Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail Issue 33

3 January 2005

Presidential election 1-2 December results

from official CNE tables given to Renamo

Province	Guebuza	% of	Dhlakama	% of	Domingos	% of
		valid		valid	-	valid
Niassa	93,711	67.3%	39,390	28.3%	4,090	2.9%
Cabo Delgado	212,980	77.6%	49,340	18.0%	7,014	2.6%
Nampula	224,206	49.8%	197,815	44.0%	15,745	3.5%
Zambézia	162,142	37.5%	245,826	56.8%	14,970	3.5%
Tete	256,070	74.2%	76,464	22.2%	8,888	2.6%
Manica	92,113	47.4%	92,161	47.5%	6,558	3.4%
Sofala	75,691	26.1%	198,809	68.5%	9,962	3.4%
Inhambane	142,729	83.7%	18,139	10.6%	6,321	3.7%
Gaza	304,562	96.4%	5,611	1.8%	3,304	1.0%
Maputo Prov	184,475	89.2%	17,782	8.6%	2,913	1.4%
Maputo City	217,337	85.2%	32,845	12.9%	3,527	1.4%
Africa	24,061	90.6%	1,925	7.3%	336	1.3%
Europe	535	76.5%	149	21.3%	13	1.9%
Total	1,990,612	64.2%	976,256	31.5%	83,641	2.7%
Requalified	13,614	31.9%	21,803	51.1%	2,104	4.9%
Total	2,004,226	63.7%	998,059	31.7%	85,745	2.7%

Table 1: Final results, by province.

Table 2: Turnout

The official number on the register is 9.1 million, but we estimated the actual number of live potential voters at 7.6 million.

Province	Registered	total votes	turnout on 9.1 mn	turnout on 7.6 mn
Niassa	453,461	149,649	33.0%	39.5%
Cabo Delgado	794,270	302,974	38.1%	45.7%
Nampula	1,831,867	493,333	26.9%	32.2%
Zambezia	1,749,121	477,718	27.3%	32.7%
Tete	660,741	371,667	56.3%	67.4%
Manica	531,264	206,455	38.9%	46.5%
Sofala	802,149	308,960	38.5%	46.1%
Inhambane	579,356	181,975	31.4%	37.6%
Gaza	609,214	330,639	54.3%	65.0%
Maputo Prov	483,493	216,171	44.7%	53.5%
Maputo City	600,249	261,706	43.6%	52.2%
Africa	45,865	27,138	59.2%	70.8%
Europe	1,101	732	66.5%	79.6%
Total	9,142,151	3,329,117	36.4%	43.6%

Table 3. Blank and invalid (nulo) presidential votes

Nulo 1 = considered invalid at the polling station Requalified = considered valid by CNE % requal = % of nulo 1 considered valid by CNE Nulo 2 = still considered invalid by CNE % nulo = invalid votes as a %age of total vote

Province	total	blank	nulo1	re-	nulo2	%	%	%	%
	votes			qualified		blank	nulo 1	requal	nulo 2
Niassa	149,649	3,538	6,889	2,290	4,599	2.4%	4.6%	33.2%	3.1%
CaboDelgado	302,974	16,728	11,804	6,356	5,448	5.5%	3.9%	53.8%	1.8%
Nampula	493,333	19,564	23,699	8,405	15,294	4.0%	4.8%	35.5%	3.1%
Zambezia	477,718	21,482	23,293	9,368	13,925	4.5%	4.9%	40.2%	2.9%
Tete	371,667	7,576	19,034	3,727	15,307	2.0%	5.1%	19.6%	4.1%
Manica	206,455	4,777	7,543	2,298	5,245	2.3%	3.7%	30.5%	2.5%
Sofala	308,960	7,285	11,542	3,896	7,646	2.4%	3.7%	33.8%	2.5%
Inhambane	181,975	4,350	7,037	1,838	5,199	2.4%	3.9%	26.1%	2.9%
Gaza	330,639	6,161	8,604	1,925	6,679	1.9%	2.6%	22.4%	2.0%
Maputo Prov	216,171	3,199	6,272	1,328	4,944	1.5%	2.9%	21.2%	2.3%
Maputo City	261,706	1,829	4,854	1,152	3,702	0.7%	1.9%	23.7%	1.4%
Africa	27,138	171	417	99	318	0.6%	1.5%	23.7%	1.2%
Europe	732	24	9	0	9	3.3%	1.2%	0.0%	1.2%
Total	3,329,117	96,684	130,997	42,682	88,315	2.9%	3.9%	32.6%	2.7%

Table 4. Blank and invalid votes, presidential & parliamentary

	total	blank	nulo1	re-	nulo2	%	%	%	%
	votes			qualified		blank	nulo 1	requal	nulo 2
President	3,329,117	96,684	130,997	42,682	88,315	2.9%	3.9%	32.6%	2.7%
Parliament	3,321,926	166,540	158,770	48,813	109,957	5.0%	4.8%	30.7%	3.3%

Table 5. Requalified Presidential nulos

Ballot papers considered invalid at the polling station but accepted as valid by the CNE.

Province	total	nulo1	requalified	requal to	requal to
	votes			Guebuza	Dhlakama
Niassa	149,649	6,889	2,290	596	1,371
Cabo Delgado	302,974	11,804	6,356	2,904	2,268
Nampula	493,333	23,699	8,405	2,308	4,708
Zambezia	477,718	23,293	9,368	1,817	5,954
Tete	371,667	19,034	3,727	775	2,423
Manica	206,455	7,543	2,298	431	1,394
Sofala	308,960	11,542	3,896	405	3,030
Inhambane	181,975	7,037	1,838	1,100	267
Gaza	330,639	8,604	1,925	1,444	137
Maputo Prov	216,171	6,272	1,328	1,028	112
Maputo City	261,706	4,854	1,152	858	144
Africa	27,138	417	99	47	6
Europe	732	9	0	0	0
Total	3,329,117	130,997	42,682	13,713	21,814

Province	Guebuza 2004	Chissano 1999	Guebuza as % of Chissano
Niassa	93,711	96,419	97.2%
Cabo Delgado	212,980	273,956	77.7%
Nampula	224,206	369,322	60.7%
Zambezia	162,142	234,891	69.0%
Tete	256,070	127,919	200.2%
Manica	92,113	95,477	96.5%
Sofala	75,691	68,480	110.5%
Inhambane	142,729	197,796	72.2%
Gaza	304,562	324,996	93.7%
Maputo Prov	184,475	232,763	79.3%
Maputo City	217,337	292,146	74.4%
Total, excluding abroad	1,966,016	2,314,165	85.0%

Table 6. Vote for Guebuza compared to Chissano in 1999

Parliamentary election 1-2 December results

from official CNE tables given to Renamo

Table 7. Estimate of voters on excluded editais

Province	Registered	Voters	difference	% of registered
	_	counted		not counted
Niassa	453,461	429,796	23,665	5.2%
Cabo	794,270	755,545	38,725	4.9%
Delgado				
Nampula	1,831,867	1,718,859	113,008	6.2%
Zambezia	1,749,121	1,608,275	140,846	8.1%
Tete	660,741	584,654	76,087	11.5%
Manica	531,264	515,884	15,380	2.9%
Sofala	802,149	718,054	84,095	10.5%
Inhambane	579,356	574,884	4,472	0.8%
Gaza	609,214	572,524	36,690	6.0%
Maputo	483,493	446,428	37,065	7.7%
Prov				
Maputo City	600,249	584,671	15,578	2.6%
Africa	45,865	25,519	20,346	44.4%
Europe	1,101	1,047	54	4.9%
Total	9,142,151	8,536,140	606,011	6.6%

CNE SECRETS REVEALED BY RENAMO -- EXCLUDED EDITAIS & PROVINCIAL RESULTS

Results from 640 polling stations were excluded from the presidential count and from 674 polling stations for the parliamentary count, Renamo has revealed. This is very similar to the number

which were excluded in 1999, and represent 5% of all polling stations. These numbers have been kept secret by the CNE, which has also given no explanation of why they were excluded.

Renamo has also released the provincial results, which the CNE has insisted are secret. And the reason for the secrecy becomes clear – as last year in the local elections, the results sheets are full of errors. The most glaring one is that the official number of registered voters is 9.1 million, while the potential number of voters in the presidential race is put at 10 million. There are also errors in the number of votes for Afonso Dhlakama, and the column in one table does not add up correctly.

The CNE gave the parties (but refused to give the media or public) a pair of results sheets for each of the presidential and parliamentary elections. Putting the two together makes it possible to estimate for the provincial results where the excluded polling stations were. The provincial results say they include polling stations with 8.5 million voters, meaning 600,000 potential have been left out (6.6% of the total, and roughly right if 674 polling stations have been excluded). All provinces have polling stations left out. The highest rate of exclusions are Tete (11.5% missing), Sofala (10.5%), Zambezia (8.1%) and Maputo Province (7.7%).

But this leads to some bizarre results. Tete Provincial Election Commision (CPE) said it processed all but 3 of 919 polling stations and 346,416 people voted. The National Election Commission results sheet for the parliamentary results say that in Tete 11.5% of voters were excluded but 369,176 people voted in that smaller number of polling stations. Similarly, Maputo CPE said it processed all by 4 of 752 polling stations and 200,378 people voted. The CNE says 7.7% of voters were excluded, but 203,219 of that smaller number actually voted.

What we think may have happened is that the CNE has extrapolated the number of votes in some provinces, estimating that the voters in the missing polling stations voted in the same proportions as the rest of the province.

RE-QUALIFIED NULOS PUT IN WRONG PLACE

The provincial tables released by Renamo show that the CNE used an incorrect procedure to include the re-qualified invalid votes. For both president and parliament, they were added in at the end, at national level. This is correct for president, who is directly elected, but not for parliament. For parliament, they should be added in at provincial level, because they could change the distribution of seats.

In the

RENAMO PROTEST CLAIMS 1 MILLION FAKE VOTES

Renamo on 28 December filed a 140-page complaint with the CNE asking for the election to be cancelled and run again. In the CNE rejects this complaint, as expected, then Renamo will file the complaint with the Constitutional Council. The complaint covers all of the issues already raised by the party, and range from the serious and provable to the unbelievable.

The major change are two contradictory explanations of how the 1 million vote margin of Armando Guebuza and Frelimo was "faked". The first is massive ballot box stuffing, with 10% of polling stations having more than 1000 people reported as voting for Frelimo and Guebuza. The second is that the million votes were created in the computer tabulation system. In either case, Renamo argues that the turnout was even lower than officially reported.

The main elements of the protest are:

+ The unexplained exclusion of 640 presidential editais and 674 parliamentary editais.

+ Various problems with the computer systems, including lack of security, the exclusion of valid editais, and showing 684 more polling stations than actually existed.

+ The failure to ever provide a proper list of polling stations, combined with the fact that the results sheets show 8 fewer polling stations in Nampula that were on the list published 4 November as being "definitive", and 8 extra polling stations in five provinces.

+ Police did not allow Renamo delegates to stay with ballot boxes on the night of 1-2 December and votes for Guebuza and Frelimo were put in the ballot boxes over night.

+ Ballot box stuffing in Changara, Chifunde and Tsangano districts of Tete; Metarica and Marrupa in Niassa; and Chicualacuala in Gaza.

+ 10% of polling stations registered more than 1000 votes, largely for Guebuza. Mainly these are extra ballots put in the box during the night of 1-2 December. This represents 1,270,000 votes for Guebuza, more than the difference between the two candidates. In fact, these people did not vote and the abstention was much higher than officially stated. (Bulletin comment: we estimate ballot box stuffing at around 2% of polling stations, not 10%. Although we find many with suspiciously high turnout, we can only find 10 polling stations with 1000 or more votes. We did not have access to the results data base to do proper searches, so we had to check editais one at a time, but we would have seen many more if there had been this large a number. The Electoral Observatory found only 1 polling station with 1000 or more voters, in its sample of 6% of polling stations; if 10% had more than 1000, it should have found 77. Thus we see no evidence for such a high percentage of polling stations with over 1000 votes for Guebuza)

+ 7,241 more people voted in the presidential election than in the parliamentary one. (Bulletin comment: Renamo also claims that there is an addition error in the tables, and the real difference is 35,535, but we have checked the sums and cannot find this.)

+ "A majority of the voting age population was not registered." (Bulletin comment: Surely not true. The unregistered part of the adult population is 15% according to our estimate and 30% according to Frelimo.)

+ Various problems with register books not being in polling stations, being in the wrong place, and missing out names.

+ Voters whose names were not on the register (but whose card number says they should be on the register at that polling station) were allowed to vote, in violation of article 62 of the election law. (Comment: we read the law the opposite way, that it was correct that they be allowed to vote.)

+ Renamo-nominated members of CPEs and STAEs were not allowed to participate in the selection of polling station staff, with the result that "all" are linked to Frelimo.

+ Intimidation and imprisonment of Renamo members and party delegates.

+ Exclusion of Renamo agents from polling stations in Niassa, Gaza, Tete and elsewhere.

+ 1 million fictitious voters were introduced into the computer data base.

+ The electoral law (art 119) says, in effect, that Mozambicans abroad can only vote for parliament, not president, and it was improper to include external votes for the president.

Mozambique Political Process

Bulletin

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IN THIS ISSUE + Hundreds of editais stolen + CNE rejects Renamo protest, but confirms Tete ballot box stuffing

- + Bulletin numbers
- + Tete & Zambezia details
- + Corrected parliament seat table
- + Results with requalified nulos

CNE REJECTS RENAMO PROTEST BUT CONFIRMS KEY COMPLAINTS & SAYS MISSING EDITAIS WERE 'STOLEN'

The National Elections Commission (CNE) yesterday said that hundreds of editais (polling station results sheets) had been "stolen" and not included in the final results. It also admitted ballot box stuffing in Tete. In making its various secret "corrections", the CNE says it gave an extra parliamentary seat to Renamo in Zambezia.

The admissions that two of Renamo's key complaints were valid came at a CNE press conference in which the CNE said it rejected Renamo's protest over the 1-2 December elections. The statement leaves the election results even murkier and more confused than before. Renamo said yesterday it would formally protest to the Constitutional Council, which must validate the election.

In announcing the rejection of the protest, CNE spokesperson Filipe Mandlate also said that "about 1,400" polling station results sheets were excluded, more than 5% of the total. It appears that hundreds of editais favourable to Renamo were simply removed from the editias being processed in Zambezia and sent to Maputo. "They disappeared. Editais were stolen," Mandlate said. The CNE in Maputo reconstructed enough of the results to give Renamo an extra seat in Zambezia. It is not clear why the parties have not given the CNE their own copies of these missing editais; there is an explicit provision in the law to allow for this.

Mandlate also confirmed that there had been ballot box stuffing in Tete, and that some polling stations had been excluded. This statement is particularly confusing, since the provincial election commission said it processed all but three editais, yet the CNE has given Tete more votes than were assigned by the provincial election commission. It is hard to see how this could have happened if editais were excluded. (Details of Zambezia and Tete are given below.)

So the secret "correction" of the results continues, a month after polling day. It will be interesting to see how the Constitutional Council unravels this mess.

The following is an edited version of the AIM report yesterday:

6105E CNE REJECTS RENAMO PROTEST

Maputo, 4 Jan (AIM) - Mozambique's National Elections Commission (CNE) has rejected the appeal against the results of the 1-2 December general elections lodged by the main opposition force, the Renamo-Electoral Union coalition.

Speaking to reporters on Tuesday, CNE spokesperson Filipe Mandlate argued that the Renamo demand to annul the elections and hold new ones was out of all proportion to the irregularities it claimed.

... Mandlate rejected the Renamo claim that the CNE had not based the election results on the polling station results sheets ("editais") received from the provinces. On the contrary, he said, the CNE had proved able to process many of the editais that the provinces had not included in the results declared in the provincial capitals - and in one case, this had changed the distribution of parliamentary seats.

In the central province of Zambezia, the provincial elections commission (CPE) gave 28 of the province's 48 seats to Renamo and 20 to Frelimo. But when the CNE processed further editais from Zambezia, which had for some reason baffled the CPE, Renamo's vote rose, and the final division of seats was 29 for Renamo and 19 for Frelimo.

But Mandlate agreed with Renamo that, despite the CNE's efforts, a large number of editais were not included in the final result. He put the figure at "about 1,400", or five per cent of the total number of editais. This essentially confirms the Renamo claim that 640 presidential and 674 parliamentary editais were omitted.

Mandlate revealed that some of the editais omitted were fraudulent ones from the western province of Tete. These were cases where the editais claimed that over 100 per cent of the registered electorate at the polling station concerned had voted. He pointed out that, in cases where there are more votes in the ballot box than names on the register, the polling station staff themselves should declare the election at that station null and void - but none of them had done so.

... It was not up to the electoral bodies to prosecute anyone suspected of fraud, Mandlate stressed. "When we find indications of fraud, we notify the Public Prosecutors Office", he said. "The matter is then in the hands of the public prosecutor and the courts". Mandlate said he had been informed that some cases of suspected fraud in Tete have been forwarded to the public prosecutor.

... Mandlate said that many other editais were not processed because they were never sent to Maputo. "They disappeared. Editais were stolen", he declared. "Some cases of this were reported in the press" (He was referring to the detention of a Renamo member in Nampula province, caught trying to dispose of an inconvenient edital in his waste paper basket).

As for Renamo's claim that extra editais had been slipped into the computer system to facilitate fraud, Mandlate described this as "political use of a technical mistake". ...

BULLETIN NUMBERS

We apologise to anyone confused by the numbers on the Bulletin. We are producing two different series, and by accident they have both reached the same numbers.

Regular issues of the Mozambique Political Process Bulletin have been produced since 1992 and are translated into Portuguese and widely distributed in hard copy as well as e-mail. Number 31 was issued last week. It was sent in three parts to all subscribers and summarises everything that happened up until then in the elections.

This year, we are also producing an almost daily Election e-mail special, of which this is one, and which has now reached issue 34. We have been surprised at the interest and the special Bulletin now goes to more than 700 subscribers. As a subscriber to the daily special bulletin, you will have received both. Apologies for any confusion.

DETAILS OF ZAMBEZIA RESULTS

The provincial results declared in the provincial capital, Quelimane on 14 December, were as follows:

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

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 234,283

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 160,482

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

Renamo 195,220 (28 seats) Frelimo 143,998 (20 seats)

After the CNE reconsidered the Zambezia result and included requalified nulos and some additional editais, it produced the following:

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 247,780 Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 163,959

Parliamentary election - 48 seats

Renamo 220,724 (29 seats) Frelimo 150,318 (19 seats)

AIM estimates that these figures mean the CNE was able to find and process and extra 46 presidential editais and 135 parliamentary editias, but that there are about 334 missing presidential and 327 missing parliamentary editais.

DETAILS OF TETE RESULTS

Results announced by the provincial election commission in Tete on 11 December, with 916 of 919 editais processed for each election:

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 234,677 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 73,417

Parliamentary election - 18 seats

Frelimo 236,539 (14 seats) Renamo 66,319 (4 seats)

The still secret results of the CNE, with requalified nulos added, gives:

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 256,825 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 78,887

Parliamentary election - 18 seats

Frelimo	249,397	(14 seats)
Renamo	72,911	(4 seats)

PARLIAMENT SEATS

An earlier version of this table had errors for Sofala, Nampula and Gaza.

To obtain seats in parliament, a party must have at least 5% of the national vote. Only Frelimo and Renamo had more than 5%. Seats in the new parliament, compared to seats in the past, are given below. (Figures for seats in the 1999 and 1994 parliaments are given in brackets; in 1994 there were also 9 seats for a small coalition which is not listed here):

Province	Seats	Frelimo	Renamo
Niassa Cabo Delgado Nampula Zambezia Tete Manica	12 (13,13) 22 (22,22) 50 (50,54) 48 (49,49) 18 (18,15) 14 (15,13)	9 (6,7) 18 (16,15) 27 (24,20) 19 (15,18) 14 (8,5) 7 (5,4)	3 (7,4) 4 (6,6) 23 (26,32) 29 (34,29) 4 (10,9) 7 (10,9)
Sofala Inhambane Gaza Maputo prov. Maputo city	14 (13,13) 22 (21,21) 16 (17,18) 17 (16,16) 13 (13,13) 16 (16,18)	6 (4,3)	16 (17,18)
<i>Emigrants</i> Africa Europe Total	1 (-) 1 (-) 250 160	1 (-) 1 (-) D (133,129) 3	0 (-) 0 (-) 90 (117,112)

Renamo had a majority in 5 provinces in 1994, 6 provinces in 1999, and only 2 provinces this year;

Renamo had a majority in 5 provinces in 1994, 6 provinces in 1999, and only 2 provinces this year in Manica the two parties have an equal number of seats. This is the first election in which Mozambican emigrants have voted, and both seats allocated to the emigrants went to Frelimo.

ADJUSTED FINAL RESULTS

AIM has used the posted totals of nulos requalified (accepted as valid) by the CNE to produce these figures for final results for the 11 provinces:

Niassa

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)94,307Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)40,761

Parliamentary elections - 12 seats

Frelimo92,871(9 seats)Renamo39,267(3 seats)

Cabo Delgado

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 215,884 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 51,608

Parliamentary elections - 22 seats

Frelimo 207,936 (18 seats)

Renamo 48,408 (4 seats) Nampula Presidential election Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 226,514 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 202,523 Parliamentary election - 50 seats Frelimo 210,942 (27 seats) Renamo 177,275 (23 seats) Zambezia Presidential election Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 247,780 Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 163,959 Parliamentary election - 48 seats Renamo 220,724 (29 seats) Frelimo 150,318 (19 seats)

Tete

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)256,825Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)78,887

Parliamentary election - 18 seats

 Frelimo
 249,397
 (14 seats)

 Renamo
 72,911
 (4 seats)

Manica

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)93,555Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)92,544

Parliamentary election - 14 seats

Frelimo	87,114	(7 seats)
Renamo	86,942	(7 seats)

Sofala

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)201,839Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)76,096

Parliamentary election - 22 seats

Renamo	183,787 (16 seats)
Frelimo	71,668 (6 seats)

Inhambane

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)143,829Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)19,406

Parliamentary election - 16 seats

Frelimo 129,391 (15 seats) Renamo 16,831 (1 seat)

Gaza

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 306,006 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 5,748

Parliamentary election - 17 seats

 Frelimo
 291,729
 (17 seats)

 Renamo
 5,460
 (0 seat)

Maputo province

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 185,503 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 17,894

Parliamentary election - 13 seats

Frelimo 164,551 (12 seats) Renamo 16,888 (1 seat)

Maputo City

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 218,195 Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 32,989

Parliamentary election - 16 seats

Frelimo 209,590 (14 seats) Renamo 34,717 (2 seats)

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