# Mozambique political process bulletin





Issue 36 18 August 2008

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#### Published by AWEPA and CIP

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Formerly Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin (Prior issues available online: http://www.open.ac.uk/technology/mozambique)
O Boletim também está disponível em Português. Os pedidos podem ser feitos pelo j.hanlon@open.ac.uk

# 88% register to vote

About 9 million people have registered to vote – 88% of the voting age population of 10.2 million. This tops the 86% obtained in the previous registration. It is a dramatic success, after a delayed start and initial difficulties with the registration equipment.

There were three registration phases. 7.6 million voters were registered in the first phase – 24 September to 15 December 2007 – and 1.3 million in the second phase – 15 January to 15 March 2008.

The third round of registration – 6 July to 4 August – was to register people who have reached the voting age of 18 this year, as well as anyone

else not already registered, and took place only in the 43 municipalities. Turnout was very low and most of those who went to the posts had either moved or wanted to replace a lost voters card. Totals have not been published, but it is expected that fewer than 100,000 new voters registered, giving a total of just under 9 million.

### **Short campaign for 19 November election**

Elections for mayor (municipal president) and local assemblies in 43 municipalities will be held on a single day, Wednesday 19 November. The formal campaign will be short, just 13 days, starting 4 November and ending 16 November. On the two days prior to voting, no campaigning is allowed.

Parties are free to campaign now, but the official campaign period gives extra rights, for access to radio and public buildings, and to hold parades and rallies. During the official period, government media (newspapers, radio and TV) must be scrupulously

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balanced.

#### Inside

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Consultative councils

Votes will be counted at the polling stations immediately after the polls have closed on 19 November. The

results sheets (*editais*) are posted on the walls of the polling stations and copies sent to the District or City Elections Commissions, which must announce the results by 22 November.

District and city commissions send their summary sheets to the CNE (Comissão Nacional de Eleições, National Elections Commission), which announces the official results for all 43 municipalities by 4 December. Appeals can be made to the Constitutional Council, which must proclaim and validate the results (or reject them) by 9 December.

Posting the *editais* at polling station permits parallel counts, which will be conducted by Radio Moçambique and by the Electoral Observatory. These serve as a check on the official results.

Opinion polls, including exit polls, cannot be published between 4 November and 4 December.

The election budget is \$15 million, which comes entirely from the state budget.

#### 88% register to vote

→ Of the 9 million registered, only about onequarter will be eligible to vote in the local elections, as the rest live in more rural areas outside the municipalities.

Each of the 3,242 registration brigades used a neat system with a computer, camera, fingerprint reader and printer which all fit into a single briefcase. The brigades issued voter cards and put all the information on CD-ROMs, but at the same time everything was backed up in a hand-written register. The registration cost \$41 million.

Although the Polaroid cameras used in previous registrations still exist, it is very difficult to obtain the film, so the election authorities had to scramble to find a new registration system. Many of the briefcase computers arrived only after the opening of

registration, so staff were poorly trained, and there were many problems at first. As staff become more experienced, the process ran more smoothly.

Data was first processed at provincial level, where software could check fingerprints and identity card numbers to look for duplications. More than 2% of registrations were found to be duplicates, often because in the early days when the system went down, staff simply started again, leading to people being in the system more than once, according to Felisberto Naife, Director General of STAE (Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral, Electoral Administration Secretariat).

Felisberto Naife is the new director general of STAE, named after an open application process. He was previously the STAE director for training and civic education.

## **Electoral Observatory Notes Some Problems**

Registration ran relatively smoothly after a rough start, according to the Electoral Observatory, a coalition of national NGOs which observed the process. It found many logistic and technical problems in the first phase, although the second phase ran more smoothly, but the number of problems was relatively small.

A serious difficulty was that registration was supposed to be in the same place where people will vote, which in much of the country is in a school; there are no classes on polling days so classrooms are used. But during registration, schools are in use and already overcrowded, so there was often a problem finding a suitable space for the registration team. In some places teams sat under trees without tables or chairs, and had particular problems when it rained

The Observatory found Frelimo and Renamo party delegates at most registration posts, and PDD in Sofala, but few from other parties.

There were some complaints about registration posts closing early or not opening on some days. But, equally, they also found posts where the staff opened early or stayed open late to deal with people in queues. The Observatory felt that STAE did not adequately monitor and support the registration brigades, which sometimes ran out of printer ink, registration books, or generator fuel for days at a time.

In two places, observers caught staff registering people who were not present. In three places staff were caught taking 20 MT from people to allow them to jump the queue, and in some places Frelimo members were given priority. In one place, Renamo members were stopped from registering.

In general, people with no documents (which remains very common) were allowed to register if identified by two already registered voters, as set out in the law. In rural areas, traditional and religious leaders were important in mobilising people to register, and sometimes provided food to the registration teams.

Issuing of credentials to observers in October 2007 was "exemplary" in Manica, Nampula, Zambézia and Cabo Delgado. But it was seriously delayed in Maputo and Tete. There were major problems in Gaza and Sofala, but these were resolved after discussion between senior Observatory officials and members of provincial election commissions. In a few places, observers were not permitted even when they had credentials.

The Electoral Observatory had 281 observers and 44 provincial coordinators, and covered 70% of the districts. It is a joint initiative of AMODE (Mozambique Association for the Development of Democracy), CEDE (Centre for the Study of Democracy and Development), CCM (Christian Council), CISLAMO (Islamic Concil), Catholic church, FECIV (Institute of Civil Education), LDH (Human Rights League) and OREC (Conflict Resolution Organisation).

# Trying to verify the register seen as 'opposition'

The law sets aside a period in which the new electoral register is public and can be checked – this was 18-20 March this year. The Electoral Observatory attempted to verify the register in March in the 33 old municipalities, but this proved more difficult than expected.

The Electoral Observatory reports that access was often refused or restricted. "Some provincial, district and city directors met voters and observers with distrust, and treated then as true 'opponents' of their work, to the point of instructing junior officials to

refuse to provide data asked for or to monitor any consultation made by a voter." In Tete, the provincial director of STAE is accused to criticising lower level staff who helped observers. The Observatory called for improved training in the "culture of transparency".

Register books are not displayed at the registration site but only at the district STAE office, which can be so far away that few people will check their own registration.

Initially, the Electoral Observatory had planned to randomly select names from the register and try to find the electors as a form of verification, but this proved impossible. There are three sets of documents – the computerised register, which was not available yet because the period for checking is

soon after the close of registration; the hand-written register, which could be checked; and the more detailed registration forms, which are not public. Only the registration form has a home address, which is not in the actual public register, so it proved impossible to find electors starting from the book.

Thus, the Observatory had to work in the opposite direction, finding electors and asking to go with them to check, which could take several hours. But checks were done on 406 voters in all 33 old municipalities. Of those, 3 had cards but were not on the register and 8 had minor errors. A further 75 in Matola and Maputo could not be verified because registers could not be found or access was denied.

## Ten new municipalities

Ten new municipalities have been created – one in each province – bringing the total to 43. The 10 are all district centres. They are: Namaacha (Maputo province), Macia (Gaza), Massinga (Inhambane), Gorongosa (Sofala), Gondola (Manica), Ulónguè (Tete), Alto Molocuè (Zambézia), Ribáuè (Nampula), Meuda (Cabo Delgado) and Marrupa (Niassa).

Although Renamo has a chance in three, Frelimo could win all 10 new municipalities. In two, the results depend very much on how the municipal boundary is drawn:

• In 2004 in the centre of Gorongosa (the vila), Frelimo won 1,909 votes compared to 1,514 for Renamo. But in outer neighbourhoods, Renamo was

#### 11 elections to watch

Elections in 11 municipalities merit special attention. Frelimo will try to win back the five with Renamo mayors: Beira, Nacala, Ilha de Moçambique, Angoche, and Marromeu.

Beira is widely seen as a possible flash point. Despite Daviz Simango being seen as one of the best mayors (presidents), Frelimo has given high importance to trying to win Beira and is stepping up the pressure. Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche have weak Renamo mayors, which could lead to a shift to Frelimo.

In 2003 the closest races were Marromeu, with a difference of just one vote, and Mocimboa da Praia, with a differences of 197, and both will be hard fought this time.

Meanwhile, according to Savana (10 July 2008), an internal Frelimo study points to 6 municipalities where it is worried. Three provincial capitals, Chimoio, Quelimane and Pemba are seen as having poor Frelimo governments, and all three have significant Renamo support. Finally, Gurue, Cuamba and Mocimboa da Praia are seen as three towns where Renamo is strong and high unemployment could cause problems for the incumbent government.

ahead 2,254 to 971.

• In Alto Molocuè, Frelimo beat Renamo 2,526 to 1,446 in the vila, but in the outer neighbourhoods Renamo won 12,936 to 5,609.

In Gondola, Frelimo's lead in 2004 was relatively small 3,235 to 2,621. (Sussundenga had a much larger Frelimo majority and would have been a safer choice, but it does not have the status of "vila".) But in the other seven new municipalities, Frelimo had a comfortable majority in 2004.

Frelimo's advantage in large measure reflects the fact that Frelimo's support is more urban and Renamo's support more rural. In most provinces, alternative choices for municipalities have similar voting patterns. Sofala is an exception, where the government has chosen the one town it might win; Caia and Nhamatanda are equally plausible alternatives, but would be more likely to be won by Renamo.

The government has released no data or reasons for the selection, but none of the choices is manifestly unacceptable and is within the range of what any government in power would do.

## What turnout is expected?

In 2003 local elections, 28% of eligible voters actually went to the polls. (Real turnout was hard to calculate because of poor registers, see *Bulletin* 29) But numbers varied widely, from a low of 15% in Nampula to highs of 46% in Mocimboa da Praia and 47% in Moatize, depending very much on local factors.

In 1999 Frelimo and Renamo were very close in both cities. In Mocimboa da Praia both main parties paid substantial attention to the campaign, which created a lot of interest – one candidates' forum drew 380 people. In Moatize, the two candidates for president were neighbours and both teachers, so the contest attracted local interest.

# Expanded election coverage by the *Bulletin*

A daily newsletter, a blog, and reports from ordinary voters are part of the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*'s plans for reporting on municipal elections. As part of the expanded coverage, AWEPA (European Parliamentarians for Africa), which has published the *Bulletin* since the peace accord in 1992, has been joined by CIP (Centro de Integridade Pública) as copublisher.

As we did for the 2003 and 2004 elections, the *Bulletin* will publish a daily e-mailed newsletter, this year both in Portuguese and in English. This will also be posted as a blog, to allow comment and discussion.

We will have correspondents in all 43 municipalities, primarily journalists from local radio and other local publications. CIP will coordinate our correspondents.

A major innovation will be citizen correspondents. Any voter will be able to send us comments on the electoral process by SMS. These will support our news coverage and some will be posted on the blog.

#### We are watching

Past elections have run very smoothly, and the *Bulletin* has always had very high praise for the quality and dedication of the staff in the polling stations. However our correspondents will also be watching for the problems which have occurred in the past, including: exclusion of observers and party delegates, ballot box stuffing, invalidating votes, and late opening and wrong registers books at polling stations.

Similarly, we have also had high praise for the first count which occurs within the polling stations, but we continue to be critical of the total secrecy surrounding the later tabulation process, which allows unrecorded changes to the results.

A detailed study of significant irregularities in the 2004 Mozambique national election has been published by the prestigious London School of Economics (http://www.crisisstates.com/Publications/wp/WP series2/wp8.2.htm). We will be watching for similar problems this year.

# Boundary doubts delay candidates

All parties and citizens' lists must register their intent to stand and present nomination papers of candidates by 5 September. Political parties must be national, but citizens groups can stand candidates in a single municipality.

The National Election Commission (CNE) must declare how many seats are in the various municipal assemblies by 20 August. But the Council of Ministers only approved the boundaries of the 10 new municipalities on 12 August. Thus in some municipalities it is unclear if registration posts were inside or outside the municipalities, and this can be determined only when boundaries are known. Thus it is impossible to determine how many voters are in the municipality, which determines the number of assembly seats. Similarly, in some places prospective candidates still do not know if they are inside the municipality, or are outside the boundary and unable to stand.

There are other problems, too. All candidates for mayor must have signatures of 1% of the electorate, and lists of assembly candidates must have one-and-a-half times as many names as there are seats. But as yet, no one knows what these numbers are.

All candidates must also present authenticated photocopies of their identity card and voters card, a certificate of no criminal record, and proof of residence. These are supposed to be provided free of charge, and there have been complaints about charges, particularly by neighbourhood secretaries. There have also been complaints about these secretaries refusing to issue proof of residence to opposition candidates.

The boundaries of the 33 old municipalities remain the same. The Council of Ministers has not considered proposals of several municipalities such as Nampula which have formally asked for boundaries to be extended to include neighbourhoods which are, in practice, part of the city but which had not been not included inside earlier delimitations. These are not contentious.

And proposals floated last year to make significant boundary changes to some cities, including removing some neighbourhoods from Beira, and which have not met with local agreement, have not been carried forward.

#### New taxes, including tourism

Taxing powers of municipalities have been increased to include "taxes on economic activity including tourism". The original municipalities law gave municipalities a share of a national tourism tax, but that tax was later abolished. Municipalities have repeatedly complained about their lack of revenue and lack of taxing power. For most municipalities, a major source of revenue is market fees.

The new tax is included in law 01/2008 approved in January; regulations are expected to be issued soon. The law defines a broad range of permitted municipal taxes: a head tax for anyone between 18 and 60; taxes on buildings up 0.7% of their value; a vehicle tax (including boats and airplanes); and improvement taxes for buildings which gain from new street lights, parks, etc. In addition, municipalities can charge for licenses for any kind of economic activity and charge fees for services.

The law also sets out how the government's municipal support grant should be given. The total grant should be 1.5% of the government fiscal revenue (not the whole budget, which also has income from donors). Of that, 75% is allocated by population and 25% by area.

The law underlines the responsibility of the municipality to provide basic services – roads, markets, sanitation and rubbish, a fire brigade, and social and environmental activities.

## No local interest in development and education

The January municipalities law gives them the responsibility for both water and electricity. Municipalities are encouraged to create municipally owned companies or autonomous service providers,

which would be run on business lines. And the original municipalities law gives them broad powers for economic development, and to enter into partnerships with private companies and donor agencies. The new law also confirms municipal powers to provide public housing, primary schools, and primary health care.

But so far there has been little interest in the municipalities themselves in using these powers. In part it is because local governments see this as taking on responsibilities and expenditure without compensating income and other support. But many local officials are preoccupied with immediate problems, and seem unable to think about longer term development.

New schools have been one of the biggest demands of local residents and several municipalities claimed that they wanted to take over primary education. Decree 33/2006 set out a procedure by which local councils could apply to take over primary education and primary health care. But in the two years since the decree was issued, only Maputo and Beira have applied.

Similarly, there has been little local interest in economic development or in the setting up of municipal companies, although several municipalities have set up companies for public transport and for rubbish collection.

#### Do municipalities conflict with district development?

Frelimo's Political Commission rejected further municipalisation on the grounds that it conflicts with the policy of making the district the development pole.

There has always been a tension between two processes going on in parallel, "decentralisation" and "deconcentration". The former involves the creation of municipalities with elected governments, tax raising powers, and substantial independence in promoting economic development. By contrast, deconcentration works through appointed administrators at district and lower level who carry out centrally determined policy. But with the new focus on the district as a base of development, officials have increasing autonomy and they also must work with appointed consultative councils on planning and also on spending of local development funds. (This is discussed more below).

Apparently, having municipalities within the districts is seen as weakening the districts and creating competing systems. Also the Frelimo leadership does not support directly elected local governments, and prefers the system of consultative councils which are subject to more control both by party and state.

It had been proposed to increase the number of municipalities for the 2003 local elections. The Ministry of State Administration (Ministério de Administração Estatal, MAE) in 2002 did a detailed study of 26 potential new municipalities, but no action was taken. As well as the existing district

headquarters which have the status of "vila", the group also included several important commercial centres with the lower status of "posto administrativo".

This year the study was updated, showing that more than 20 of the 26 had an economic and infrastructure base sufficient to function as municipalities. The revised study of the 26 was put forward for discussion, but it was rejected earlier this year by the Frelimo Political Commission. It is said that President Armando Guebuza told the proposers they did not understand that Frelimo policy was to concentrate on strengthening the districts.

However, an "increase" in the number of municipalities was one of the indicators in the performance assessment framework agreed with the G19 budget support donors. So under heavy donor pressure, the Council of Ministers compromised by choosing one vila in each province to be a new municipality.

No criteria were announced, nor was any reason given for restricting the choice to vilas, which has led to less than optimal choices. For example, in Ribáuè district, lapala is only a posto administrativo, but it was included in the MAE 2002 study because it is significantly more important economically than Ribáuè vila, which has been chosen to be the

municipality. And in Maputo province Xinavane launched an unusual public campaign to become a municipality (which is encouraged by the

regulations), but Namaacha was chosen. In both cases the reason was not party political, because all are equally pro-Frelimo.

## Tensions continue over transparency

The CNE slogan is "for free, just and transparent elections", but tensions continue about just what is meant by "transparent". Felisberto Naife, Director General of STAE, told the *Bulletin* that he is trying to improve the image of the electoral machine by being more open, with a media centre and website planned, and attempts to produce regular information.

But in practice, transparency is proving a difficult issue to grasp. One of the most important tenders being carried out by CNE and STAE is for new election tabulation software. Following normal rules, there has been a request for expressions of interest and a short list of companies will be chosen. Those will be given a document setting out the requirements of the system. But that document is secret – no one but the short-listed companies will be allowed to see it.

That means, yet again, parties and observers will not be allowed to know what instructions are being given on security of computer vote tabulation. In past years, security has been very weak, and it is alleged that these weaknesses permitted tampering with the results.

As no one will be allowed to see what instructions are being given, opposition parties will surely claim that the counting systems are being written in a way that can be manipulated. Transparency and publishing this document would dispel all complaints. Instead it is kept secret, encouraging rumours and conspiracy theories.

Mozambique is almost unique among democratic countries in carrying out its count in secret and allowing changes to the results in secret. The European Union has repeatedly criticised this and has refused further funding for elections in Mozambique. The Constitutional Council criticised the CNE after the 2004 election, saying "the principle of transparency of the electoral process is an essential element of its national and international credibility." It continued, "adequate conditions must

be created so that no doubts whatever remain about the integrity, competence and strict legality of these operations at local, provincial and central level."

In light of this, the *Bulletin* on 27 September 2007 made a formal request to the CNE for additional information to be made public, including decisions made by the CNE, regulations issued by CNE and STAE, manuals, and instruction to registration brigades and polling station teams.

In other countries, such information is public. In past elections, opposition parties have made claims that CNE or STAE had issued instructions which prejudiced them, but this could never be verified because the instructions were secret (although sometimes issued to thousands of polling stations). This seems designed to create distrust in the system.

The CNE took nearly three months to reply, and on 14 December CNE President João Leopoldo da Costa replied to the *Bulletin*, saying that nothing would be published except what must, by law, be published in *Boletim da República*.

The issue has been raised again by the Electoral Observatory. The recommendations of a seminar on 18 June this year called for "publication of all decisions and documents related to the electoral process".

A media centre and website will be pointless if no information is released through them. The continued secrecy of STAE and the CNE seems almost designed to create the doubts about the integrity and competence of the process that the Constitutional Council warned about.

Joseph Hanlon

#### **Deconcentration**

## Growing role for consultative councils

Local involvement is increasing in district planning and in spending the "7 million" meticias district funds. The process is slow and often contradictory, but reports indicate a growing strength and confidence of local consultative councils in some areas. Consultative councils now exist at district and administrative post level throughout the country, although they have not yet been created at lower levels in many areas; instead there are loose local forums or committees at lower levels.

The level of participation is highly variable, and a supportive district administrator seems to be the most important factor. In one district, an administrator is said to have arrived at the consultative council meeting with the minutes already

written, and simply asked for them to be approved. Yet in another district, the administrator has coopted a representative of the G20 civil society platform onto the council.

Nevertheless, at least in Niassa, "administrators can no longer ignore the base. The consultative councils are creating a climate of checks on the actions of administrators. There is a long way to go, but it is starting," comments Salvador Forquilha of Swiss Cooperation.

In broad terms, the councils are taking an active role in district planning and in defining the use of the "7 million", but have been less effective in actually monitoring the implementation of plans. There is also a problem that consultative councils have no formal responsibility to report back to their communities.

Formally called the Local Initiatives Investment Budget (Orçamento de Investimento de Iniciativa Local, OIIL), it is still widely called the "7 million" after the size of the original allocation in 2006. But this year nearly 1.5 bn MT (more than \$60 million) was allocated to districts, averaging more than 11 mn MT (\$460,000) per district. Of that, 90% was for projects generating local profits, creating jobs, or growing food, and 10% was for infrastructure.

Money is supposed to be in the form of loans, but repayment rates have been very low. In part, local people do not have the capacity to design viable projects (so they are often very vague, often just a few words such as "raising goats"), and in part rural poverty is so great that people have no cash to buy the products produced.

The number of trained technicians in district administrations is increasing rapidly, and they are increasingly helping to design projects.

# Creating district development funds

A major problem with the "7 million" has been that district administrators have no formal way to collect repayments. In any case, it probably violates Mozambican budget laws for district administrations to give loans and receive repayments.

Thus the plan is to create Community Development Funds (Fundos de Desenvolvimento Comunitário, FDeC), with their own bank accounts, in each district. These would be rotating loans funds, administered by the district consultative council in cooperation with local civil society.

Repayments of loans from the original "7 million" would go to the FDeC and would serve as the basis for its loan funds. It is also intended that from next year, borrowers will sign standardised contracts with the FDeC. Projects will be accepted from companies and associations, but no longer from individuals.

Rules around the OIIL are slowly being tightened. There had been complaints that these loans were competing with existing loan funds – the "fundos de fomento" – and that in some cases people who had failed to repay loans to other funds were receiving new loans from the "7 million". New rules will prohibit loans to anyone with outstanding debts to funds,

## Close check on 7 million

Consultative councils in Gorongosa and Cheringoma in Sofala province have developed their own way to closely monitor the use of money from the "7 million". In both districts, for each project approved, two people are appointed at district, administration post, and local forum level to monitor the project, according to Salvador Forquilha of Swiss Cooperation. Because of the large distances involved, in practice one or two people who live near the project take the lead.

Initially, they talk to the recipient (an individual or association) about the importance of repaying. Then they go to the location to verify the use of the funds. Finally they regularly visit to report on the progress of the project. It is too early to see if this increases repayment rates, but it is a much closer monitoring than has happened in the past, and is creating a climate that repayment is expected.

The concept seems to have been developed locally, and at least in Cheringoma appears to have come from a local community committee in Matonde which since 2006 has been administering the 20% of government revenues from logging that are given to the local community. The amount of money is significant – \$10,000 in 2006. Some was used to build a school and other local facilities, but some was used to create a loan fund which was closely monitored in this way.

banks, or micro-credit schemes. And money cannot be spent on travel, salaries, or seminars.

There remains total confusion, however, about how money from the "7 million" is supposed to be handled. Senior civil servants argue that the budget law prevents administrators from handing out cash, but that they can use normal procurement processes to buy equipment such as maize mills, tools, inputs such as fertiliser, or cattle.

The value of these inputs should be repaid, in cash, eventually to the FDeC. Thus there has been a steady shift to providing goods rather than cash.

But when President Armando Guebuza was touring Maputo province earlier this month, there were complaints about the government providing goods. *Noticias* (7 August) reported that President Guebuza said that "the orientation given to the districts is the funds are to be given in cash and not in kind."

This has created total confusion inside the government.

Rules governing functions of the Consultative Councils also continue to shift; the most recent draft of the rules is the 9<sup>th</sup> version.

#### Politics at local level

Sofala is Renamo heartland and the consultative councils illustrate the subtleties of local politics. Frelimo does seem to be winning over many of the traditional authorities who a decade ago were loyal to Renamo

Nevertheless, at local level, open Renamo supporters are on local forums and consultative councils. In one Gorongosa council, a former senior Renamo military commander is a member and active Renamo figures have obtained loans.

But at higher levels, councils are more closely aligned to Frelimo. When Salvador Forquilha in his survey asked women members of the councils what civil society organisations they were in, several mentioned the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) which is part of Frelimo, but none mentioned the Renamo Women's League.

#### Return of guia de marcha

In parts of Tete, members of independent civil society cannot travel without first obtaining travel permission – a guia de marcha – from Frelimo. In one case, a member of the Human Rights League was jailed for several days for travelling without permission, according to participants from Tete at a civil society meeting in Chimoio on 6-7 November last year. This was seen as part of increasing pressure from Frelimo on independent civil society.

#### Local observation planned

The Electoral Observatory hopes to have 300 observers during the election process. In 2003 local elections it did parallel counts based on samples in 10 municipalities; although still in discussion, it hopes to do a similar sample count this year. The Observatory also will try to monitor and resolve conflicts locally. No international observation is expected because this is only a local election, but embassies will send staff to observe.

The formal period of electoral observation opened on 6 August. Observer regulations must be issued by 2 November and observers must be registered with the election commissions by 10 November. Parties are allowed delegates (poll watchers) and alternates in every polling station. Lists of delegates must be submitted to local election commissions by 30 October.

#### **Provincial elections postponed**

A string of delays led to the eventual cancellation of elections for provincial assemblies. Parliament only approved legislation on the CNE in February 2007 and on registration in June 2007.

The CNE only took office in June, and provincial, district and city commissions in July and August. Most members are from civil society and have no

experience of electoral administration, so there has been a steep learning curve. Furthermore, despite the law requiring CNE members to work full time, many have retained their old civil society posts so are not, in practice, full time.

Initially provincial elections were scheduled for 20 December 2007, already in the rainy season. But there was clearly not enough time for registration and election preparation. First they were postponed to 16 January 2008, almost the last day permitted under the constitution. Then in November parliament passed a constitutional amendment allowing them to be held at the same time as national elections late next year. This was just as well since on 16 January many areas of central Mozambique were cut off by floods.

#### **Books and booklets**



Las Huellas del Fraude, Pedro Antonio Martínez, México City: Edición Ciudadana, 2007

A detailed analysis of the fraud in the 2006 Mexican national elections. Provides a model of how to demonstrate fraud, with ample evidence combined with mathematical analysis.

Decentralização e Municipalização em Moçambique, Maputo: Agência Suíça para Desenvolvimento e Cooperação, 2008.

A series of five booklets looking in detail at the participative planning process.

A interacção entre eleitorado do norte e deputados no contexto democrático moçambicano, Barbosa Morais e António Gaspar, Maputo: Centro de Pesquisa Konrad Adenauer, 2007.

Interviews with 1120 voters and with members of parliament on their views of competition and cooperation in the parliamentary system.

Governação e Integridade em Moçambique, Maputo: Centro de Integridade Pública, 2008. Looking at decentralisation in a broader context.

Post-Stabilisation Economics in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Mozambique, ed Jean Clement and Shanaka Piris, Maputo: IMF, 2008.

Há mais bicicletas - mas há desenvovimento? Joseph Hanlon e Teresa Smart, Maputo: Misanga, 2008. (To be published in English as *Do bicycles* equal development in Mozambique?)

Two books presenting diametrically opposite views of Mozambique's economy. The IMF talks of Mozambique having a "growth takeoff" which can be compared to "fast-growing Asian economies", and talks of "Mozambique's remarkable success in reducing poverty", and the IMF takes credit for the success. The Hanlon and Smart book says there has been no real growth take-off and poverty and malnutrition are increasing, but it also gives the credit to IMF and donor policies.