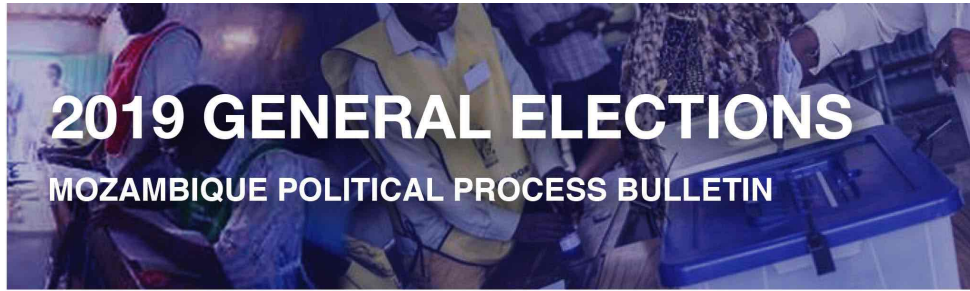




CENTRO DE INTEGRIDADE PÚBLICA
Anticorrupção - Transparência - Integridade



2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS

MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL PROCESS BULLETIN

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No response from CNE to our audit request

In response to the huge discrepancy in population data in Gaza, the Public Integrity Centre (CIP, publishers of this Bulletin) on 12 August asked the National Elections Commission (CNE) for access to the registration data base to carry out an audit. So far, there has been no response from the CNE.

The CNE has registered 329,430 more voters than that the population census says there are voting age adults, and both the CNE and National Statistics Institute (INE) defend the credibility of their data. The proposed audit would show if the registration is inflated or if the census was wrong. It would be carried out by an international company with experience in many countries of such audits, and would be paid for by CIP.

CNE illegally put Frelimo at top of AR ballot

The order of parties on the AR (parliament) ballot chosen Wednesday 21 August by the CNE violated the law. Positions on the ballot paper are chosen by lot, that is, randomly, but with one restriction. The law (2/19 art 188) says that a first lottery is for parties standing in all constituencies, who get the top positions, followed by a second lottery for other parties not standing everywhere.

But the CNE Wednesday put the four parties with presidential candidates first, in the same order as on the presidential ballot paper as defined by the Constitutional Council lottery - which puts Frelimo at the top of the AR list. Then they did a single lottery for all the remaining parties, with no distinction between those standing in all provinces and those standing only in some.

This is clearly illegal, and putting presidential candidates first is nowhere mentioned in the law.

Five parties are standing for parliament (AR, Assembleia da República) in all constituencies - 11 provinces plus Africa and Europe - Frelimo, Renamo, MDM, Parena and PVM. The fourth presidential candidate is from Amusi which is not standing in Gaza, so cannot be in the first group.

Also, the law is clear that the two lotteries are separate. The one for President is done by the Constitutional Council, and the one for parliament is done by the CNE. In the 2014 election, only the three parties with presidential candidates were standing in all constituencies, but the two lotteries put them in difference order. The presidential ballot paper order in 2014 was Renamo, Frelimo, MDM while the AR ballot paper order MDM, Renamo, Frelimo.

Delays again in issuing observer credentials

Our correspondents and all other election observers must have official credentials to gain access to polling stations and vote counts. The law (art 251, lei 2/2019 de 31 de Maio) says credentials must be issued within five days of application. Each province has a different system and few are meeting the targets of the law.

In Nampula and Niassa, provincial elections commissions (CPEs) say that credentials issued for the April-May registration remain valid for the entire electoral process this year. The other nine

provinces say their credential were only valid for the registration and observers must apply again.

No province has met the target, but two have come close. In Manica credentials were issued in 8 days and in Maputo Province in 9 days.

In contrast, we submitted our application to Gaza on 27 June and Zambézia on 5 August and have received no reply.

In Cabo Delgado our request was submitted on 27 July the CPE issued 15 credentials two weeks ago, 15 last week, and we still await 23.

In three other provinces credential have been issued, but with delays: Inhambane took 25 days, Sofala 19 days, and Tete 18 days.

\$3 mn for parties, but delayed

Government funding for the 4 presidential candidates and 27 parties and coalitions standing

in the 15 October elections will be 180 million Meticias (\$3 mn), according to CNE spokesperson Paulo Cuinica. By law the first tranche of the money should have been distributed 21 days before the 30 August start of the campaign, but a cascade of delays caused by negotiations and the need to change electoral laws means that party lists have only just been approved, and the CNE has still not agreed a formula for distribution of the money to the candidates and parties.

Funding delays in previous elections forced smaller parties to delay the start of their campaign, because they need government money to print posters and for other costs.

The money per voter has doubled in Meticaís terms since the 2014 election, from MT 7 per voter to MT 14, but remains the same in dollar terms, at \$.23 (23 US cents) per voter. (In 2014: \$1 = MT 30.69 and now \$1 = MT 60.75.)

Bulletin special investigations

Government slowly taking control of independent community radio

Funding for Independent community radio stations has dried up, and they are losing their editorial and financial independence as the government offers money to repair equipment and to pay salaries. The take-over is already happening in some areas, and will have an impact on coverage of the October elections.

There are about 140 community radio stations in district capitals and they can be heard up to 70 km away from the capitals, according to the Community Information Support Centre (Centro de Apoio à Informação e Comunicação Comunitária - CAICC). Transmission is in local languages and Portuguese and they have built a large audience and have become an importance source of information outside the provincial capitals.

There are three groups of community radios. The Community Radio Forum (Fórum das Rádios Comunitárias - Forcom) has 50 independent radio stations as members. They were established and funded by donors, often via NGOs. But radio has fallen out of fashion with donors who no longer fund these stations, and they cannot survive on local funding - in part because the donated equipment is expensive to maintain.

The government's Social Communications Institute (Instituto de Comunicação Social - ICS) has about 60 community radio stations. Finally there is a smaller group of community radio stations that are part of local multimedia centres (Centros Multimédia Comunitários - CMC) which

include radio and TV and are part of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

A 2013 study of community radios in Mozambique is on https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237025716_Centros_Multimedia_Comunitarios_em_Mocambique_um_mapa

Forcom and ICS see the role of community radio differently. Forcom and the original donors wanted to create independent, locally controlled radio stations which served the community and did local investigations. But ICS sees local radio as part of the government information services, providing information, promoting government programmes, and not criticising the local administration.

But lack of funding makes Forcom stations vulnerable. In Gaza three community radios, in Mandlakazi, Massangena and Chicualacuala, on 31 August will become part of ICS, following a decision of the governor.

Rádio Comunitária de Catandica, Manica, belongs to a local association, Associação Cultural Factos de Báruè, but has often been in conflict with municipal and provincial government for broadcasting information not following the

government line. In January this year the radio station was taken over by the Báruè district government with an official from the Catandica municipality as manager. The new policy is that the radio is in close collaboration with local government institutions such as education, and including the local election technical secretariat (Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral - STAE).

During the registration period this bulletin produced a series of 5 minute radio programmes in

Portuguese and five local languages about the registration process which were transmitted by most Forcom stations, but ICS would not let its radio stations transmit our programmes.

Many of our correspondents are community radio journalists, but in Zambézia, Inhambane and Gaza ICS journalists are prohibited from being correspondents for this bulletin.

Thus the decline of independent radio stations will have a direct affect on election reporting.

Bulletin special investigations

How does a mayor govern with no assembly majority?

In 7 municipalities, no party has a majority in the municipal assembly. How does the mayor govern? Our investigation shows that decisions are being made locally, with the MDM supporting Frelimo in 4 municipalities and the MDM and Renamo collaborating in 3.

In three of these municipalities - Alto Molocué, Marromeu and Monapo - there is a particular tension because parallel counts showed that Renamo had won the election, but after election commission counts from which the opposition was excluded, the official results gave victory to Frelimo.

In Alto Molocué, MDM is supporting Renamo and there are serious problems. The only MDM member of the assembly was severely beaten and hospitalised, and Frelimo would not allow him to be replaced on the assembly, and approved the plan and budget in his absence. (See box)

In the other two, Marromeu and Monapo, MDM voted in favour of the Frelimo candidate to be speaker of the municipal assembly and supported the Frelimo mayor's five year plan and budget. But the tensions were clear in Monapo, where the plan and budget were only approved last week, on 14 August.

In the agreement with Renamo and subsequent law changes, provincial governors and municipal mayors are elected by a head of list system. The top person on the party list that receives the most votes for assembly automatically becomes mayor or governor. But the largest party need not have a majority in the assembly, and this happened in 7 municipalities in the elections last year. This forces a negotiation between parties to try to build a majority. This is common in many countries but Mozambique has little experience of this, so this Bulletin carried out an investigation as to how the lack of majority was resolved in the 7 municipalities.

It is possible that two parties could work together to oppose the mayor, but, surprisingly, this has occurred in only 2 municipalities, and only partially.

Alto Molocué: Beaten after voting against plan and budget

In Alto Molocué, the MDM vice president of the Municipal Assembly (AM), André Manuel Txetema, was badly beaten on 5 July by three unidentified men. MDM member Gil da Cruz to him voting with Renamo to reject the plan and budget proposed by the Frelimo mayor.

Txetema was so seriously beaten that he was in the Nampula Central Hospital until 6 August, and has now been transferred to a local hospital. MDM asked to substitute André Txetema for 30 days. The response was that the AM needed a medical report, which was presented. But Frelimo refused to accept it, saying it was not trustworthy.

So at the 2 August AM meeting MDM was no able to be present and Renamo walked out in protest. Without the two opposition parties, Frelimo passed the plan and budget.

In two municipalities the MDM, with only 1 or 2 seats, holds the deciding vote. In 4 of those the MDM supported the largest party, the party of the mayor. In Beira MDM is largest party (with 22 seats). Frelimo has 14 and Renamo has 12, which means they could cooperate or oppose MDM, but instead Renamo is backing the MDM.

Three assembly votes are particularly important. In the first session, the assembly elects its speaker by secret ballot. In all 7 municipalities, the speaker is of the same party as the mayor, although in some cases the voting seems strange. (see below)

The other two votes are to approve the plan and budget. If these are not approved, central government intervenes and there can be a new election.

Municipalities without majority

Municipality	Assembly seats			Largest party & municipal president	Challenged election	Support	Agreement?	Plan and budget	President (speaker) of AM
	FRE	MDM	RE						
Monapo	15	1	15	Frelimo	X	MDM→Frelimo	Informal	Approved.	Frelimo
Alto Molocué	10	1	10	Frelimo	X	MDM→Renamo	Informal.	Approved.	Frelimo
Marromeu	8	1	8	Frelimo	X	MDM→Frelimo	Informal	Approved.	Frelimo
Ribaué	8	1	8	Frelimo				Approved.	Frelimo
Malema	8	1	8	Renamo		MDM→Renamo	Informal	Approved.	Renamo
Matola	29	2	28	Frelimo		MDM→Frelimo	Informal	Approved.	Frelimo
Beira	14	22	12	MDM		Renamo→MDM	Informal	Approved.	MDM

Challenged election = parallel counts showed Renamo victory but official result gave victory of Frelimo

In 5 of the municipalities there was an informal accord which allowed the plan and budget to be approved.

Most agreements have been informal and confidential. But in Malema MDM gave support to the mayor in exchange for an MDM member being named assembly secretary and for MDM members being given jobs, particularly in cleaning.

In Ribaué the only MDM member, João Óscar Leite Sousa, says he is taking his decisions on an issue by issue basis. He supported the plan and budget, but voted against the first quarterly report of the new administration.

The attitude of Renamo members has been mixed. In Monapo, Marromeu and Matola Renamo abstained or voted against resolutions. In Alto Molocué, Renamo sometimes abstained and sometimes walked out.

And there has been pettiness. In Malema the Renamo mayor was not allowed to move into the municipal house of the previous Frelimo mayor.

Speakers of Municipal Assemblies

The Provincial Assembly elects its president (speaker) by secret vote at its first session. This is the report of those votes:

Monapo, Frelimo and MDM voted for the Frelimo candidate and Renamo for its candidate.

Alto Molocué, Frelimo voted for its candidate, and so did 1 member of Renamo. Other Renamo and MDM voted for Renamo.

Marromeu and **Ribaué**, Frelimo voted for its candidate, and so did 1 member of Renamo. Other Renamo voted for Renamo. MDM abstained.

Malema, Renamo and MDM voted for Renamo and Frelimo voted for its candidate.

Matola, Frelimo and MDM voted for Frelimo and Renamo voted for its candidate.

Beira, MDM and Renamo voted for the MDM candidate and Frelimo voted for its own party.

Revised party lists

Revised party lists were published on 20 August by the National Elections Commissions, after some lists were excluded. 9 parties are standing in all 11 provinces and 17 in only some provinces. One party is standing only in provincial elections.

There are a pair of single seats in the AR reserved for voters in Africa and in Europe, and 12 parties are standing for both seats: Frelimo, MDM, Renamo, PARENA, PMJRD, PVM, PE-MT, AMUSI, PT, PANAOC, PASOMO and UM. (More parties are standing that was originally reported.)

9 parties standing for AR in all provinces
FRELIMO - Partido Frelimo
MDM - Movimento Democrático Moçambique
MPD - Partido Movimento Patriótico para a Democracia
ND - Partido Nova Democracia
PARENA - Partido de Reconciliação Nacional
PARESO - Partido de Renovação Social
PUR - Partido da União para Reconciliação
PVM - Partido os Verdes de Moçambique
RENAMO - Partido Resistência Nacional Moçambicana

17 parties to stand for AR in some provinces

	AMUSI	PMJDR	PT	UE	PE-MT	PEMO	PPPM	UM	PANAOC	PODEMOS	PANAMO	MONARUMO	PASOMO	PDJM	PLD	UD	UDM	Parties in prov.
Niassa	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		22
Cabo Delgado	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x			20
Nampula	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x			x			20
Zambézia	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x			x	x		19
Tete	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x						19
Manica	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x					x		19
Sofala	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x					20
Inhambane	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	25
Gaza		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		x	x			19
Maputo P	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		25
Maputo C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	26
No of provinces	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	8	8	7	8	6	6	6	6	2	

AMUSI - Partido Acção de Desenvolvimento Unido para a Salvação Integral

MONARUMO - Partido Nacional para a Recuperação da Unidade Moçambican
PAHUMO - Partido Humanitário de Moçambique
PANAMO - Partido Nacional Moçambicano
PANAOC - Partido Nacional dos Operários e

Camponeses

PASOMO - Partido de Ampliação Social
PE-MT - Partido Ecologista Movimento da Terra
PEMO - Partido Ecológico de Moçambique
PJDJ - Partido de Justiça Democrática de

Moçambique

PLD - Partido de Liberdade e Democracia
PMJRD - Partido Movimento da Juventude para Restauração da Democracia

PODEMOS - Partido Povo Optimista para o

Moçambique

PPPM - Partido do Progresso do Povo de

Moçambique

PT - Partido Trabalhista

UD - Coligação União Democrática

UDM - Partido da União dos Democratas de Moçambique

UE - Coligação União Eleitoral

UM - Partido da União para a Mudança

7 parties in provincial elections

Parties standing for provincial assemblies are approved by provincial elections commissions, and 7 parties are standing:

Frelimo, MDM and Renamo are standing in all provinces.

Standing in 2 provinces are PARENA (Sofala and Maputo prov) and PARESO (Inhambane and Maputo prov).

Standing in only one province are AMUSI (Nampula) and PAHUMO (Cabo Delgado).

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Detailed coverage 2019 national elections is again being provided by the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*, which has covered all of Mozambique's multi-party elections. We will have a large team of local journalists throughout the country, ensuring that our reports are accurate and verified.

The elections newsletter is also in Portuguese; para subscrever <http://eepurl.com/gnZXPz>

The newsletters covering the 2018 local elections are on <http://bit.ly/LocEI2018>

Newsletters from 2013 local elections and 2014 national elections are on <http://bit.ly/2H066Kg>

There are two archives of historic elections data, at IESE on <http://www.iese.ac.mz/eleicoes-resultados/> and at London School of Economics on <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>

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