidates. Also, it is believed that Raul Domingos will gather votes from Guebuza in urban areas and Dlhakama in the central region of the country.

Thus, it is predicted that neither of the two rivals will obtain the needed 50% to win the election in the first round, which will force a second round.

A second round would prove to be a political victory for Dlhakama. In contrast, Guebuza would view the second round as humiliating as he would not like his popularity questioned by his internal and external critics.

Surprising in this present campaign is that some political parties have not been delivering provocative messages against their opponents. It is crucial to remember that in previous elections, political parties and

coalitions significantly contributed to the political violence by delivering provocative and pejorative speeches against their opponents (political parties or presidential candidates).

All candidates, including those from Frelimo make promises, a lot of promises, almost all of which concern change and peace in Mozambique: they say, "Vote in Peace, there will be no more war!"

Guebuza, backed by the slogan, "Frelimo: the force for change," promises to fight against corruption, spirit of negligence in the public sector, organized crime, poverty, and the like. Guebuza maintains at all the rallies that he is going to win the elections. Interviewed in the Tuesday, 23 November 2004 issue of the Maputo daily Noticias, Guebuza has predicted that both he and the ruling Frelimo Party will win the December general elections in the central province of Zambezia, generally regarded as an opposition stronghold.

"Nothing will be as before", Guebuza has declared. He believes that the victories by the former rebel movement Renamo in Zambezia in the two previous general elections (in 1994 and 1999), were largely due "to a vote of fear", and to "lack of information".

Zambezia is the second largest provincial constituency. In 1994, Renamo took 29 seats to Frelimo's 18. If the argument about voting out of fear of a relapse into war is correct, then one would have expected that, after five years of peace and stability, Frelimo would have improved its position in

Zambezia. In fact the opposite is true: in 1999, Renamo obtained 34 seats in the province, while the Frelimo total fell to 15. Frelimo can, however, take comfort from the October 2003 local elections, when it won all four of the Zambezia municipalities. This however, was based on a low turnout, ranging from 17.6 per cent in Mocuba to 26.2% in Quelimane.

Dlhakama's slogan is, "Soft Change." He promises changes in the functioning of the state administration and in similar fashion to Guebuza, he also pledges to fight against poverty, corruption, crime and unemployment among other ambitious promises. Speaking at a Sunday rally in Beira, Dlhakama boasted "When I am President of Mozambique, I shall do four or five things within 90 days of taking office". According to a "Diario de Mocambique" report, he promised to bring "billions of dollars from our friends in America and Europe to provide employment". "Vote for me, I shall change your lives", he declared. "There will be no more armed robberies, and no more unexplained murders". Dlhakama addressed rallies in Maputo in Shanganana and Ronga languages although his mother tongue is Ndaou (a Shona variant spoken in central Mozambique).

In accordance with the PDD slogan, "Quality education is the basis for the future of our nation," it goes on to say. "A people without quality education cannot defeat poverty". The "far reaching" reforms proposed by the PDD include school lunches and uniforms to be given free of

charge to all primary school pupils. A PDD government, the manifesto pledges, would also "improve water management systems," "set up agricultural and livestock micro companies," and "set up projects linked to cash crops." In industry, the PDD promises protectionism. "Developing industries," (which are not defined), it states, will be protected, "until they can satisfy national demand." At the same time there will be "aggressive strategies to penetrate foreign markets."

The Independent party of Mozambique, PIMO, mainly defends public morality. This party argues that no man should assist women in maternity. It also defends the shift of the political capital from Maputo to Nampula and transformation of Maputo into the economic capital while Beira would be the industrial capital.

The Labour Party proposes the reintroduction of the death penalty³ into the judicial system. It goes further by saying that the only way to end the present rate of criminality in the country is to reintroduce the death penalty on the grounds that, "who kills must be killed."

Carlos Reis, with the slogan "Change and Good Governance" defends the federalisation of the country as a way of ensuring the balanced distribution of resources. He also defends the autonomy of the provincial governors on the grounds that they should be

elected in the same way as the mayors in municipalities.

As can be seen, promises are many but almost all of them fail to answer the question: who will pay for them?

Inside the Frelimo Party

Chissano backs Guebuza campaign/Chissano and the Mozambican Women's Organization (OMM)

The Mozambican Women's Organization (OMM), which is affiliated to the ruling Frelimo Party, on 23 November 2004, assured President Joaquim Chissano that its members would vote for the party's candidate, Armando Guebuza, in the presidential election scheduled for 1-2 December.

They made the pledge during a rally addressed by Chissano in Maputo, where he urged women and all sectors of Mozambican society to vote responsibly. "It is important that all of you women know how to choose the right candidate, one who will continue the fight for equal rights, and for a more active participation of women in the country's political, economic and cultural life", said Chissano. Recalling the armed struggle, launched in 1964, against Portuguese colonial rule, he stressed the importance of the role played by women in liberating the country. "When men were preparing to depart for the various fighting fronts, leaving the secondary actions for women, the women demanded that they to be allowed to fight, to organize defence, and to build shelters, as a means of showing that they are equal to men in any activities", he said.

He stated that the government is guided by the principle that, "when you educate a man, you educate one person, but when you educate a woman you educate an entire nation."

He noted that Mozambique is a particular example in the fight for gender balance as about 35 per cent of the members of the Assembly of the Republic, the country's Parliament, are women.

Chissano Urges Academics to Vote

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano on 22 November, urged the academic community to advance the cause of democracy, by voting in the December general elections, rather abstaining. In a meeting with academics, held at the cultural centre of Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University, Chissano criticized those who thought that staying away from the polls or depositing a blank ballot was a way of expressing disagreement with government policies.

For Chissano, abstention was a "lack of personality". "It's not through abstentions, or lack of responsibility, that we can consolidate democracy and our cultural identity", said Chissano. He urged his audience to vote for the ruling Frelimo Party, and its presidential candidate, Armando Guebuza, to ensure continuation of the "positive governance" of the country, and consolidation of the role of higher education in economic and social development.

Chissano, addressing an audience of about 500 representatives of Mozambican trade unions also urged the

³According to the number 2 of the article 70 from the Constitution of the Republic, there is no death penalty in Mozambique.

them to vote for Armando Guebuza, general secretary of the ruling Frelimo Party, in the forthcoming presidential election, because Guebuza was a man "who will not tolerate abuses."

"So when I say he's the best candidate, it's because I know him so well", said Chissano. "Voting for Guebuza is a national imperative and a patriotic act".

The Regulos ("Community Leaders") back Frelimo and Guebuza Election Campaign

The regulos (rebaptised as "community leaders") have benefited from the current government. As long as they can show that they have the support of the local population, the government has recognized them, and has even provided them with uniforms. At rally after rally they can be seen, seated in the front row, wearing their military-style caps, their brightly coloured sashes and their insignia. The regulos used to be regarded as natural allies of Renamo, but judging from what is seen on TVM, might be changing, and the government's strategy of holding out the hand of friendship to these chiefs may be paying political dividends.

Inside the Coalition Renamo-Electoral

DUA backs Renamo-Electoral Union Election Campaign

A meeting in Maputo of the Democratic Union of Africa (DUA), a grouping of mainly right wing African parties, ended on Sunday 21 November with a declaration of support for the election campaign of

Mozambique's former rebel movement Renamo, and its leader Afonso Dhlakama, who is the current chairman of the DUA. The associate parties listed by the DUA include some heavyweights such as Botswana's ruling Democratic Party (despite its longstanding ties to parties of the left such as Frelimo), and Zimbabwe's main opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Dhlakama took his guests up to the central city of Beira to watch a Renamo election rally. He then flew straight back to Maputo, and announced that, contrary to initial expectations, he now intends to campaign in the Frelimo strongholds in the southern provinces. Last week Renamo assured its supporters that Dhlakama was only temporarily interrupting his campaign tour of northern Mozambique in order to attend the DUA meeting. Once it was over, he would head back north, and visit Cabo Delgado province.

Not for the first time, the Renamo plans have undergone a brusque and unexplained change. Some Renamo officials are lamentably uninformed about their own party's programme. Justino Maluane, the head of Renamo mobilisation in the northern city of Lichinga, told TVM that Renamo was making "five promises" to the electorate. "What were these promises?" the reporter asked. Maluane replied that he could not reveal them without authorization from his superiors.

The End of Coalition Renamo-Electoral Union

The ten (10) political parties comprising the above

mentioned coalition addressed a short letter on the 14th October, three (3) days before the start of the campaign, to the Ministry of Justice, President of the Supreme Court, NEC president and to the Republic General Attorney denouncing the violation of the electoral accord.

The RUE electoral accord was signed in 1999 and updated in 2003 and 2004. In the 2004 update, it was agreed that the Renamo party should concede two (2) places subject to election, in the lists for each party in the coalition., the criteria being based on the 1999 elections results. For example, in Nampula where Renamo, in 1999, took 26 of the province's 50 parliamentary seats, and Frelimo took 24, the two names that Renamo conceded in this constituency for one of the parties in the coalition should be within the 26 seats won by the coalition in 1999.

This is the point of the disagreement because after the coalition had set up the lists to be submitted to the NEC respecting that criteria, the Renamo party on its own, changed the lists by putting the two candidates that the Renamo conceded. The coalition handed the changed lists signed by Dhlakama to the NEC without the knowledge of the other parties in the coalition. It was only after the publication of such lists by the media that those parties came to know that the lists had been forged.

From a legal point of view there is nothing that can be done in order to change the course of the events. With this in mind, the ten (10) parties say that should they win a

single seat in the Parliament in the given conditions, they will form an independent group.

Dissent within Renamo Party

Renamo has suffered a blow in Nampula, with the defection of Jose Manuel Mpanara, once the Renamo political delegate in Nampula city. He switched his allegiance to Frelimo, and was seen at a Frelimo press conference in the city, claiming that Renamo was "not serious".

In Manica province, a man who described himself as a Renamo "security and information officer," Simao Patricio, has defected to the Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD), the party formed by Raul Domingos, once the number two figure in Renamo. The defection is embarrassing for Renamo, because it had chosen Patricio as one of its parliamentary candidates (he was number 14 on the list for Manica province. Interviewed on Mozambican Television (TVM), Patricio said he had been a member of Renamo since 1980, but had decided to leave because of Dhlakama's abuse of power and mismanagement of Renamo funds. He recalled that, after the end of the war, Dhlakama had ordered him to buy radio equipment and ammunition from members of the Mozambican army and police force. He could not understand what Dhlakama needed military equipment for when the country was at peace.

A former parliamentary deputy for Mozambique's main opposition party, Renamo, announced on Monday that she has defected to Frelimo.

Antonieta Antonio told a Maputo press conference that she had joined Renamo in 1992, the year of the peace agreement between the government and the rebel movement. She attended "political classes" at the Renamo headquarters in Maringue, in Sofala province, and was then selected as a Renamo parliamentary candidate for her home province of Zambezia. She was a member of the Mozambican Parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, from 1994 to 1999, and was also deputy head of the Renamo Women's League in Zambezia.

She was not, however, reelected for the 1999 elections, and found that she was unable to resume her old job as a teacher. After years of full-time work for Renamo, she was regarded as having abandoned her job. She told the reporters that after 1999, she was never called upon to attend any Renamo meeting, at any level. She did, however, talk to Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama, after the 1999 elections, and he promised that she would be sent to Beira to work for Renamo. Later she was told that plans had changed, and she would be sent to the southern province of Inhambane but in reality, nothing at all happened, and Antonio concluded that Renamo had lost all interest in her. When Dhlakama visited Zambezia during the current election campaign, she approached him again, and was brushed aside. "I was treated with contempt", she said. "Renamo uses people, and then abandons them", she declared. "They are not democrats."

Thirty three members of Mozambique's former rebel movement Renamo in Mogovolas district, in the northern province of Nampula, have defected to a rival organization, the Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD), reports *Noticias* on 19 November.

The defections in Mogovolas are just the latest indication that the expulsion of Domingos could prove to be the most expensive blunder Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama has ever made.

Mozambique's former rebel movement Renamo has threatened to sue Lourenco Bulha, a member of the central committee of the ruling Frelimo Party, for persuading Renamo members to leave their party and join Frelimo instead, reports Beira's daily paper *Diario de Mocambique*. Apparently the Renamo political delegate in Beira, Fernando Mbararano, believes that it is illegal to persuade people to switch from one party to another. Of course, he also believes that anyone who leaves Renamo must have been bribed to do so, and accused Bulha of "enticing" Renamo members.

He claimed that "members of the public" had told Renamo they had "evidence of this enticement". "We have a group of people who are looking into the truth of the facts", Mbararano said. "If this is happening, we'll take Bulha to court".

He said that Bulha headed a group of Frelimo members "who go into the suburb of Manga in the middle of the

night to offer 250,000 meticais (about 22 US dollars) for a voter's card. After some days they bring it back and we don't know what for. They also make promises to members of our party, in order to persuade them to vote for Frelimo."

In the past, Renamo has claimed that Frelimo buys up voter cards from Renamo supporters so that the latter will be unable to vote. In fact, this would not work, since, while a voter card is useful, it is not absolutely necessary for citizens to hold one in order to exercise their right to vote - the electoral law makes it clear that polling station officials will also accept an Identity Card, as long as the name of the person concerned is on the register of voters.

In Tsangano district, in the western province of Tete, a Renamo political delegate had defected to Frelimo. This man, Antonio Bailone, is credited with much of the Renamo success in Tsangano in the two previous general elections, in 1994 and 1999). "I was the great mobiliser who told people not to vote for Frelimo, but later I repented of that", he told TVM.

Jeremias Pondeca in Campaign in Gaza Constituency

In the south, Mozambican Television (TVM) went looking for a Renamo campaign in the Frelimo heartland of Gaza province. What they found was the head of the Renamo parliamentary list for Gaza, Jeremias Pondeca, marching through the streets of the provincial capital, Xai-Xai, with no more than a dozen

others, waving a few Renamo flags and posters.

Challenged on the small size of this march, Pondeca insisted Renamo had "ten brigades" working in Xai-Xai. He said that people always recognised him in Gaza, which showed that he must be "very popular". Certainly anyone who watches TVM would recognise Pondeca, given his personality. He was at the forefront of all the successful Renamo attempts to disrupt parliamentary sittings from 2000 to 2002.

This kind of behaviour is unlikely to translate into many votes. One interpretation of making Pondeca head of the list in a province where no Renamo deputies have ever been elected is that this is Renamo's way of ridding themselves of an embarrassing figure.

The National Election Commission Condemns Violence in Election Campaigns

The National Elections Commission, NEC, on 19 November condemned the acts of violence that have occurred during the campaign for the December general elections, but insisted that such incidents are "sporadic and isolated". The NEC statement, read by its chairperson, Rev Arao Litsuri, claimed that in general the election campaign has been marked by "a climate of peace, tranquility, concord and harmony." There, however, were also "people who, acting on their own account, or obeying the instructions of others, practice inappropriate acts, or demonstrate attitudes which to some extent violate the law. These attitudes may

besmirch the process." The NEC, Litsuri's statement continued "cannot but condemn vehemently such behaviour, no matter how small scale and localised it may be."

The Commission appealed to everyone involved in the elections to maintain a civic attitude "to guarantee freedom, mutual respect, tolerance and public order." The NEC gave no details of any of the "inappropriate acts", nor did it indicate which parties were responsible. The NEC claimed it only knew about such incidents from the press. The Commission's spokesperson, Filipe Mandlate, told reporters that so far not a single party or candidate has lodged a formal complaint with the NEC.

The statement above shows that the political parties did little to foster the civic education of their militants and to explain to them that elections are never won through quarrels and physical confrontation.

In Chicualacuala, a sparsely populated area on the border with Zimbabwe, district Election Commission members appointed by Renamo were attacked and their homes burned, and they were forced to flee, according to the spokesperson for National Elections Commission, NEC, Filipe Mandlate.

At least three Renamo supporters in the neighbouring district of Mabalane were severely beaten and forced to flee.

Caixote, PDD representative in the northeast province of Cabo Delgado claimed that in Chiure district a leading Frelimo

member, Mateus Katupha (who is a former Minister of Culture), campaigned in a local school, and threatened to expel teachers and pupils who fail to vote for Frelimo.

In Mecufi in Cabo Delgado the district administrator (who is also head of the Frelimo election office) ordered the PDD representative to take down a PDD flag on the grounds that flagpoles require authorization of the proper authorities.

On the 24 October, a Frelimo group attacked a PDD rally in Macanwine, a suburb of the Gaza provincial capital, Xai-Xai. They threw stones at the PDD supporters - their aim was so poor that they also hit a Radio Mozambique reporter and a European Union observer.

A Frelimo secretary was "kidnapped and tortured" in Maringue district, in the central province of Sofala. Maringue housed the Renamo headquarters in the closing years of the war of destabilisation.

In Xai-Xai, Salomão Bila, Renamo member, was attacked and forced to between leaving the village and renouncing the party. His house was set on fire.

In Meluluca village, in Mandimba district (Niassa province) the Renamo-Electoral Union has been accused of threatening the population by saying that if they fail to vote for the coalition there would be a war again.

The PDD representative in Chibuto (Gaza province) was beaten up and hospitalized for two days, reports Samuel

Marcos. In Mabalane, two Renamo officials have been detained, allegedly for beating a Frelimo supporter.

Unknown people looted the PDD headquarters in Manhica district (Maputo province), where they stole some party flags and other electoral material and at the end they stuck Frelimo propaganda material around the building.

Carlos Reis, presidential candidate for the coalition "for change and good governance", addressed a rally in Nampula and said that he would not allow the minority to rule the majority. He made a clear reference to Abdul Razak, Nampula province Governor who is coloured and of Muslim origin. This is a violation of article 69 of the constitution of the Republic, which states that "all acts aiming against our national unity (...) discrimination based on sex and race (...) are punished by law.

"There's total insecurity," Pondeca told the independent newsheet *Mediafax*. He said that wherever Renamo tried to campaign in Gaza, it was met by Frelimo supporters making a deafening noise and throwing stones.

Harassment of opposition continues in Tete. It remains the one province where there is widespread harassment of the opposition, making it difficult for them to campaign and to monitor the electoral process, according to correspondents in Tete. When Raul Domingos passed through Changara, he handed out T-shirts and *capulanas*. He was followed by a Frelimo gang who beat up 20 people for accepting the

material, reports Claudina Lembe.

In Moatize, the PDD headquarters was broken into during the night and campaign materials stolen. In Chioco, in Changara district, two houses of alleged Renamo sympathisers were burned.

In Chifunde, Estevao Lichowa (*Diario de Mocambique* daily paper correspondent) reports that a meeting between the Carter Center observers and Renamo members of the district election commission (CDE) caused problems. The meeting took place in the commission office because Renamo does not have its own office in Chifunde. The Carter Center observers are said to have asked Frelimo members to leave the small office to allow the Renamo members to speak more freely. Frelimo CDE members said they were evicted from the own offices, and the Carter Center should not be having "political meetings" in the CDE offices.

Tete was the one place where Frelimo violence against Renamo was confirmed in the 1999 national elections.

Opposition Political Parties Accuse Frelimo of Using State Vehicles

Following complaints in past elections, made by the opposition parties and some observation missions, that the ruling party, Frelimo, was using government cars in the campaign, the electoral law was changed to make it illegal to use state resources.

Nevertheless, journalists have cited widespread violations,

notably in Nampula; in Quelimane, Nicoadala and Mocuba in Zambezia province; and in Massinga and Maxixe in Inhambane province. According to the sources those who mostly use the state vehicles for political campaign are the district administrators and senior staff at that level.

The NGOs and Electoral Civic Education

A decreasing number of electoral civic education agents are operating to mobilize the population to register. From 1994, through 1998, 1999 and 2003, the number of electoral civic education agents has greatly reduced. The electoral civic education organizations, namely the Mozambican Association for Democracy, AMODE and the Electoral Civic Education Fórum, FECIV, defend the fact that electoral civic education should not have fixed deadlines as it is happening at present.

The electoral civic education for vote casting began on 16 September and ended on the 15 October 2004. "The electoral civic education should be a continuous activity and not done in a form of campaign as it is happening now," said Otilia Aquino, head of AMODE. Furthermore, they defend that if it is to be done in a form of a campaign, then it should not take place only one month before the elections.

These organisations understand that the work being done in conjunction with the electoral authorities, NEC/STAE is positive "(...) we have a complementary work: while we focus on the mobilisation of the population to participate

massively in the electoral events, strengthening democracy, the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat focuses on the technical aspects in terms of explaining to the people how to vote," said Justina Cumbe, head of FECIV

The main existing constraints are related to the lack of coordinating the organizations involved in electoral civic education. This lack is, in part, due to dispute for recognition, in the sense that all organizations want to show that "we are ones who did that."

On the other hand, the lack of coordination is due to disputes over financial resources which are continuously scarce: "there is a sharp decrease of funds for electoral civic education, which causes many organizations to disappear and those which are still in ground to reduce the areas of coverage," said Justina Cumbe of FECIV.

These organizations and others involved in this work maintain that for the forthcoming elections they covered about 76% of Mozambican population, with much focus on the rural areas where most people live.

Media

The weekly paper *Zambeze* on Thursday libelled the director of AIM, Gustavo Mavie, in an opinion article that claimed that Mavie is a member of "the Frelimo Election Office. The article, written by Edwin Hounnou, also alleged that Simao Anguilaze, news editor of Mozambican Television

(TVM), Jorge Matine⁴, editor of the Sunday paper *Domingo* and Jaime Cuambe⁵, political editor of the daily paper "Noticias", are members of this same office.

Hounnou points to the incompatibility of directing one of the publicly owned mass media, while at the same time working for a political party. He is right - but both Mavie and Anguilaze have denied the accusation. Mavie said that he is not a member of any such Frelimo office, and has never been contacted to undertake any Frelimo propaganda work. Mavie said he has no idea what the Frelimo election office looks like, since he has never been there. He says he is not, and never has been, a member of Frelimo, or of any other political party. Mavie says he intends to demand a public apology from *Zambeze*, since he regards Hounnou's claim as a serious libel.

As for Anguilaze, Hounnou says they had "a brief exchange of messages", in which Anguilaze said it would be "absurd" to imagine that he could have the time "both to run a national TV channel and be in an election office."

This is an obvious denial, but Hounnou, flying in the face of common sense, believes that it confirms his story. Anguilaze added, "I'll work for Renamo to win the elections so we can see what TVM will be like with Edwin in charge of news."

⁴ Matine ran for a place in the Frelimo party central committee in the 8th party congress in the year 2002.

⁵ Cuambe covered Frelimo candidate activities even before the electoral calendar was set up.

Hounnou took this remark as yet another confirmation that TVM is, "a vassal" of Frelimo. Public opinion believes that these senior journalists are probably working to benefit the Frelimo party's electoral efforts.

The Party for Peace, Development and Democracy (PDD), led by the former number two in Renamo, Raul Domingos, has complained that it is not receiving sufficient media coverage. On Monday, a member of its Political Commission, Maria Frechaut, accused the public television station, TVM, of ignoring the PDD campaign. Frechaut's attack on TVM could be described as hyper-sensitive. She herself has been interviewed on TVM's "Campaign Diary" several times.

The weekly paper *Zambeze* refers in an editorial that the TVM is acting in favor of Frelimo party on its programme "Campaign Diary", showing images that reveal huge crowds of people attending rallies of its candidate and showing the contrary for other parties. It also quotes Raul Domingos as saying, "We are doing a lot of work but its never shown by TVM."

Renamo Bans TVM from Campaign

In Gorongosa, the political delegate told TVM that all the Renamo Gorongosa election brigades were out of town, working in the interior of the district. When the reporters asked where exactly the brigades were, the delegate refused to tell them. He even refused to allow TVM to film the Renamo Gorongosa

headquarters, because there were "too few" Renamo supporters present.

Mozambique Island and Nacala, both in Nampula, are regarded as Renamo strongholds - they are among just five municipalities (out of 33) controlled by Renamo. Yet TVM reports that when its crew arrived on Mozambique Island, Renamo said it could not film its members campaigning because it had not sent advance notice that the cameras were coming.

In the nearby port of Nacala, the Renamo officials were more honest. They told the TVM crew not to film, because there were too few people involved in campaigning activities that day. The Renamo attitude was clearly illegal. Nobody has the right to stop journalists from filming a public event. In Nacala, Renamo even prevented TVM from filming the outside of its offices.

Renamo Rages Against Public Television, TVM

Renamo has launched bitter attacks in several newspapers against Mozambique Television (TVM) for its allegedly biased coverage of the current election campaign - but has never presented those complaints to the TVM board itself. The latest such attack comes in an interview with the director of the Renamo election office, Eduardo Namburete, published in 18 November issue of the weekly paper *Zambeze*.

TVM "is the greatest shame we have in terms of journalism", stated Namburete. He claimed that TVM gives more airtime to the presidential campaign of Armando Guebuza, general

secretary of the ruling Frelimo Party, than to that of Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama. He blamed this supposed bias on one man - the head of TVM news, Simao Anguilaze, whom he described as a member of the Frelimo election office. Anguilaze denied this claim when it was first made a week ago, pointing out that he certainly did not have the time to run the national TV news, and simultaneously take part in a political party campaign.

Namburete went so far as to claim that Frelimo only looks strong on the ground, because of Anguilaze's work. "He uses public resources to deceive the people," he accused. Namburete even called for the removal of Anguilaze from TVM until the elections are over. In his reaction, he pointed out that Namburete and Renamo have "appropriate channels for any complaints", but they are not using them. "They have never complained to TVM," he said. They were free to complain to the TVM board, or to its Chairman, Arlindo Lopes, but they had not done so said Fauvet from AIM.

They could also lodge a formal complaint with the Supreme Mass Media Council (CSCS), the regulatory body established under the country's press legislation, which is supposed to guarantee press freedom and the public's right to information.

To date no such complaint has been received. Instead, Renamo made its complaints through the pages of *Zambeze*. Anguilaze regarded this simply as "ways of putting pressure on us", and he had no intention of responding to personal attacks

against his professionalism. Namburete's other criticisms range from the trivial (he objects to TVM filming the feet of peasant voters) to the downright false. Thus he claimed that "this week when Dhlakama was in Cabo Delgado the report on him didn't even last a minute". That is entirely untrue.

TVM reported not on one, but on several Dhlakama rallies in Cabo Delgado, and the latest one that I watched, from the district of Chiure, certainly lasted for more than a minute.

As anyone who watches TVM can testify, the reality is that dozens of TV journalists are all over the country covering the campaign, at great expense to the public broadcaster. There is a special "Campaign Diary" every day, after the main evening news, running for 45 minutes or longer. Much of this is repeated the following morning and lunchtime. In this campaign coverage, TVM attempts to be exhaustive, covering all provinces (so exhaustive, in fact, that it becomes repetitive, and risks boring the audience). It also tries to cover all campaigns - not just Frelimo and Renamo, but also the various minor parties.

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