



**REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE**

**PRESIDENTIAL AND  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS  
1-2 December 2004**

**EUROPEAN UNION  
ELECTION OBSERVATION  
MISSION**

**FINAL REPORT**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections on 1, 2 December 2004 were the third general elections in Mozambique. 20 political parties and coalitions and five presidential candidates ran in these elections.
- The country benefits from a pluralistic political environment and relatively open media. The campaign and voting were orderly, but the election process was marked by serious shortcomings in the election administration, in particular as regards counting and tabulation of votes. The Constitutional Council of Mozambique declared appeals inadmissible but expressed its preoccupation with the shortcomings of the process.
- The overall level of openness and transparency in the organisation and conduct of the electoral process was not adequate.
- Given the clear lead of Frelimo party in the results, the shortcomings were not decisive for the overall outcome of the elections. However, if repeated, they could be de-stabilizing in any elections with closer results. They should therefore be addressed before the next elections.
- The elections were held under a new electoral law – Law 7/2004 - approved by the parliament in May 2004. The law is generally in line with international standards. It allows, *inter alia* for election observation by domestic and international organizations. However the CNE's narrow interpretation of the scope of this provision created an obstacle to domestic and international election observation.

The positive aspects of the process were as follows:

- Political parties appealed to their supporters to refrain from provocations during campaign events and in general they campaigned actively and peacefully.
- During election days, polling and counting at polling stations was conducted in an organized way. The voters demonstrated a high degree of civic behaviour. No incidents were observed.
- Media coverage of the different political parties and candidates was reasonably balanced and in line with the law.
- Voters' lists were partially cleaned from double registrations and the databases consolidated. The lists are now computerized.
- There was a significant participation of domestic observers, mainly under the umbrella organization 'Observatorio Eleitoral'. The result of the quick count of domestic observers was close to the official results.
- Party delegates present at polling stations could sign and get copies of polling station tally sheets. Results were tabulated by computer in the provinces.

The following shortcomings were noted:

- Although calm overall, some disturbances during campaign events led to injury and in a number of provinces, opposition parties faced difficulties in carrying out campaigning in certain districts. Law enforcement was at times selective, favouring supporters of the ruling party Frelimo.
- Despite improvements, voter registers remained a problem; in most polling stations three voters lists were available on election days making it more difficult to find voters and thus slowing down the voting process.
- There is no reliable number of registered voters, since different numbers were made public during the electoral process. The databases contained 10,100.000 registered voters , the number of official voters was established by CNE as 9,142.429 and later on, STAE General Director announced the number of voters as 7,600.000.
- Locations of polling stations in places other than indicated and misplaced voters' lists impeded many voters from voting.
- Poor organization and deficient logistical planning led to delays in the delivery of election materials; 37 polling stations never opened and a significant number opened with delays or only on the second day.
- The software used for tabulation of results was only installed in provincial election commissions (CEPs) after E-day and staff was only trained at the last minute. This led to several days delay in the tabulation of results at provincial level.
- At central level, delays in tabulation of results were mainly due to technical problems of the software and low capacity of the system.
- CNE did not distribute public campaign funds to political parties before the campaign period started, in contrast to the provisions of the election law.

The following fraudulent acts and irregularities raised particular concerns:

- The personal commitment of the majority of polling station staff during E-days was overshadowed by incidents of ballot box stuffing and manipulation of tally sheets in Gaza, Niassa and Tete provinces. Neither the CNE nor other authorities investigated these occurrences which constitute criminal acts under the election law.
- Some EU observers saw intentionally invalidated ballots (systematic pattern of a cross and a fingerprint for two candidates).
- No list of the polling stations (with serial numbers) was published. Although publication is an obligation under art. 41 of the election law, the CNE declared the list a state secret.

- Contrary to the law no district level results were made available to observers or party delegates.
- The official number of polling stations did not match the number of tally sheets registered in the software. There was a discrepancy of almost 600 additional polling stations which appeared in the software, leading to rumours of “ghost polling stations”, which could be used to manipulate results. This discrepancy was later solved by an instruction, without legal foundation, for STAE staff to adjust figures manually. This created further distrust in the process.
- Some valid polling station tally sheets were rejected by the tabulation software at provincial and central level.
- A high number of tally sheets was not processed (699 presidential and 731 legislative tally sheets, corresponding to 5% and 7% respectively of the total tally sheets). Despite promises, the CNE never presented a record with reasons for the non inclusion of those tally sheets.
- Deadlines for announcement of results were missed: None of the CPEs announced the provincial results in time and the CNE announced the results four days after the legal deadline.
- CNE sent a complaint presented by Renamo-UE calling for new elections, directly to the Constitutional Council without deliberating on it as required by law.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

A genuine dialogue, including with the civil society, is needed to improve the electoral framework and to meet expectations for better administration of the next elections. It is important to ensure that CNE will operate in a collegial, impartial, transparent and professional manner.

### **Improvements to the Law 20/2002 on CNE / STAE:**

- The composition of the election commission could be reviewed. The legal provision for inclusion of representatives of the parties in Parliament has resulted in an overly politicized process for tasks which, though having political repercussions, are technical in nature. While the inclusion of political party representatives is useful in increasing transparency, consideration should be given to complementing party representatives, e.g. with more representatives from civil society selected according to clear criteria and procedures.
- The efficiency of the CNE may be increased if the overall number of members is reduced.
- Decision making could also be modified, for example by abandoning the current majority system for some other formula.

- It is recommended that CNE organizes a system by which electoral complaints are registered as they are received by the electoral commissions thus allowing for an accurate follow up. All decisions taken should be published.
- Vice-General Directors of STAE and Vice Provincial Directors take office only on a temporary basis shortly before elections. It would be advisable to have Vice-Directors in place well in advance of Election Day to allow them to make a more professional contribution to the electoral process.
- Consideration should be given to ensure the continuity of the work of the CPEs.
- It is recommended that the law expressly state that all CNE plenary meetings are open to the public.

**Improvements to the electoral law - Law 7/2004:**

- Any amendments to the electoral law should be enacted sufficiently ahead of Election Day, thereby allowing all actors to become familiar with its requirements and procedures.
- The electoral law should clearly state that political party delegates, other domestic and international observers shall have full access to all stages of the electoral process including the tabulation process at provincial and central level, re-qualification of invalid votes and of tally sheets. Access should also include obtaining relevant information from CNE/STAE regarding the electoral process.
- The system of complaints and appeals could be more clearly laid out in the law.
- The law could differentiate between electoral infractions and electoral administrative violations.
- The right of access to voter lists and to lists of polling stations (i.e. number, locations and codes) by political parties, observers and the public should be clearly stated in the law.
- A detailed publication of results, down to polling station level.
- The electoral law should explicitly permit a recount of votes to be decided at a first level at CPEs if there is suspicion of fraud or result sheets are missing.
- Re-qualification of invalid and contested votes should be done in a first instance at the provincial level.
- The electoral law should be checked for overlapping legal deadlines (ie. Electoral campaign started when challenges to the candidatures were still ongoing).

### **Voters registration and voters lists**

The EU EOM would like to encourage the government, the political parties and the electoral authorities to enter into a dialogue on how to address the question of the voters lists. Significant investments have been made in the current system, however, the results are not satisfactory.

These elections proved that it is no longer enough with last minute, ad hoc solutions and partial improvements of voters lists. Despite the effort made in consolidating the lists for these elections, the system such as it is does not seem to be able to produce a substantially accurate voter list. An analysis in detail of the computerised registers databases is necessary. Furthermore, it is essential to undertake without delay, a complete review of the voter registration overall concept, its organisation and procedures.

In the medium to long-term, it could be considered to base the voter register on the civil register.

The final voters' lists to be used for the elections should be posted for public consultation well in advance.

### **Planning of Elections**

The only effective way of guaranteeing good electoral organization and management is by long-term work on the issues. To this end, CNE and STAE senior staff at provincial and central level should be involved in long-term planning of their respective activities within the framework of a national plan. A work plan should be established for the period 2005-2008. Operational plans can be made in advance and adjusted a few months prior to elections.

In this context, and as a further improvement, the revision of electoral cartography could contribute to a solid basis for the organization of the elections and to ensure the access of voters to their polling stations. It would contribute to a more balanced distribution of polling stations, eliminating those with a very low number of voters.

In order to enhance CNE's transparency it would be advisable to create an information centre where updated information on the process would be available to parties, media, public in general and observers.

It would be advisable to hold elections at another time of the year avoiding the rainy season which makes it difficult to implement the logistical plans.

Polling could be reduced to one and a half day to allow counting to take place during daylight and to reduce the workload of the polling station staff.

### **Tabulation of results**

The introduction of a computerized tabulation process in the provinces was an important step towards increased modernisation in the running of elections. However the process suffered from



numerous errors and insufficiencies arising from the software used and the database as well as the fact that staff was poorly trained.

The software to be used for tabulation in future elections should be designed analyzed and tested well in advance of elections in order to create a reliable database. This is a long-term work which requires significant expertise. An external audit made in good time, would avoid problems at the last moment and could enhance the credibility of the system.

The decision making power of the CPEs could be extended in order to enable them to decide on result sheets from the polling stations with errors or inconsistencies.

The “parallel” tabulation of results at the central level should be eliminated because it does not serve any apparent purpose and fosters public mistrust in the system. Efforts should be concentrated on the tabulation process based upon the provincial results.

Training of computer operators at central and provincial level should be done in good time.

As a proof of transparency, a copy of the software to be used for tabulation of results could be handed to political parties’ delegates and observers.

A more efficient and quick system of tabulation of results is needed for future elections. CPEs obligation on tabulation process should be extended.

## 1. MISSION BACKGROUND AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In a letter of 20 February 2004 to Commissioner Patten the Foreign Minister of Mozambique invited the European Union to observe the 2004 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, which had been on the list of priorities for EU election observation. In response to the letter, the European Commission deployed an Exploratory Mission to Mozambique, in order to collect factual elements to assist with the decision on whether an EU Election Observation Mission would be useful, advisable and feasible. The Exploratory Mission was deployed to the country from 25 June to 6 July 2004.

Following the Exploratory Mission the European Commission decided to deploy a European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) in order to observe the Presidential and Parliamentary elections scheduled for 1 and 2 December 2004.

A Memorandum of Understanding between the EU and the Government of the Republic of Mozambique was signed on 7 October 2004, and Core Team members arrived in Maputo on the evening of 12 October 2004.

The EU EOM was led by Chief Observer Mr. José Javier Pomés Ruiz MEP (Spain) and Deputy Chief Observer Ms. Aida Maria Aragão Lagergren (Sweden); the other members of the Core Team were: Legal/Electoral Expert Ms. Cristina Alves (Portugal), Media Expert Mr. Andrea Malnati (Italy), LTO Co-ordinator Mr. Carlo Pappalardo (Italy) and Operations & Security Expert Mr. Thomas Göransson (Sweden).

The Mission further comprised 26 Long-Term Observers (LTOs), deployed since October 20 in all provinces, 68 Short-Term Observers (STOs) and 14 locally-recruited Short-Term Observers (LSTOs) from the diplomatic staff of the EU Member States.

The EU EOM was joined by a delegation of seven Members of the European Parliament, which was led by Mrs. Glenys Kinnock, (United Kingdom) and further comprised Mr. José Manuel Garcia-Margallo y Marfil (Spain), Mr. Mario Mantovani (Italy), Mr. José Ribeiro e Castro (Portugal), Ms. Britta Thompson (Denmark), Ms. Hélène Goudin (Sweden), Mr. Eoin Ryan (Ireland).

In total the mission comprised 130 observers including observers from the EU Member States, as well as from Switzerland and Norway.

The EU EOM was the largest group of international observers in Mozambique for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections, and its observers were deployed throughout all Mozambican provinces.

The EU EOM would like to express its gratitude to the Head of the EC Delegation in Mozambique, Ambassador Mr. José Pinto Teixeira, for the great support given to the EU EOM and for his remarkable spirit of collaboration throughout all the period, this gratitude should also be extended to all staff of the EC Delegation staff involved in assisting the Mission. A special

mention has to be made of the Heads of Missions of the Member States in Mozambique for their great interest in and constructive attitude towards the work of the EU EOM.

The EU EOM would like to thank also the EU consultants on electoral matters, Mr. Francisco Bruno Soares and Mrs. Maria Leonor Mendes for the technical advice given.

The EU EOM wishes to express its appreciation to the Mozambican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, electoral and other authorities for their support during the course of the Mission.

## **2. POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT**

### **Registration of political parties and candidates**

The law regulating CNE (Law 20/20, art. 7 g) states that political parties and coalitions must register with the electoral authority in order to run for elections. This procedure runs prior to the presentation of candidates lists. Several parties and coalitions did not respect the legal deadline to register (September 17) and presented both register and candidate lists after the end of the legal term for a candidate lists (October 7). CNE accepted these late candidatures at the same time as political parties had already received public campaign funding and were engaged in campaigning.

CNE rejected the application for registration of two political parties (PPLM and PAMOMO), two coalitions of parties (GO and BIS) and one movement of citizen (MDMS) mainly due to a lack of signatures or the presentation of insufficient number of substitute candidates. MDMS was rejected because Movement of Citizen was not allowed to run for parliament. PPLM, PAMOMO, GO and MDMS appealed to the CC but all petitions were rejected.

In total 20 political parties and coalitions were approved by CNE to stand in elections. Only two parties and one coalition ran in all 13 electoral circles: Frelimo, PDD and RENAMO-UE. In 11 electoral circles seven parties registered: PAREDE (Partido de Reconciliação Democrático), PARENA (Partido de Reconciliação Social de Moçambique), PASOMO (Partido de Ampliação Social de Moçambique), PEC-MT Partido Ecologista Movimento da Terra), PIMO (Partido Independente de Moçambique), PVM (Partido Os Verdes de Moçambique) and SOL (Partido Social Liberal de Moçambique). Ten political parties and coalitions registered for less than 11 electoral circles: PADELIMO (Partido Democrático Liberal de Moçambique), PALMO (Partido Liberal de Moçambique), PAZS (Partido de Solidariedade e Libertade), PPD (Partido Popular Democrático de Moçambique), PT (Partido Trabalhista), CDU (Partido Congresso dos Democráticos Unidos), USAMO (Coligação União para a salvação de Moçambique), FAO (Coligação Frente Alargada da Oposição), MGB (Coligação Frente Unida para a Mudança e Boa Governação em Moçambique) and UD (Coligação União Democrática).

The Constitutional requirement that political parties should have national representation (art. 32/2a Constitution of Mozambique) was discussed in the CNE decision regarding the approval of candidate lists; at issue was whether parties only presented candidates for a reduced number of

districts could be registered. CNE argued that as there was no legal provision on how to treat these cases it should accept partial candidate lists.

Altogether, 20 political parties contested the elections for the 250 seat Parliament. Five candidates ran for President of Republic. (Complete list of candidates and political parties in Annex 1)

### **Political parties' conduct**

Since the first elections the political environment has been severely tested by the rivalry between the ruling party (Frente de Libertação de Mocambique) Frelimo and the main opposition party RENAMO-UE (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana). Many of the other 18 political parties are personalized parties centralized around one leader whether former RENAMO-UE or Frelimo affiliates or former parliamentarians who at some point decided to form their own political organisation.

The fact that 20 parties and five presidential candidates ran for these elections, can be seen as a step forward in the consolidation of the democratisation process in Mozambique. However the poor preparation of many parties in opposition does not bode well for the deepening of political party pluralism in Mozambique.

The fact that the political parties signed a Code of Conduct reveals a genuine desire to ensure that elections are held in a spirit of fairness. Indeed the overall behaviour of the parties during the electoral campaign was peaceful and free of defamatory against other contestants. However, during the electoral process the parties, with the exception of Frelimo, proved not to be aware of their legal rights as established in the electoral law. Poor knowledge of the electoral legal framework resulted in either complaints being presented after the prescribed deadlines. Political parties seemed also to be unaware of the legal way to present complaints regarding election infractions, especially during the campaign. These complaints have to be presented to the police or at the public prosecutors office. Many parties presented their cases to the electoral authorities at the district and provincial levels, who, in turn could only pass them on to the public prosecutor, when and if they wanted to do it.

The political party delegates, with the exception of Frelimo's were badly prepared and not aware of their observation rights as delegates. They were informed that they had a right to obtain a signed copy of the tally sheet at the polling station, but when at the end of the process, 1340 tally sheets were allegedly missing, it was proved that not even RENAMO-UE which had been present in a large majority of the polling stations, had the copies of the missing tally sheets. Party delegates were also virtually absent during the sensitive period of tabulation of results at provincial and central level. The same was the case regarding the observation of the revalidation of invalid votes where only the two major parties were present.

It is difficult to assess whether this position was due to lack of interest or lack of organisation. RENAMO-UE's awareness of its legal rights as well as its knowledge about irregularities made by electoral authorities improved slightly during the process. Nonetheless it still failed to present its claims to the Constitutional Council (missing the deadline by three days).

### **Political polarization**

The results of these elections show a poor performance by the majority of the political parties and a polarisation between the two major parties, Frelimo which obtained 62,03% of the votes of

parliamentary elections and Renamo-Ue with 29,73% of the votes. PDD obtained 2% of the votes, followed by the other 17 parties with between 0,6% and 0,01% of the votes. These results are a challenge for the future of the political parties and their existence until next elections.

Without doubt, the lack of financial support is one of the main reasons for the poor performance of the political parties. The provisions covering the funding of parties are a positive step forward and should ensure more equitable participation in the electoral contest by smaller parties but it is not enough. The funds are allocated for the campaign and this time they were released by the CNE two days after the beginning of the campaign. Parties should be able to undertake training of their representatives and delegates in good time before elections.

Furthermore it is of concern that the turn out was so low (36,42%) in these third elections in such a young democracy. It confirms the tendency from former elections and should be matter of reflection for all parties involved.

### 3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ELECTIONS

The third multiparty elections in Mozambique were held under a new electoral law – Law 7/2004 - approved by the parliament in May 2004. This new law regulates the presidential and legislative elections and supercedes the previous applicable law (Law 3/1999). It permitted for the first time Mozambicans in the diaspora to vote.

The Constitution of Mozambique (1990) sets out the fundamental basis for universal, direct, equal, secret, personal and period suffrage. The electoral system requires a qualified majority of votes for the election of the President – the winning candidate must achieve half plus one of the valid votes. A second round is foreseen by means of simple majority. For the national assembly 250 deputies are elected in accordance with the proportional system (Hond't system). There are 11 electoral district (circuitos eleitorais) and two special districts for out of country voting electing one seat each to parliament. Out of country voters participated in both Presidential and National Assembly elections.

Other laws in effect for these elections were: Law nr.20/2002 that created the National Election Commission; Law nr.9/2003 regulating the Constitutional Council; Law nr.7/1991 on Political Parties; Laws nr.9/1991 and 7/2001 on Freedom of Association and Demonstration; Law 18/2002 on Voter Registration.

Other relevant electoral documents are: CNE Decision 36/2004 on Election Observation Regulation 2004; CNE Decision 2/2003 on CNEs Internal Ruling; CNE Decision 76/2004 on the software for partial, provincial and general tabulation; CNE Decision 77/2004 on suffrage and tabulation of votes; CNE Decision 78/2004 on the functioning of the electoral bodies; CNE Decision 38/2004 on public funding for political parties; CNE Decision 40/2004 on the usage of public places and buildings during the electoral campaign; CNE Decision 41/2004 on public radio and TV service during the electoral campaign; CNE Decision 34/2004 on the Code of Conduct for Candidates, political parties and Coalitions; CNE Decision 70/2004 approves the Code of Conduct for the National Police;

As required by the electoral law (LE 7/04 art. 7/1,m,n), CNE approved a series of election regulations such as the Code of Conduct for Candidates, Political Parties and Coalitions (approved 23.09.04); the Code of Conduct for the Police during elections (approved 13.10.04); the Regulation concerning the Usage of Public Places and Buildings by Candidates, Political Parties and Coalitions during elections (approved 29.9.04). Moreover an Electoral Code of Conduct, a Code of Conduct for Political Party Delegates and a Regulation for Observation of Elections 2004 were approved in May and 28 and 29 September respectively. This tendency towards greater regulation of the electoral environment has to be welcomed as ensuring increased legal certainty. The political parties frequently pointed out that the signing of the Code of Conduct by all political parties involved was a significant political achievement.

Regarding the 'Regulation concerning the Usage of Public Places and Buildings by Candidates, Political Parties and Coalitions during Elections' many local election commissions (and even the police) did not know how to implement these rules. Indeed, opposition parties complained to observers that on many public buildings posters by the ruling party were seen.

#### **4. ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION**

##### **The National Election Commission (CNE)**

The National Election Commission (CNE) is a permanent and independent state body responsible for the direction and supervision of the electoral process. Its powers and function are set out in the Law 20/2002.

CNE is composed of nineteen members: one President, two Vice-Presidents and sixteen ordinary members. The president is nominated by civil society organisations and elected by the CNE. The remaining members are nominated by political parties in proportion to their representation in Parliament. At the time of the elections, ten members belonged to the party in government, Frelimo, and eight to the opposition party, RENAMO. In addition, the government appoints one representative to the CNE with permanent seat in plenary sessions but with no right to vote. CNE members have a 5 year mandate and are appointed within sixty days of the opening of each legislature.

Decisions by CNE are taken by consensus of its members. If no consensus is reached, members are called to vote. The President has a casting vote. As the composition of CNE reflects the political spectrum of the parliament, it often happens that decisions are taken along partisan lines and not in the necessarily interests of the institution or the electoral process. CNE decisions can be appealed to the Constitutional Council.

CNE is structured into temporary commissions on provincial and district level put in place only around elections. The 11 Provincial Election Commissions start functioning 45 days prior to elections and close 10 days after the announcement of election results while the 148 District Election Commissions start 30 days before and close 5 days after the announcement of results.

### **Technical Secretariat for Election Administration (STAE)**

For technical support, CNE is assisted by the Technical Secretariat for Election Administration (STAE). STAE, a state body for electoral management, subordinated to CNE. Law 20/2002 outlines CNE's (art.1 to 26) and STAE's (art. 27 to 37) structure and responsibilities. STAE acts under the direction and supervision of CNE and is in charge of organising, executing and assuring the technical administrative activities of voter registers, elections and referenda. In practice it is sometimes difficult to understand CNE's and STAE's competences. Transparency and a better information output could help establish clearer division lines.

It is represented at provincial and district level. Its Director- General is selected competitively (curriculum evaluation) by CNE. Two temporary Vice-Directors are nominated by the parties represented in parliament - Frelimo and RENAMO-UE. Its powers and functions are regulated by the Law 20/2002.

Central STAE Vice-Directors take office only on a temporary basis shortly before elections. It would be advisable to have Vice-Directors in place time well in advance of election day to allow them to make a more effective contribution to the electoral process.

The temporary election administrative structure – provincial and district level CNE and STAE – did not have sufficient time to familiarise themselves with new election rulings passed only 5 month before. This led to a lack of knowledge of the technicalities of the process and to passivity as local commissions act strictly on guidelines and instructions from the electoral management hierarchy.

Law 20/2002 outlines CNE's (art.1 to 26) and STAE's (art. 27 to 37) structure and responsibilities. STAE acts under the direction and supervision of CNE and is in charge of organizing, execution and guarantees the technical administrative activities of voter registers, elections and referenda. In practice, however, it is sometimes too difficult to understand where each competence begins. Transparency and a better information output could help establish clearer division lines.

### **The Constitutional Council (CC)**

The Constitutional Council (CC) is an independent body with specialized electoral functions. Its main responsibilities include analysis and final decision regarding electoral appeals and the validation of election results. CCs decisions are final. It is composed by seven members. The President is nominated by the President of the Republic and his appointment is ratified by the National Assembly. Five members are designated by the National Assembly in accordance to its representation there. A seventh member is also appointed by the National Assembly. At the moment two members represent the opposition party RENAMO-UE and five members belong to FRELIMO. The CC took up its functions on November 2003 (before the Municipal Elections).

Recently approved amendments to the Constitution of Mozambique have expanded the CCs functions further.

## **5. PERFORMANCE OF THE ELECTORAL AUTHORITIES**

CNE composition, structure and 'modus operandi' have proven to be inadequate and to lack credibility. Although its partisan composition guarantees the participation of the opposition, in practice this has let to an over politicized CNE and eroded its image of independence and

impartiality. These factors taken together with a culture of opacity on the part of the CNE and Central STAE vis à vis election observers (including an unwillingness to disclose information necessary for a detailed assessment of the elections) are of concern. Nonetheless on the basis of what was observed, it is possible to draw significant conclusions on the performance of the electoral authorities.

### **Organisation of elections**

The mixed performance of the CNE in organising the election days was disappointing given the fact there were the fifth elections the CNE had managed (three general and two municipal). The election process was characterized by a large number of shortcomings deriving firstly from poor organisation, secondly from a lack of knowledge on electoral management, and thirdly from excessive reliance on last minute planning and ad hoc solutions to problems.

Electoral cartography is apparently inexistent, according to what was said to the EU EOM. Maps are an indispensable instrument for several aspects of planning and organizing elections i.e. to determine the number of polling stations, their location in relation to facilities for the voters and to distances established in the law, etc, and such a lack lead to various difficulties in planning, for instances, the logistical deployment of materials, transport and costs, etc. Deficient logistical planning led to delays in the delivering of election materials which meant that 37 polling stations never opened and a high number of polling stations opened late or only on the second day.

Furthermore, transportation of the election materials from the polling stations back to the district and further to the provinces was not efficient in all provinces, with delays in some cases of up to seven days, which impacted on the tabulation of results at provincial level. This lack of control of election material had serious consequences since as many as 1430 tally sheets “disappeared” during transportation. At least this has been the official explanation given by authorities, about the “missing” tally sheets, which represent 5,4% and 5,7% of the total results for respectively, presidential and legislative elections.

Material kits were in some cases packed with the inappropriate voter list to certain polling stations, in districts in Niassa, Zambezia, Nampula Maputo Province, Cabo Delgado. This led to cases of extremely low turn out, with 5 -10 voters, equivalent to the number of the polling station staff.. In some cases, voters who came could not vote, proving the location was right while, in others, no voters came to vote (suggesting that the locations were wrong).

### **Computer system and software for tabulation of results**

The computer software for tabulation of results was prepared by STAE in total secrecy. The CNE decided to ask a private and independent data company (Solucões) from Mozambique to audit the software one week before elections. Upon the request of the EU EOM as well as that of other observation missions, CNE invited the observers, parties and public in general to attend to the presentation of the software in a public session on November 27..

This apparently positive step towards transparency of the process, ended up in a presentation of the methodology to be used internally in STAE and CNE during tabulation process. During the “show”, no software for tabulation of results was presented. When talking with the auditors later on, it became clear that they had not been involved in developing the security of the tabulation programme or the codification of the voters lists. In the event an audit of the tabulation software



was never undertaken by Soluções. This fact was later demonstrated by the numerous errors and shortcomings of the system revealed during tabulation of results.

### **Registration numbers and voters lists**

The number of registered voters and voters' lists have been a central issue in previous elections and for these elections this proved so too.

For these elections the quality of the voter lists had been greatly improved, by a process of cleansing of what was possible to clean in separated databases. The number of total registered voters was reduced by deleting double registrations of names and double voters cards numbers. However, a large number of names of deceased persons -10- 15% -is unfortunately still included. An important achievement was that all lists were then computerized and with an easy layout. That facilitated the search of the voters in the lists during E-Days. In many polling stations, there were two or three voters lists.

The lists however were not based on the same number of registered voters as the official number given by CNE for these elections. In fact, instead of one accurate number of registered voters, several official numbers of registered voters were mentioned by the CNE. Eventually the number voters was indicated as 9,142.429, however, the total number of voters in the printed voters' lists and in the database was 10, 100.000- a difference is almost one million of voters. This difference creates potential for manipulation of results.

### **Polling stations lists**

The official number of polling stations in Mozambique was 12,744 (plus 60 abroad). CNE published the total number of polling sites by province and district. Despite requests from the political parties and national and international observers, the complete list of polling stations with the respective codes was never published. This decision by CNE was in contravention of the electoral law which clearly requires the publication of information concerning polling stations. CNE's actions created difficulties for party delegates who were only allowed to vote in their polling stations, and not where they were acting as delegates. Furthermore without that list, it was impossible to assess the *real* number of polling stations as well as to verify that the right polling stations were entered in the database for tabulation, by checking their ID nomination.

At a public information session on observation, CNE declared that it was not possible to publish that list because it was a state secret.

### **Tabulation process at central and province level**

An important improvement in tabulation of results was the introduction of a computerized process in the provinces. But in practice, the implementation of it was inadequate being marred by various shortcomings and errors.

The EU EOM could never obtain accurate information about the reasons behind the late installation of the tabulation software in the provinces. So the question remains open as to whether the software was installed for the first time the days after elections, or if the software was adjusted in a last minute improvisation. It took between two and four days after elections before tabulation began in the provinces and staff was trained *in loco* at the last minute.

During tabulation of results, it became clear that the number of polling stations given did not coincide with the number of tally sheets in the databases, 13,630. This led to several problems when entering the results, valid tally sheets and totals were not accepted by the system. STAE' Director issued an instruction on December 8, ordering staff to adjust the amounts out side the system, meaning, manually. This was clearly an illegal action, even if intended to facilitate and speed up the process. It is not possible to assess the real consequences of this instruction. It opened possibilities for major manipulation and amplified the lack of trust by public and parties in the performance of the electoral authorities and in the results to be announced.

The EU EOM asked the Head of the Computer Department for an explanation for the discrepancy. He gave two different explanations but none was convincing: the introduction of the duplicated voters lists twice, and that older voter lists had not been detached from the database.

The CPEs (Provincial Electoral Commissions) did not present results broken down at district level during tabulation of results in the provinces which is against the established in the electoral law. At most CPEs the mission was told that it was not possible to produce such a breakdown because the software was not designed for that, but in some cases the CPEs staff showed the results by district but said that they were not allowed to give them to observers or party delegates.

At the central level, STAE carried out the *provisional tabulation* of results based upon copies of tally sheets from polling stations. That process was very delayed, in part because of the shortcomings of the computer system and software and in part because delay in reception of election materials from the provinces. In fact the process began five days after the elections and after several interruptions, it was never finished. CNE announced the final results on December 21, four days after the deadline.

Despite requests from EU EOM and other observation groups, CNE never published a record of the reasons for which 1430 tally sheets were not included in the results. The CNE told observers, that the tally sheets would be included in or released at the same time as the Minute with the final results. Later on, the Constitutional Council revealed that the tally sheets were missing or were invalidated with ink.

### **Lack of accountability in institutional performance**

Furthermore, CNE failed to ensure that public funding for political parties/coalitions was distributed before the set date for the start of campaign (LE 7/04, art. 7/w). In fact CNE distributed campaign money two days after the start of campaign period. Some political parties expressed their dissatisfaction claiming that this favored the ruling party by giving it an advantage of a few days in campaigning. No formal protest was presented to the CNE on this matter.

CNE failed to participate to the Public Prosecutors Office all electoral infractions that have reached its knowledge Although the election administration was informed about electoral infractions that occurred, it did not act as required by the law. (LE 7/04 art. 7/z). In the case of result sheets clearly evidencing ballot stuffing or result sheets that went missing, no case was forwarded to the public prosecutors office for investigation.

## 6. PRE- ELECTION PERIOD. ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The electoral campaign lasted 45 days. It began on October 17 throughout the country and ended on November 29.

### Campaigning

The new Electoral Law entitled political parties to financial support for their political campaign. The total amount of public funds distributed to the political contenders was 3.823.231.210,05 Mt, = 117.047,35 Euro, distributed as follows: Presidential candidate: 3.000.000.000 Mt = 115.384,61 Euro. Legislative candidates: 823.231.210,05 Mt = 31.662.73 Euro. The funds were distributed in three stages of 50%+25%+25%. (Change rate in November 2004: 1 EURO = 26,000 Mt) .

Political parties appealed to their supporters to refrain from provocations during electoral events in line with the Code of Conduct signed by parties and in general the political parties campaigned actively and peacefully. Campaign events were well attended and often involved music and dancing. Events were both in Portuguese and in a broad variety of local languages. However some disturbances of campaign events were observed, sometimes leading to injury.

No major incidents were observed or reported, but an escalation of provocations and minor incidents was noted and culminated in the second last week of the campaign. The last week of campaign was very calm.

Frelimo was by far the best equipped in terms of campaign means: new trucks, cabin vehicles, mini buses were used all over the country. Supporters showed up with T-Shirts, caps, flags and *capulanas*. Presidential or party caravans consist of a convoy of several new white trucks packed with supporters and often followed by cars. Some state activities overlapped with the campaign of the ruling party Frelimo.

The use of state owned transportation for campaign activities was observed in Nampula, Manica, Cabo Delgado, Inhambane. On a daily basis state vehicles from the local administration (administration/health/agriculture) were used to drive Frelimo activists.

President Chissano was openly engaged in the campaign, sometimes acting on his own in his many farewell visits to state institutions and non governmental organisations and sometimes making a surprise appearance at Frelimo rallies calling supporters to vote for Mr. Guebuza who, in his words, would be his successor.

Not all parties campaigned in the whole country. Some parties ran only in certain provinces. Frelimo had the most dominant presence throughout the country with the exception of Sofala, Zambezia and East Nampula where RENAMO-UE was the dominant political force in terms of visibility and number of supporters during campaign events. Apart from PDD and PIMO, all other smaller parties were almost invisible on the election campaign scene; nor did they possess provincial or district party machinery.

RENAMO-UE had clearly fewer resources than Frelimo. In his presidential campaign, Mr. Dlakama stood on a small open truck followed by a few cars. PDD presidential candidate Mr. Raul Domingos was often more visible than RENAMO-UE's with smaller trucks and

cars. PDD party rallies however tended to be very modest using a few bicycles. PIMO Presidential Candidate, Ya-Qub Sibindi, usually walked in his campaign but was followed by cars and minivans with supporters.

All parties used door to door campaign both in urban and in rural areas; larger rallies and meetings were mainly in urban areas on week ends. Visibility material and entertainment propaganda were the main campaign tools but here too there was an enormous difference between contenders in terms of resources.

The main messages of the campaign covered health, education, corruption, local economy, employment, roads and other infrastructure. No party presented an overall plan of government for the electorate.

The traditional authorities, *Regulos*, were actively involved in civic education. However it was observed that in some districts of Nampula, Inhambane, they were also active in political campaigns for either Frelimo or RENAMO-UE. Population, in general, appeared to follow the political choice of their traditional chiefs.

### **Acts of intimidation**

Minor disturbances of campaign events were observed in Gaza, Tete, Cabo Delgado, Zambezia and Nampula. Young supporters, mainly from Frelimo and RENAMO-UE, interfered in campaign events of the opposite political forces with acts of intimidation. Damage of campaign material by all contestants was observed mainly in urban areas. While generally these acts did not lead to major incidents, in some cases (Chibuto, Mutatara and Chókwe districts), a few people were injured. Intimidating acts by Frelimo towards mainly RENAMO-UE and PDD supporters was increased as the campaign intensified. No major incidents were observed or reported.

In the provinces of Tete, Inhambane and Manica, opposition parties faced difficulties in accessing some districts for campaigning.

Despite the fact that no major incidents were observed, there was a series of provocations between supporters groups in Zambezia, Sofala and Gaza. In Maquival, Zambezia, the mission witnessed Frelimo youth groups touring around with flags and posters at the RENAMO-UE rally.

In Gaza, the mission witnessed the release of a Frelimo hostage taken by RENAMO-UE supporters after they had been threatened by the ruling party's supporters. In Tete town four Frelimo supporters were beaten up by police and arrested by the police special forces while campaigning. According to Frelimo, the arrest was based on a mere suspicion on the part of the police that these people would instigate some trouble.

Provocations, threats and disturbances of other parties' rallies and caravans were observed in Gaza, Tete, and Cabo Delgado provinces. PAREDE, PARENA, UD Coalition reported

on campaign incidents involving provocateurs, allegedly organised by Frelimo outside of Maputo

It was observed many times that police performed in a biased way. Law enforcement was at times selective. When Frelimo supporters provoked disturbances the police tended to remain passive, while it acted on provocations by supporters of other parties; occasionally by arresting those (RENAMO-UE supporters in Gaza, Sofala, Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado, PDD supporters in Niassa and Gaza). RENAMO-UE claimed that local police does not react to their complaints.

The mission received copies of complains from RENAMO-UE and PDD. Complaints centered mainly on the arbitrary arrest of political delegates, cases of intimidation of political party representatives in the district electoral commissions. The majority of complaints received originated from the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Gaza. Neither the ruling party Frelimo nor the smaller parties running for elections have presented complaints to the Mission.

Tension between supporters decreased noticeably during the last campaign week and as a result the campaign ended in a more friendly atmosphere.

During the whole campaign, no political party handed over to the mission their events' programme. The reason given was the same for all parties with the exception of Frelimo, which did not give any reason at all: it was to avoid provocations from other parties' supporters, interruptions and incidents. For instance, PDD stated that fear of provocation was the reason why the party finally dedicated itself mostly to door to door and interpersonal activities.

Both men and women were active in campaigning. Usually women were more visibly involved through dancing and singing. In the northern areas with Muslim predominance of Nampula and Ilha de Moçambique rallies attracted 80% of men and only 20% of women. The same happened in Nampula city, Nampula east, Manica and Maputo city. Campaign events of PIMO presidential candidate Ya-Qub Sibindi were largely dominated by men.

In their contact with the parties at the Provincial level, the Mission encountered different attitudes and degrees of openness among the parties. Frelimo in general seemed to be much less comfortable with the presence in the field of the EU Observers than RENAMO-UE and other opposition parties. For instance, on November 1 in Niassa, Frelimo called a press conference on the campaign achievements and to plan the future agenda; EU observers could not participate because, it was said, "The Provincial direction of Frelimo Party thought it was not convenient for EU representatives to observe the press conference". RENAMO-UE usually contacted the EU EOM and was eager to give information and present its protests.

## 7. ELECTION DAYS

The 3<sup>rd</sup> multiparty election took place on 1 and 2 of December 2004 in a peaceful and orderly manner. During E-Days the EU EOM visited a total of 1,398 polling stations in 72 districts in all provinces of Mozambique

According to CNE 12,742 polling stations were to open in 11 electoral circles. For logistical reasons 37 polling stations did not open at all. In addition, a number of polling stations were reported to have been located elsewhere than expected by the voters and in some places voter registers were allegedly misallocated due to poor coordination by the electoral authorities.

For the first time out of country voting took place. Two new electoral circles – Africa and the Rest of the World - were added giving a total of 13 electoral circles. 60 polling stations were located abroad. Two new representatives to the parliament were thus elected.

The opening, voting and counting at polling stations was conducted mainly in an organised way and polling staff was committed and mostly well trained. Voters demonstrated a high degree of civic behaviour. No incidents were observed during election days. EU Observers were well received at the majority of polling stations visited and could freely observe. However, observers were not allowed to talk to the voters within a radius of 300 meters of each polling station.

The voter turnout was lower than in previous elections, 36,42%. Larger (though still quite low) numbers turned out mainly on the first day. On the first E-Day, CNE called the electorate to come to vote but this had little effect.

Logistics were a problem especially in the rural areas of the provinces of Zambezia, Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete. This was not due only to the rainy season but also to the late implementation of transport plans for delivery and collection of electoral material.

Allegedly a number of arrests were conducted during E-Days. In Gaza10 RENAMO-UE delegates were arrested on the grounds of using false credentials. In Nampula, in Angoche district, 8 RENAMO-UE delegates and 2 members were detained. In Nampula City 3 RENAMO-UE members were detained. In Inhambane, in Panda district, one RENAMO-UE delegate was reportedly arrested for carrying someone else accreditation. Reportedly, an imprecise number of RENAMO-UE delegates were also arrested in Sofala.

(For a complete overview of the EU EOM observation findings during E-Days, please see Annex 1)

### Opening of Polling Stations

The vast majority of the 113 polling stations observed for the opening, opened on time. According to CNE only 37 stations did not open at all mainly due to logistical problems or lack of voter lists in the provinces of Zambezia and Cabo Delgado representing 0,29% of polling stations in the country.

The numbers provided by the EU observers differ from the ones given by CNE which were reportedly in Zambezia, in Milange district a total of 18 PS did not open. 3 PS in Cabo Delgado, 8 in Niassa province, 8 PS in Gaza, including 5 in Chigubo district also did not open at all. There were also a uncertain number of polling stations that only opened on the second day of election.

82,8% of polling stations observed received complete polling kits and 100% were properly constituted with at least a President and vice-President. 98,3% of polling stations followed the opening procedures in accordance with the electoral law. A number of polling stations throughout the country were not provided with the proper ink pad for finger voting.

### **Voting procedures**

Over the two days of polling in 99% of Polling Stations observed, staff explained the voting procedures in a correct manner and in 97% of them at least one member spoke one of the local languages. Voter's fingers were checked before voting in at least 91,6% of polling stations observed and were properly marked with indelible ink after casting a ballot in slightly over 99%. The secrecy of the vote was respected in 98% and ballot boxes were properly sealed in 98% of cases observed.

Political party delegates, mainly from Frelimo and RENAMO-UE, were present at all polling stations visited and national or international observers were present in almost 40% of them. In some provinces, observers saw more than one delegate per party at PSs. Although only one party delegate per party was allowed by law, multiple Frelimo delegates were observed in Cabo Delgado, Zambezia Inhambane, while RENAMO-UE had more than one delegate per PS in Zambezia and Inhambane.

It was observed that voters whose names were not found on the voters lists, but had a voter card, were able to vote in accordance to CNE Directive 41. On the first election day, 2,7% of voters were not allowed to vote despite being registered and 8,1% voted without being registered. On the second day the numbers went down to 0,6% voters were not allowed to vote and 4,3% voters that voted without being registered. It was noted that ink pads were missing in some polling stations mainly in Maputo Province and Maputo City.

On the second day of the elections 100% of PSs observed opened on time. In 94,5% of places observed political party delegates spent the night close to the election material. Nevertheless RENAMO-UE reported that many of its party delegates were not allowed to spend the night next to the ballot boxes in some districts of Tete, Nampula, Cabo Delgado and Nampula. In all PSs observed ballot boxes were properly sealed for the night.

49,8% of observers rated polling on day one as good, 30% as OK and 20,2% as poor. On day two polling procedures improved and 78% rated polling as good, 21,1% as Ok and 0,9% as poor.

### **Closing and counting at Polling Stations**

Closing procedures of polling on the first and second day were conducted in a timely manner and voting materials were packed in a correct way in 75% of cases observed. Political party delegates from at least one party were present at 100% of polling stations at closing on day one. No election claims regarding polling on day one were observed. On day two and concerning polling and counting, 22,64% claims were observed to have been made but only 15,9% registered in polling stations minutes.

Closing procedures on day one were rated by observers as good in 89% of cases. On day two, and including counting at PSs, 67,31% of observers concluded they rated as good.

The preliminary count was observed at 55 PSs. The counting process was rated as good although very slow. Material conditions were not always the best as counting took place in many areas with no electricity nor tables or desks.

Political party delegates were present at all polling stations observed and received copies of the minutes of the preliminary results.

According to the electoral law, observers do not receive a copy of the PS electoral result sheets. Nevertheless EU observers took notice of results at the PSs observed for closing and, over the following days, also from many other PSs. These PSs results were later used to check PS results entered at provincial and central tabulation computer terminals.

## **8. TABULATION PROCESS**

### **Tabulation of results at the provinces**

Electoral observers are not entitled to receive copies of the result sheets. The days after elections, observers could write down results from the posted tally sheets posted outside the polling stations. These results were later compared to results entered in the data base for tabulation process. They were also analysed later on revealing that there had been ballot box stuffing in Tete, Niassa and Nampula.

After the request by observers to observe the tabulation process, the CPEs prepared an extra data terminal outside the computer room in each province. That arrangement permitted observers and party delegates to follow the entry of results per polling station.

The installation of the software in the CEPs was several days delayed and computer staff were trained at the same moment the software was installed. Electoral authorities at province level never gave any information about the reasons for delay, or information about other shortcomings during the process. Observers were in fact not allowed to talk to the electoral staff.



No breakdown of results by district was available contrary to the law. However it was possible to obtain accumulated results for the province. Print outs of both polling station results and province results were possible in almost all CPEs. At the end, observers received a copy of the final preliminary results of the province.

During that process it was possible to discover that the official number of polling stations did not match with the number in the databases that an unknown number of valid tally sheets were not accepted by the software; that in some cases, the codes of identification of “real” polling stations were not found in the database; that polling station result sheets from Changara, Tsangano (Tete province) and in Gaza province indicating results with very high turn-out figures, sometimes beyond 100%, in all cases, votes had been cast in favour of Frelimo candidate or the party sometimes with more than 90% were entered in the database as valid.

### **Tabulation at central level**

The same arrangements for observers and party delegates were made at STAE central. Observation took place in the same circumstances and subject to the same restrictions. Also the same shortcomings were found.

In sum, the tabulation process at provincial and central level was slow and marred by technical errors.

The EU EOM was able to follow that process until the end and the announcement of the final results by CNE, on December 21.

### **Reassessment of invalid votes**

Simultaneous to tabulation of results at central level, the CNE proceeded to the reassessment of invalid and contested votes as well as to the reassessment of rejected tally sheets.

Observers were allowed to observe only the reassessment of invalid votes, during periods of two hours per day. During the sessions of revalidation of votes, several cases were noted of apparently deliberately invalidated ballots; e.g. where ballots contained both, one clear cross and finger print for two candidates. Such cases occurred for example in Niassa and Tete provinces.

## **9. VALIDATION OF RESULTS BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL**

The Constitutional Council validated the election results presented by the National Election Commission and announced them on January 19.

All seven members voted in favor of validation. One of the RENAMO appointed judge, despite validating the results, presented a dissenting opinion. In his declaration he pointed out that 699

presidential and 731 legislative results sheets were not accounted for even though election preparation, financial means, human and material resources existed one year before these elections took place. In the province of Cabo Delgado 20% of result sheets were not processed. The judge did not accept CNE explanations for these unaccounted results sheets. He stressed that CNE did not correct existing irregularities and if this would had been done according to the existing legal instruments, distribution of legislative seats could have be different.

He further highlighted the unprofessional and deficient voter registration process and voter registers, the deficient tabulation software used, the unprofessional and poor organisation of suffrage by CNE. All these irregularities were largely known and led him to the conclusion that elections were free but not transparent not fair.

In fact CC could have demanded detailed explanations from the CNE for the many known shortcomings, irregularities and illegalities of the electoral process (ie. ballot stuffing, missing and rejected results sheets, excess of polling station in data base, hand made changes to provincial tabulation results sheets, high number of invalid ballots at particular polling stations, omission of district result sheets, etc.)

In its validation decision CC preferred to accept election results based on the large difference of votes between presidential candidates thus ignoring the fact that the correction of many of these faults could eventually alter the final distribution of parliament seats.

In the opinion of EU EOM, the large difference of results between Frelimo and RENAMO-UE, is not *per se* a legitimate criterion for the exoneration of the electoral authorities for their lack of accountability and sometimes illegal conduct of election administration.

## **Results**

According to the CNE for the legislative elections, the winning political party, Frelimo, obtained the great majority of votes, 1,889.054 votes corresponding to 62,03% of the total. The second largest party RENAMO-UE obtained 905.289 votes, corresponding to 29,73% of the total. The third party, PDD, obtained 60,758 votes which corresponds to 2,00% of the total.

From those results only two parties are represented in the Parliament. From the 250 seats in the Parliament, Frelimo obtained 160 seats and RENAMO-UE, 90 seats.

Frelimos candidate for the presidency, Mr. Armando Emilio Guebuza obtained 63,74% of the votes 2.004.226 votes, becoming consequently the new President of the Republic of Mozambique. In second place, RENAMO-UE candidate, Mr. Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama, obtained 31,74% of the total 998,059 votes.

## **10. COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS**

CNE and STAE actions and decisions can be contested within the electoral management structure. The administrative remedy follows the internal hierarchy – from district election commissions to provincial and national election commission. The CNE cascade structure of

claims and appeals presented at district and provincial level was difficult to follow due to lack of an organised information system. Hardly any claim could be followed. Also complaints lodged with the national election administration are not registered. It would be advisable to develop a register at (including district, provincial and national level) to keep track of complaints and protests. The current process is opaque.

The election claims and appeals system is regulated in the electoral law (Law 7/2004) and in the law creating CNE (Law 20/2002). As a first step, claims have to be presented to the National Election Commissions. Electoral matters have to be decided by the electoral commission (district, provincial or national) within 48 hours. Again the administrative remedy follows the internal hierarchy.

CNE decisions can be appealed to the Constitutional Council (CC). The CC is the last level of appellate review in electoral matters and its decisions are final.

Any illegal electoral act has to be forwarded by the election commissions – district, provincial and national - to the public prosecutors office for proper action.

On 28 December RENAMO-UE presented a complaint to CNE concerning electoral irregularities detected during election days. In a 108 page document the opposition party argued that acts of intimidation, arbitrary imprisonment of delegates, threats of voters by armed police officers, disappearance and exchange of voter registers, fraudulent invalidation ballot papers during counting by polling station members and replacement of ballot boxes took place. Several election irregularities in provinces such as Tete, Gaza, Niassa, Inhambane, Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Manica and Zambezia are mentioned.

CNE without further analyzing the complaint passed it onto the Constitutional Council. The CC returned the document to CNE arguing that, according to the law, CNE has to decide on these complaints before they can be appealed to the CC.

On January 3, CNE decided to dismiss RENAMO-UE complaint. In its decision, CNE argued that the complaint is invalid for it should have been brought before January 21 when national tabulation finished. Another argument for dismissal was the contradiction between the plea and the basis of the plea – CNE held that the non acceptance of the announcement of results by RENAMO-UE bears no connection with the request for annulment of the election process and the holding of fresh elections. In fact CC argument is clear from a legal point of view and reflects the plaintiff's poor knowledge of the appeals procedure.

In the same decision, and after having rejected the appeal, CNE on its initiative analysed the claimant's arguments for annulment. Among many arguments, RENAMO-UE referred to those polling stations with over a 100% turnout in the provinces of Niassa and Tete but failed to present the polling station results sheets or the identification number of those polling stations or prove that a claim was presented at that particular polling station. In addition CNE explained that result sheets with over a 100% of turnout were automatically rejected by the tabulation system. This explanation was incorrect. The EU EOM observed that results of some of those polling

stations with over a 100% turnout were introduced at central provisional tabulation, and could be called upon the computer terminal screens at CNE.

RENAMO-UE appealed to the Constitutional Council on January 10. On January 17 the CC issued a final decision in which it rejected the appeal on grounds that the party had failed the legal deadline – ending on January 7 - for lodging the petition. In fact RENAMO-UE presented the appeal on January 10, arguing it was only notified on January 5. Even if that were the case, the legal deadline would have expired on January 8.

On December 28 party PIMO (Independent Party of Mozambique) and, on December 30, the opposition coalitions FAO (Enlarged Opposition Front) and MBG (Movement for Change and Good Governance) presented claims to CNE demanding the invalidation of the process of tabulation of results and, as a consequence, the repetition of elections at national level. All claims were rejected by CNE due to lack of proof presented by the claimants. CNE dismissed these claims as being a political exercise rather than a legal challenge.

PIMO, FAO and MBG appealed to the Constitutional Council only to be dismissed again on grounds that the petition was defective and did not present the required proof.

The party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) presented an appeal to the Constitutional Council. PDD demanding that elections should be held in those areas where, due to technical problems identified by the electoral administration, elections did not take place. The Constitutional Council rejected the demand with the argument that electoral claims have to be presented at first hand to the CNE. The legal term for presenting the claim to CNE had expired by then.

## 11. MEDIA

### The Media landscape

The Mozambican media sector is lively, given the number of media organisations operating in the country, even though they are mainly based in Maputo. Among the print media *Notícias* leads in terms of readership. The provincial radio services of *Rádio Moçambique* are the most prominent media in the provinces. However, despite few owners of TV sets, television remains an important source of information thanks to places for collective viewing that can be found in markets and in other locations accessible to the public.

Print media. The only two printed Mozambican dailies are *Notícias* with a circulation of about 20,000 copies and *Diário de Moçambique* published in Beira and purchasable elsewhere in the country. The main shareholders of the private company owning *Notícias* and its Sunday edition *Domingo* are state-controlled entities. *Diário de Moçambique* belongs to a private group allegedly close to Frelimo's candidate Guebuza. Another private group is called *Mediacoop* owns the weekly *Savana* (about 10,000 copies) and a newspaper distributed via fax and email called *MediaFax*. There are four other periodicals that transmit daily editions electronically: Renamo-

UE controls one of them *Imparcial*. Others weekly newspapers which are worth to be mentioning are: *Zambeze*, *O Embondeiro*, *Demos* and *O País*.

Electronic media. The most important source of information is the public broadcaster *Rádio Moçambique*, which covers virtually the whole country and transmits in Portuguese, English and 19 national languages. In addition to it there are almost 37 non-profit community-based radio stations mainly public or belonging to the Catholic Church. The international radio channels BBC and RFI transmit in FM in the main towns and have Portuguese slots. The Mozambican public television *TVM*, the Portuguese public broadcaster *RTP Africa (Rádiatelevisão Portuguesa)*, and the private television *STV* (only broadcasting in Maputo area), all accessible to viewers on an open channel, dominate the Mozambican TV market.

### Legal framework for the Media

The Constitution of Mozambique (approved and enacted in November 1990), in Article 74, generally assures “*the right to freedom of expression and to freedom of the press as well as the right to information*”. The same guarantee is present in the newly adopted Constitution (November 2004) in its Article 47.

The Law n. 18/91 (10 August 1991) better defines rights and duties for the media, and especially envisages the creation of a Supreme Mass Media Council (*Conselho Superior da Comunicação Social*), the regulatory body which is entrusted to guarantee press freedom and the public's right to information, and which has been established in 1992. The Law n. 18/91, in its Article 12, also requires public broadcaster to provide parties running for elections with equal and regular airtime (*Tempo de Antena*) in accordance to the Electoral Law.

The new Electoral Law (Law n. 7/2004) authorises the CNE to publish instructions to regulate free of charge airtime on public radio and television broadcasters for Candidates to the Presidential Elections and for parties and coalitions running in the Assembly Elections (Art. 29). On 29 September the CNE issued regulations n. 41/2004, and disposed that *Tempo de Antena* must be broadcast during appropriate timing (Art. 11) and must be equal in time to all contesters (Art. 3). A lottery to organise the sequence of the candidates' airtime has to take place at least five days before the start of the campaign (Art. 8). Programmes must be pre-recorded and submitted to broadcasters at least four hours before transmission time (Art. 6), and would be accountable for contents to candidates only (Art. 5).

Article 12 states that candidates for the Presidential Elections, and parties and coalitions running in the Assembly Elections, must be provided with fifteen minutes per week on Mozambican Television (TVM), with five minutes per day on the national radio station of *Rádio Moçambique*, and with five minutes per day on its provincial based radio stations.

The instructions regarding *Tempo de Antena* were properly implemented by the public media and no objections were raised about this, neither officially, nor un-officially.

According to CSCS President, Mrs. Julieta Langa, only one complaint against the media was raised with her office, and this was brought by Frelimo against the daily fax-newspaper *Imparcial*.

In general, it should be noted that the legal framework for the media fails to regulate the political communication of the public media in the periods outside the electoral campaign. Such regulation is advisable to guarantee a transparency and accountability towards the citizens. It also fails to

provide clear and strict directives regulating the News political coverage, both of public and private electronic media outlets, during the campaign period, which would be desirable to prevent biased and unfair coverage of the political contenders.

### **Media Monitoring Findings (see Annex 2)**

The campaign reports started in the media as parties and candidates started their activity in the whole country. The State TV and Radio daily broadcast informative programs (*Diário de Campanha*) to report to the audience about parties' campaign activities that took place all over the country. *Diário de Campanha* covered activities of all the parties and candidates running for elections.

The private TV channel STV has also been closely following the campaign with daily reports broadcast within the news editions, and with a special program called *Eleições Gerais 2004*.

The state controlled daily newspaper *Notícias* devoted three to four pages every day to the campaign activities taking place in all the country provinces. Similar coverage was provided in the second Mozambican daily: *Diário de Moçambique*. The weekly newspapers (namely *Savana*, *Zambeze*, *O Embondeiro*, *Demos*, *Domingo* and *O País*) were, as usual for this kind of periodical, devoted more to political analysis rather than reporting on the campaign events.

In general, meetings and talks with Mozambican media representatives in Maputo show a country with a sufficient degree of freedom of expression; journalists appear to enjoy a certain level of liberty and independence while performing their activities. However, a lack of professionalism (especially in the Provinces) and a still underdeveloped media market remain a major obstacles to further development.

The Media Monitoring Team (formed by four media monitors) started its activities on 17 October, the day of the starting of the electoral campaign. The following are the media outlets that were monitored throughout of the Mission:

#### Electronic Media (monitored 8 hours per day from 16h00 to 24h00)

*TVM* (National TV of Mozambique);

*STV* (Main private TV station);

*RM* (National Radio Station of Mozambique).

Print Media (All issues available from 17 October till E-Day)

*Notícias* (daily newspaper);

*Diário de Moçambique* (daily newspaper);

*Savana* (weekly newspaper);

*Zambeze* (weekly newspaper);

*Domingo* (weekly newspaper);

*Demos* (weekly newspaper);

*O País* (weekly newspaper);

*O Embondeiro* (weekly newspaper).

#### Electronic Media

Public Media.

EU EOM Media Monitoring shows that coverage given to the different political forces by the public media (*Rádio Moçambique* and *TVM*) has been in general balanced even if the incumbent party benefitted from greater coverage (although within acceptable parameters).

The News editions and the special broadcast for elections called *Diário de Campanha*, tried to cover the campaign activities of all parties or coalitions in all provinces. Naturally the more active parties or candidates received, of course, the widest coverage. Nevertheless, all parties received adequate coverage of their activities. In TVM's *Diário de Campanha* the President, Government and Frelimo received 48% of total air time, while, between the main opposition parties, Renamo-UE received 23%, PDD 14%, PIMO and MBG 3% each.

In *Rádio Moçambique's Diário de Campanha* coverage was even more balanced: the President, Government and Frelimo received 39%, Renamo-UE 24%, PDD 17%, PIMO 5% and MBG 4%.

Less balanced, but still within fully acceptable limits, was the coverage provided by the public electronic media in their News editions. In TVM the President, Government and Frelimo received in total 53% of air time and in Radio Mozambique's similar broadcasts its total percentage was of 45%. The tone of the coverage in the public media has been, in general, neutral or positive.

The direct speech time (voice on air) provided to party representatives closely reflected that for total air time.

TVM and *Rádio Moçambique* also broadcast other programmes devoted to voter information. In one of them (broadcast by TVM) representatives of the parties were invited to discuss different electoral issues and all were given equal amounts of time to answer journalists' questions. However the presence of a very high number of guests (one per each of the parties or coalitions running for elections) and the fact that the main party leaders did not participate in the program, made the programme quite unappealing to the audience. Public Radio broadcast a program where representatives of the parties were separately invited to present their party's platforms to the audience and also were required to answer questions from the public.

The public media did not provide an opportunity for the main presidential candidates to participate in between the main President face-to-face debate, thus missing a good chance to allow the voters a more informed choice on Election Day.

- Other Electronic Media.

The privately owned STV station, broadcasting only in Maputo area, naturally focused on electoral coverage in this zone only. STV's news showed similar coverage to the public media during the campaign period with the following percentages of air time: President, Government and Frelimo 53%, Renamo-UE 16%, PDD 9%, Pimo 4%, MBG 4% and PT 5%.

#### Printed Media

Daily printed media, particularly *Notícias*, provided extensive coverage of campaign activities; while weekly newspapers were devoted more to the political analysis, showing a sufficient variety of point of view.

*Notícias* provided coverage of the electoral campaign activities with the percentage of space given to the political contestants quite similar to the public electronic media through slightly more in favour of Frelimo (President, Government and Frelimo 57%, Renamo 19%, PDD 10%, PIMO 4% and MBG 2%). The second daily Mozambican newspaper of, *Diário de Moçambique*, reported in a similar way with the President, Government and Frelimo together receiving 58% of the coverage, Renamo 28% and PDD 9%. Out of the six monitored weekly newspapers *Zambeze* seems to have been the most balanced (Position 43% of space and Renamo 35%), followed by *O Embondeiro* and *Savana*, which have been to some extent critical toward the present Government.

## The campaign in the Media

The main issues of the campaign.

From the charts in Annex 1 on the main topics of the campaign in the printed and electronic media, it appears that politicians were mainly worried about the logistical and organisational aspects of the elections. In their interviews to the media they mostly expressed concerns about the election organisation. The EU EOM in particular was a regular topic in their talks, particularly as regards the observation of vote counting and tabulation. Between the other issues, apparently the most relevant to candidates were *economy/industry/tourism* and *education*. very little attention was given to questions related to *taxes* and *children*; surprisingly none to the gender issue.

- Political advertising (paid space) in the newspapers

Only three parties bought space for party advertisements in the newspapers monitored: Frelimo bought 65% of the total paid space, PDD 34% and Renamo-UE only 1%. The newspapers most used for the party advertising were the weekly papers: of the total paid space only 6% was bought in the daily *Notícias* and nothing in the other daily *Diário de Moçambique*. Quite surprisingly, Frelimo decided to buy the majority of its advertising from newspapers which were more critical toward the party: 34% in *Zambeze*, 30% in *Savana* and 14% in *O Embondeiro*. PDD bought the majority of its paid space at the very beginning of the campaign, mainly to present the new party platform to the voters.

Finally, it is worth noting the role played by outgoing President Chissano: after a keeping a low profile during the first week of campaign, he turned out as one of the most vigorous promoters of Frelimo candidate Guebuza, getting deeply involved in the campaign of the party.

## Visibility of the EU EOM

Since its arrival in Mozambique the EU EOM was in the spotlight in the local media on a daily basis, due to the lack of agreement, between EU and the CNE on a Memorandum of Understanding regarding the terms for observation. In sum, pro government media and the CNE, through its spokesperson used the argument of interference in the sovereignty of the state when the Mission made a request to observe all steps of the process, and accused it of forcing the authorities to break the electoral law. Pro opposition media and some independent journalists defended the right of the EU EOM to have access to tabulation and counting.. Despite several defamatory statements about the EU EOM's intentions and constant pressure from the media towards the Mission in order to obtain further information, the mission adopted a low profile and the only public information were the official statements and declarations made by the Chief Observer. International media also followed the situation with interest.

Indeed the EU EOM was one of the main election related issues for the Mozambican media during the whole campaign, polling and post-electoral period. Misinterpretations of the EU EOM position were common served to polarize the political debate, making the EU Mission an issue of the political contest against its will. Within this context, the visibility of the EU EOM was very high, though not for the right reasons.

## 12. ELECTORAL OBSERVATION

While the European Commission concluded a Memorandum of Understanding on election observation, agreement on a Memorandum of Understanding in accordance with standard



practice was never reached with the CNE. This was mainly due the lack of agreement on access to tabulation of results at all levels.

The main argument used by CNE in restricting the access of observers to tabulation of results as well as to the re-qualification of invalid and protested votes and of tally sheets, was the lack of such access in the relevant Mozambican legislation. In their view the electoral law prohibits access to the intermediate provincial and national tabulation process.

Meaningful election observation has to cover all aspects that could be relevant to the elections process. The issue of counting and tabulation is relevant and was very contested in the last general elections in Mozambique.

The spirit of the electoral law is to promote transparency allowing for national and international observation (art.9 and annex on observation) without any specific restrictions. The regulation for Observation of Elections 2004 issued by CNE was also clear that the electoral process can be subject to observation.

The electoral law defines election observation as the act of verifying, following and evaluating the actions of the electoral process. Election related actions can be subject to observation by national or international entities as regulated by CNE (art.9; definition in annex). The electoral law refers to election observation in several of its articles (art. 65.3, 70.2, 3, 104, 112 and 138) without ever mentioning areas where observation is banned.

The CNE is tasked to implement the elections law. It further defined election observation in its Regulation for Observation: "A conscious, genuine, responsible and impartial verification of the different steps and actions of the electoral process" (art.1). Furthermore it specifies that election observation begins with the start of the political campaign and finishes with the announcement of final results (art.3). The Regulation also refers, in its art. 2, to the universal principles and rules of observation that have to be respected.

The Regulation for Observation points out that observation consists in following the election campaign, following and observing the election process and observing and verifying the electoral actions (art.4). The Regulation is clear in allowing for observation of all aspects of the process.

CNE decided to extend , along the electoral process, the framework for election observation. CNE issued Directive 77 just 15 days before elections in which it called on universal principles of election observation (art.25) and underlined the respect for national laws. In this Directive CNE decided to allow election observation only of polling and counting at polling stations (n.31), the observation and following of election materials from district to provincial elections commissions (art.49) and access to provincial and central tabulation through computer terminals (art.63, 72). Furthermore CNE opened the reassessment process of invalid votes to observation.

With Directive 77, CNE clearly limited observation to a few stages of the electoral process. All other steps of the process were off limits for observers. This restriction decided by CNE collided with the wider spirit of the electoral law which is highly regrettable.

Besides the legal framework support to observation, Mozambique has adopted SADCs Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections and the AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa. Both stress the role of observation as guarantee of the transparency of the electoral process.

The EU EOM considers that although a few steps towards transparency were taken, such as allowing partial observation of the reassessment of invalid votes, full observation was denied. CNE restricted the free mobilization of observers, as established in the law, by not granting nation wide accreditation to all observers (only in 3 provinces for LTOs). CNE severely hampered the work of the observers by not giving pertinent and accurate information on the different steps of the elections process, by not giving explanation about actions taken especially regarding shortcomings and irregularities found related to the database used for tabulation of results. Finally, overall CNE demonstrated a spirit of non-cooperation which was transmitted to some CNE in the provinces.

In practice this resulted in several steps of the process not being subject to national or international observation: at provincial level all technical steps of the intermediate tabulation process such as the reception of electoral material, the validation of received polling station result sheets, the provincial aggregation of results by district. At the central level, the reception and validation of result sheets.

### **Collaboration with other Electoral Observation Missions**

The elections were observed by numerous other missions, such as the African Union, the Southern African Development Community, the Commonwealth, the Carter Center, the Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA) and local observers such as the 'Observatorio Eleitoral'. Co-operation with all groups was constructive. All groups shared the same position regarding access to all relevant information and the conclusions on the election process were similar.



**EUROPEAN UNION**  
**ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION**  
**Mozambican Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2004**  
**LTO Consolidation Form - Observation of Opening - Day 1 - FORM A**

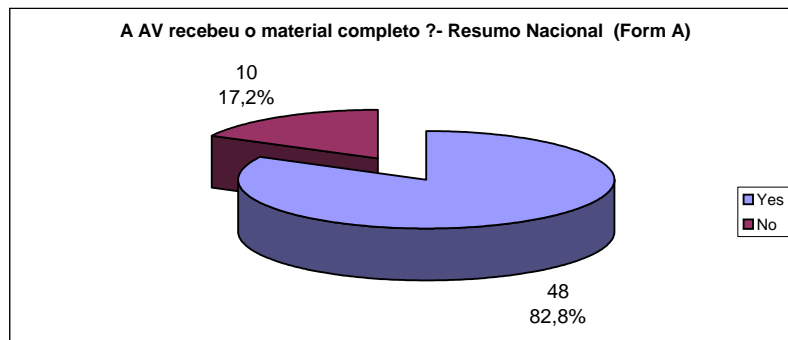
Province: Resumo Nacional

LTOs: \_\_\_\_\_

Questions		TOTAL				
		Form	Yes	Yes(%)	No	No(%)
1	A Assembleia de Voto (AV) recebeu o material completo?	58	48	82,8%	10	17,24%
2	A AV foi constituída com um presidente/vice presidente?	58	58	100,0%	0	0,00%
3	A Assembleia de Voto foi constituída por quantos membros?	0				
4	A que horas abriu a Assembleia de Voto?	58				
7.00-7.30			54	93,1%		
7.30.8.00			3	5,2%		
8.00-8.30			1	1,7%		
5	Todos os procedimentos de abertura foram respeitados?	58	57	98,3%	1	1,72%
6	Classifique o processo da Votação	58				
Poor			1	1,7%		
Ok			12	20,7%		
Good			45	77,6%		

**Gráficos**  
**Estatísticos**

*A Assembleia de Voto (AV) recebeu o material completo?*



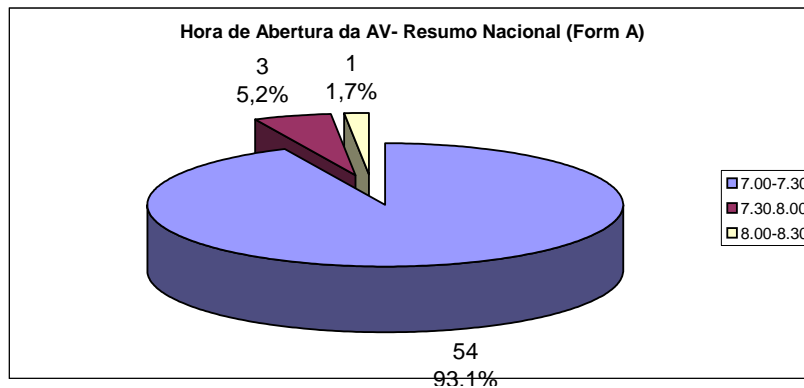
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	48	82,8%
No	10	17,2%

A AV foi constituída com um presidente/vice presidente?



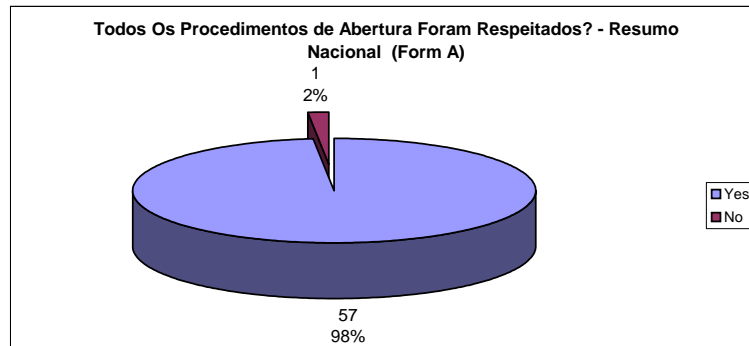
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	58	100,0%
No	0	0,0%

A que horas abriu a Assembleia de Voto?



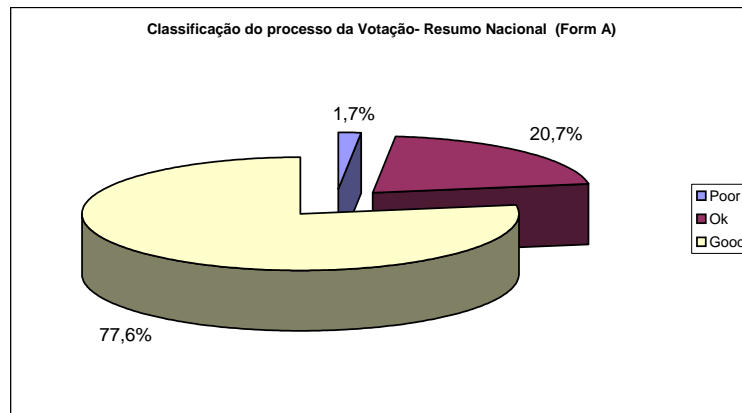
Horas	No de AV	%
7.00-7.30	54	93,1%
7.30-8.00	3	5,2%
8.00-8.30	1	1,7%

*Todos os procedimentos de abertura foram respeitados?*



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	57	98,3%
No	1	1,7%

*Classifique o processo da Votação*

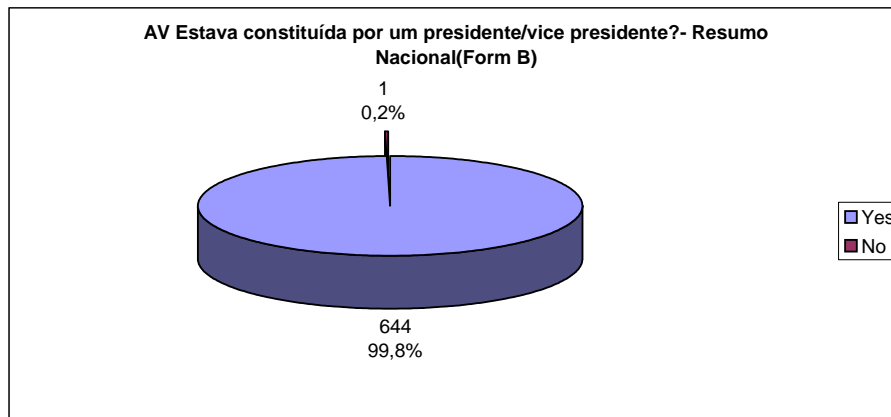


Classificação	%
Poor	1,7%
Ok	20,7%
Good	77,6%

4	Estão os materiais da Assembleia de Voto completos?	645	567	87,9%	78
5	Está a urna devidamente selada?	645	636	98,6%	9
6	De que data são o/os caderno/s eleitoral/ais nesta Assembleia?	1144			
1999			453	39,6%	
2003			368	32,2%	
2004			323	28,2%	
7	É o caderno desta mesa um caderno transcrito?	627	74	11,8%	553
8	Algum eleitor votou sem estar registado nalgum dos cadernos eleitorais?	504	41	8,1%	463
9	Algum eleitor foi impedido de votar mesmo estando registado nalgum dos cadernos eleitorais?	637	17	2,7%	620
10	Verifica-se se os eleitores têm o dedo marcado de tinta indelével antes de votar?	630	577	91,6%	53
11	O presidente da Assembleia de Voto mostra aos eleitores a maneira correcta de dobrar o boletim de voto?	640	634	99,1%	6
12	Marca-se devidamente o dedo dos eleitores de tinta depois de votar?	640	634	99,1%	6
13	É respeitado o segredo de voto?	640	632	98,8%	8
14	Há delegados de partidos políticos presentes dentro da Assembleia de Voto?	2182			
<b>Frelimo</b>			637	29,2%	
<b>Renamo</b>			555	25,4%	
<b>PDD</b>			380	17,4%	
<b>PIMO</b>			210	9,6%	
<b>MBG</b>			198	9,1%	
<b>Other</b>			202	9,3%	
15	Há observadores nacionais/internacionais presentes na AV?	645	241	37,4%	404
16	Observou algum tipo de propaganda política dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300m?	645	27	4,2%	618
17	Observou algum tipo de pressão sobre os eleitores dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300m?	645	1	0,2%	644
18	Observou alguns incidentes dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300 metros?	645	3	0,5%	642
19	Classifique o processo da Votação	1030			
<b>Poor</b>			208	20,2%	
<b>Ok</b>			309	30,0%	
<b>Good</b>			513	49,8%	

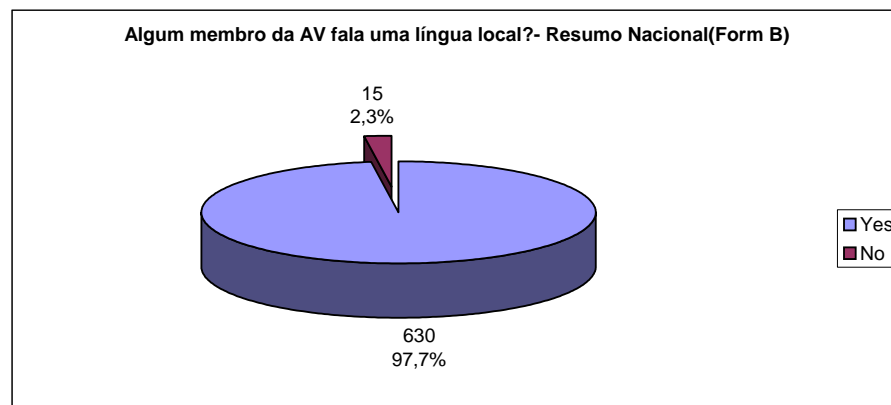
**Graficos Estatísticos**

Está a AV constituída por um presidente/vice presidente?



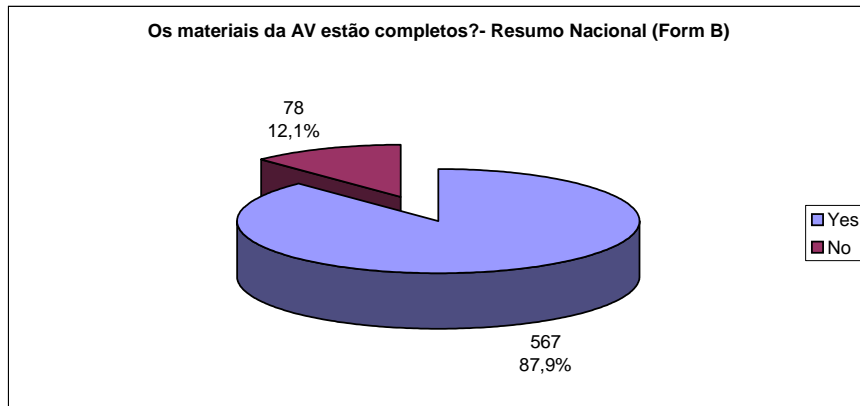
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	644	99,8%
No	1	0,2%

Algum membro da AV fala uma língua local?



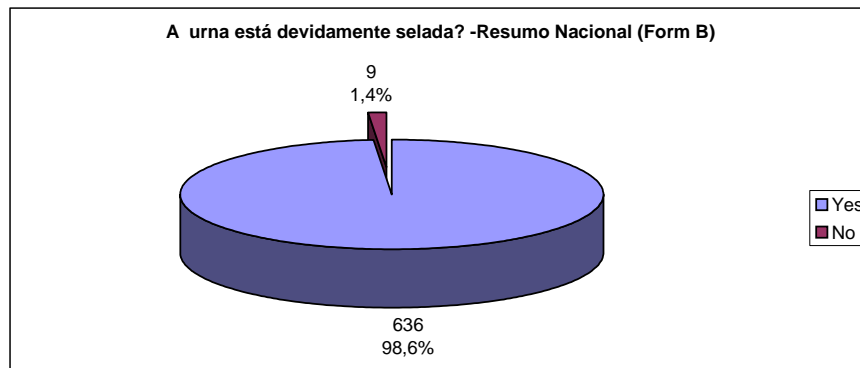
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	630	97,7%
No	15	2,3%

*Estão os materiais da Assembleia de Voto completos?*



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	567	87,9%
No	78	12,1%

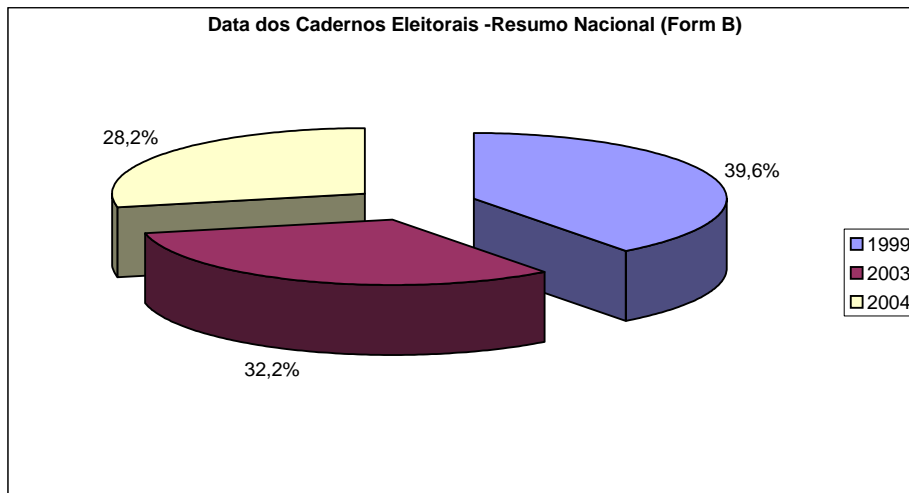
*Está a urna devidamente selada?*



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	636	98,6%
No	9	1,4%

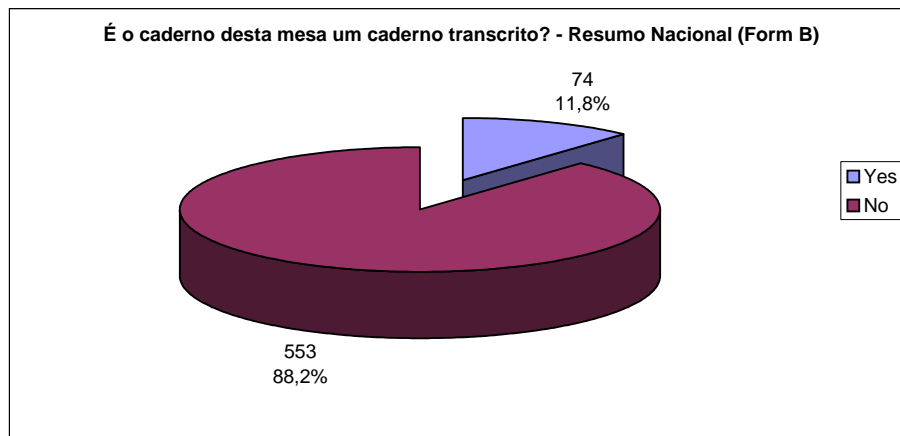


*De que data são o/os caderno/s eleitoral/ais nesta Assembleia?*



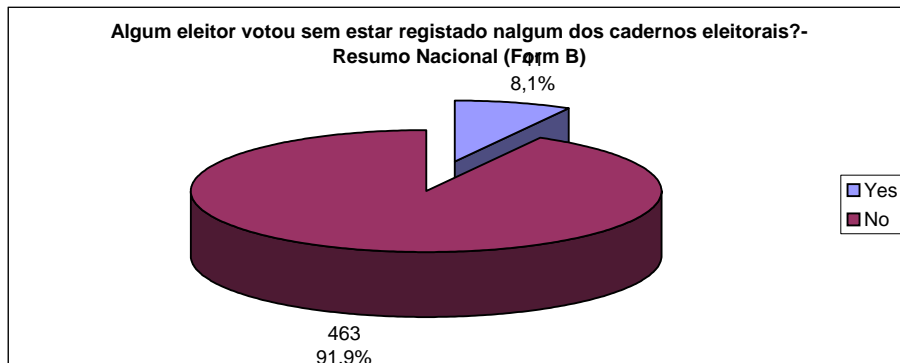
Ano	%
1999	39,6%
2003	32,2%
2004	28,2%

*É o caderno desta mesa um caderno transcrito?*



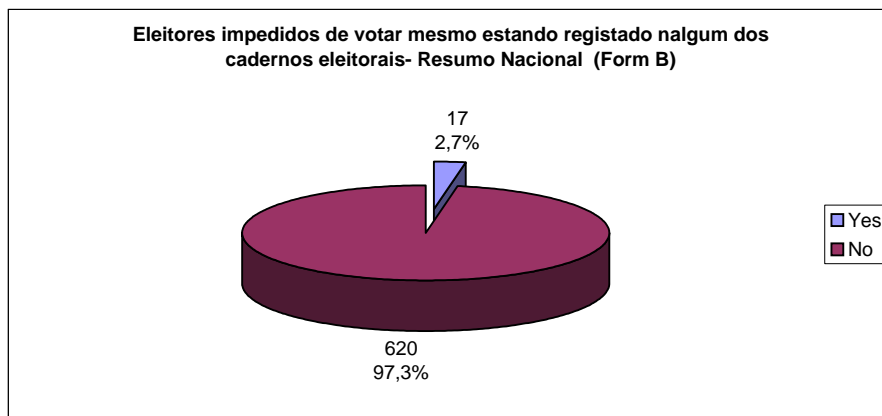
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	74	11,8%
No	553	88,2%

*Algum eleitor votou sem estar registado nalgum dos cadernos eleitorais?*



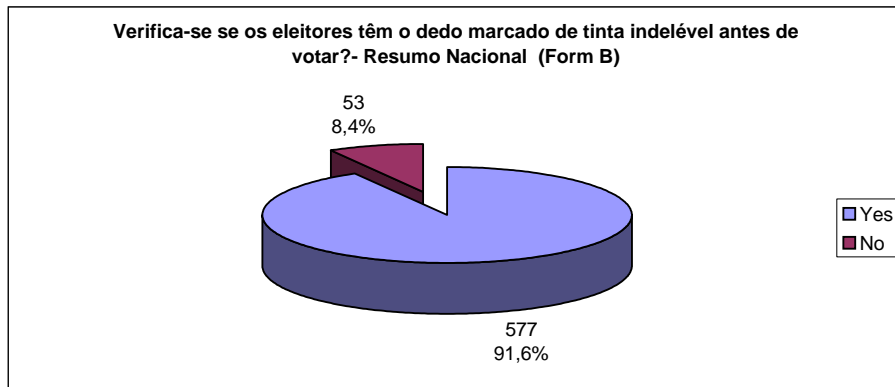
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	41	8,1%
No	463	91,9%

*Algum eleitor foi impedido de votar mesmo estando registado nalgum dos cadernos eleitorais?*



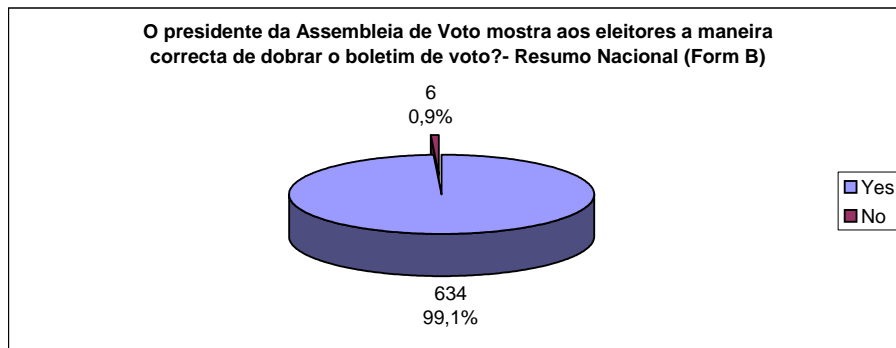
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	17	2,67%
No	620	97,33%

*Verifica-se se os eleitores têm o dedo marcado de tinta indelével antes de votar?*



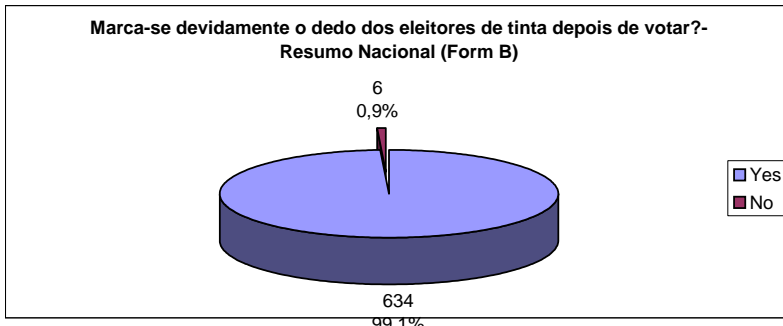
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	577	91,6%
No	53	8,4%

*O presidente da Assembleia de Voto mostra aos eleitores a maneira correcta de dobrar o boletim de voto?*



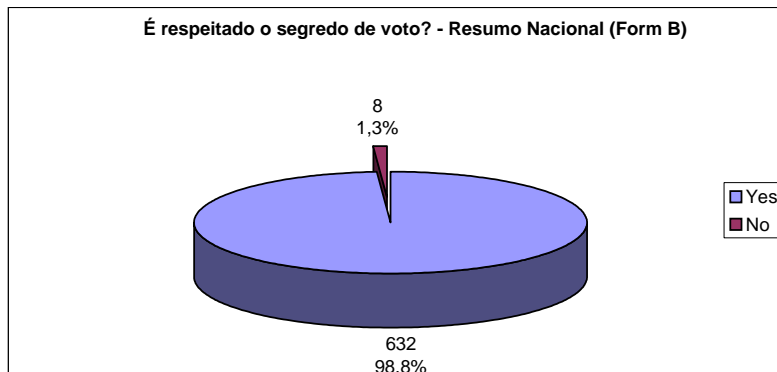
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	634	99,1%
No	6	0,9%

*Marca-se devidamente o dedo dos eleitores de tinta depois de votar?*



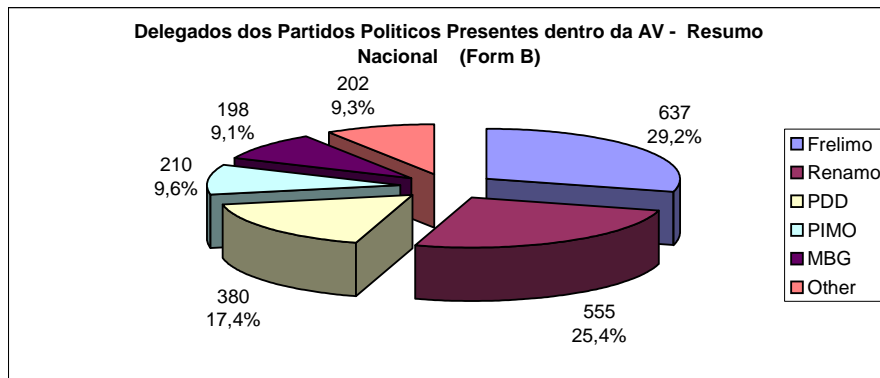
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	634	99,1%
No	6	0,9%

*É respeitado o segredo de voto?*



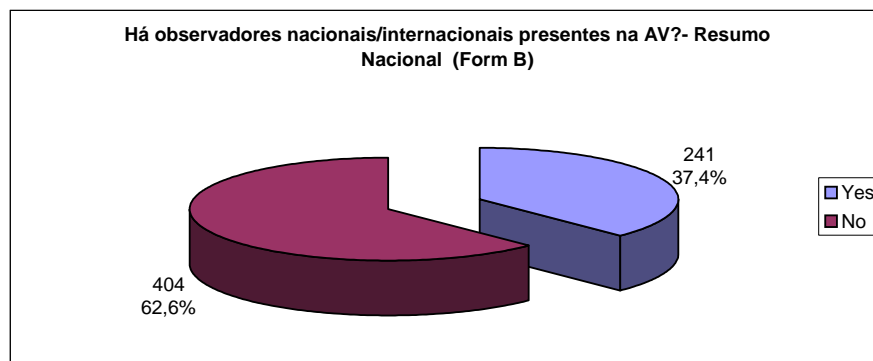
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	632	98,8%
No	8	1,3%

*Há delegados de partidos políticos presentes dentro da Assembleia de Voto?*



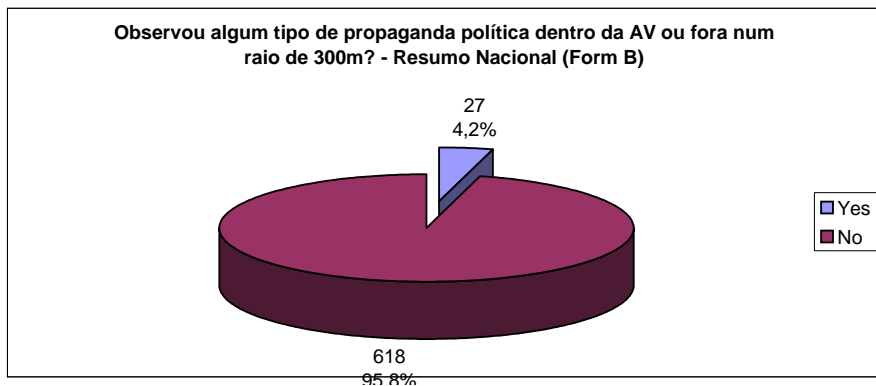
Partido	Delegados Presentes	%
Frelimo	637	29,2%
Renamo	555	25,4%
PDD	380	17,4%
PIMO	210	9,6%
MBG	198	9,1%
Other	202	9,3%
Total	2182	100,0%

*Há observadores nacionais/internacionais presentes na AV?*



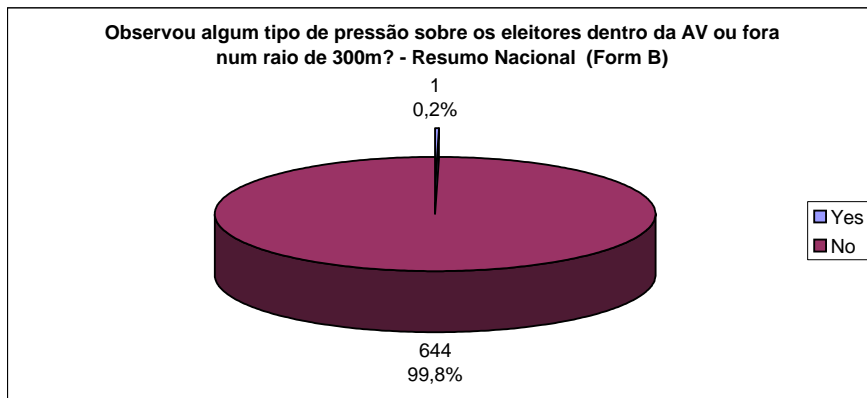
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	241	37,4%
No	404	62,6%

*Observou algum tipo de propaganda política dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300m?*



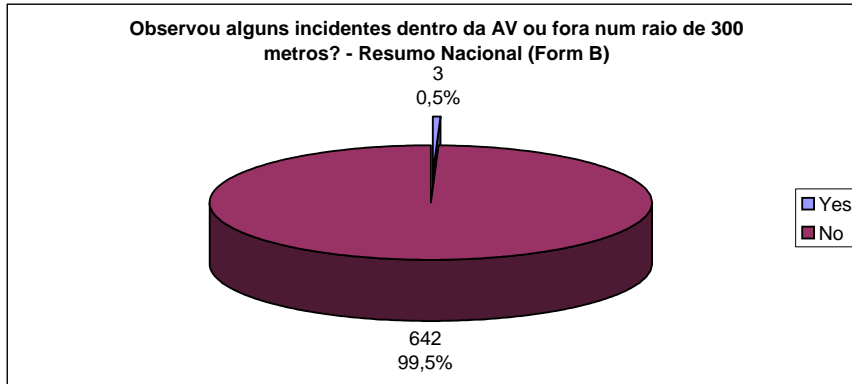
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	27	4,2%
No	618	95,8%

*Observou algum tipo de pressão sobre os eleitores dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300m?*



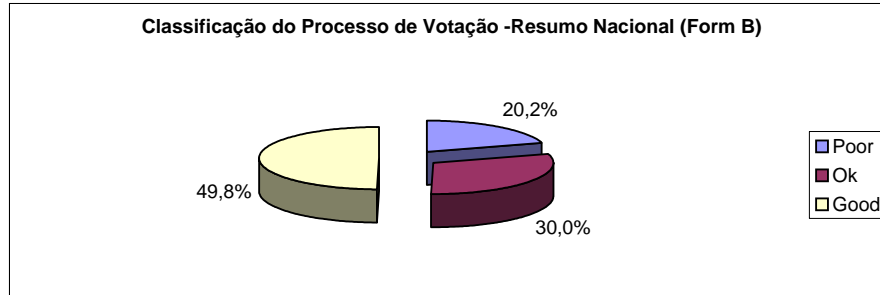
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	1	0,2%
No	644	99,8%

Observou alguns incidentes dentro da AV ou fora num raio de 300 metros?



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	0,5%
No	642	99,5%

Classifique o processo da Votação



Classificação	%
Poor	20,2%
Ok	30,0%
Good	49,8%



EUROPEAN UNION  
ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION  
Mozambican Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2004  
LTO Consolidation of Closing - Day 1 - Form C

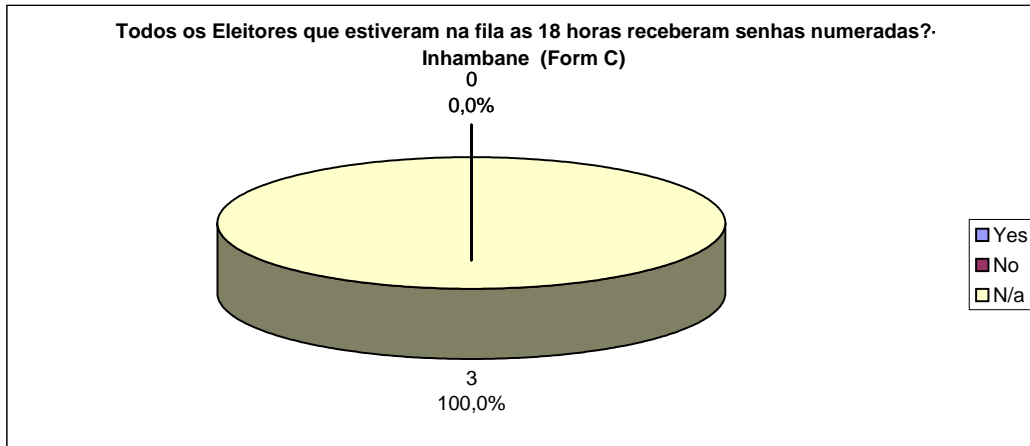
Province: Inhambane  
LTOs: M. GLAMBONINI

Questions		TOTAL				
		Form	Yes	Yes (%)	No	No(%)
1	Todos os eleitores que estavam na fila às 18 horas receberam senhas numeradas?	3	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
2	Estavam delegados de partidos políticos presentes na AV no processo de encerramento?	3	3	100,00%		0,00%
		8				
<b>Frelimo</b>			3	37,50%		
<b>Renamo</b>			3	37,50%		
<b>PDD</b>			2	25,00%		
<b>PIMO</b>			0	0,00%		
<b>MBG</b>			0	0,00%		
<b>Other</b>			0	0,00%		
3	Houve reclamações dos delegados de partidos políticos?	3	0	0,00%	3	100,00%
4	As reclamações dos delegados de partidos políticos foram registadas na acta?	3	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
5	A Assembleia de Voto fechou às 18 horas?	3	3	100,00%	0	0,00%
6	Foram as urnas seladas?	3	3	100,00%	0	0,00%
7	Foi o número do selo de cada urna anotado?	3	3	100,00%	0	0,00%
8	Foram os boletins de voto não utilizados guardados em sacos invioláveis assinados pelos delegados dos partidos?	3	3	100,00%	0	0,00%
9	Foram os sacos invioláveis e o outro material sensível guardados no Kit com um cadeado?	3	2	66,67%	1	33,33%
10	Classifique o processo de encerramento	3		0,0%		
<b>Poor</b>			0	0,00%		
<b>Ok</b>			1	33,33%		
<b>Good</b>			2	66,67%		



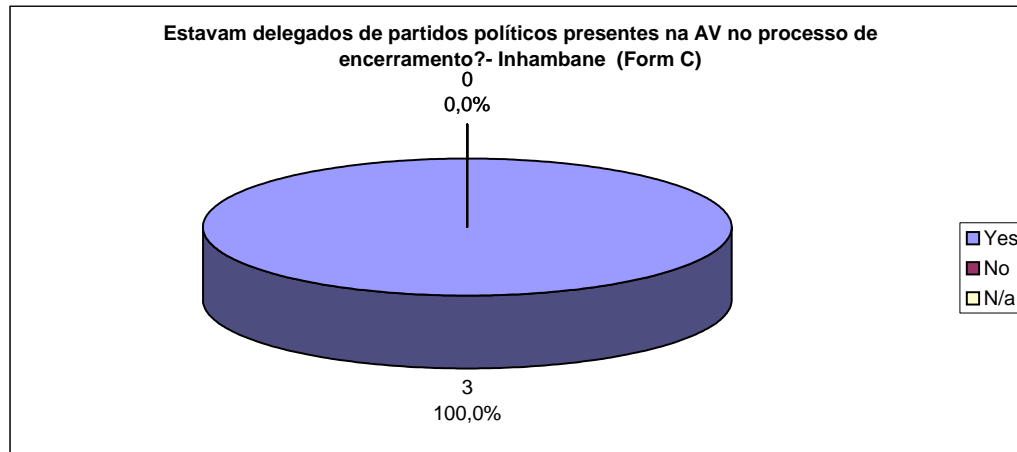
**Graficos  
 Estatísticos**

*Todos os eleitores que estavam na fila às 18 horas receberam senhas numeradas?*

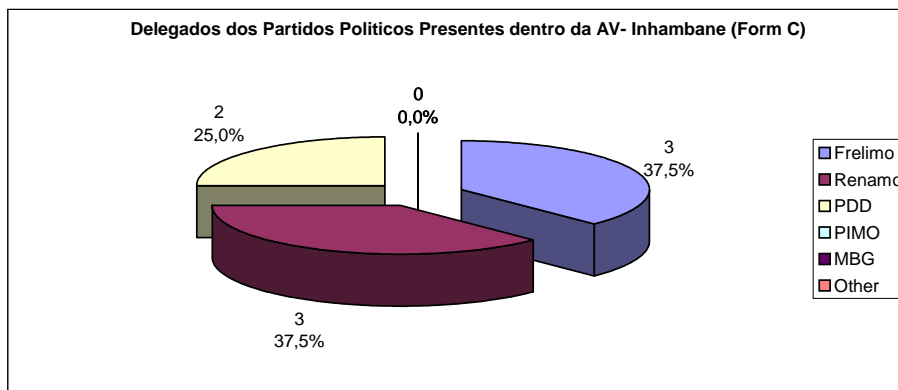


Classificação	AV	%
Yes	0	0,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	3	100,00%

*Estavam delegados de partidos políticos presentes na AV no processo de encerramento?*



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	100,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	0	0,0%



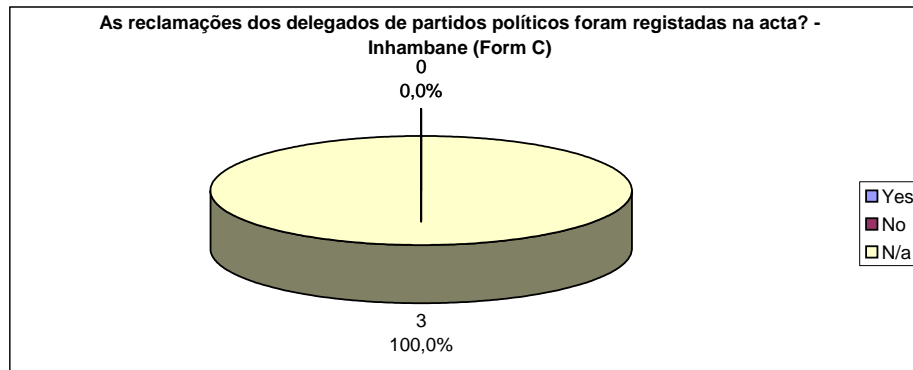
Partido	Delegados presentes	%
Frelimo	3	37,50%
Renamo	3	37,50%
PDD	2	25,00%
PIMO	0	0,00%
MBG	0	0,00%
Other	0	0,00%
Total	8	100,00%

*Houve reclamações dos delegados de partidos políticos?*



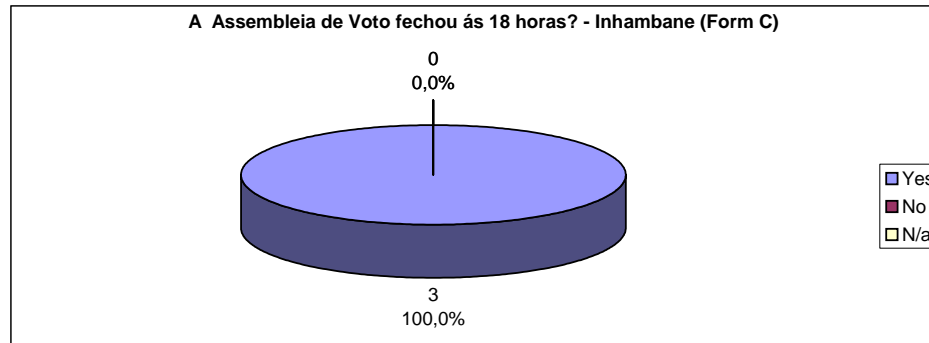
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	0	0,0%
No	3	100,0%
N/a	0	0,0%

*As reclamações dos delegados de partidos políticos foram registadas na acta?*



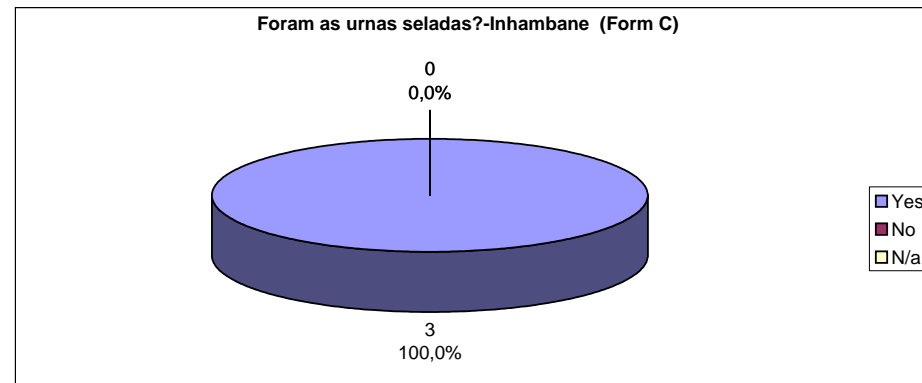
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	0	0,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	3	100,00%

*A Assembleia de Voto fechou às 18 horas?*



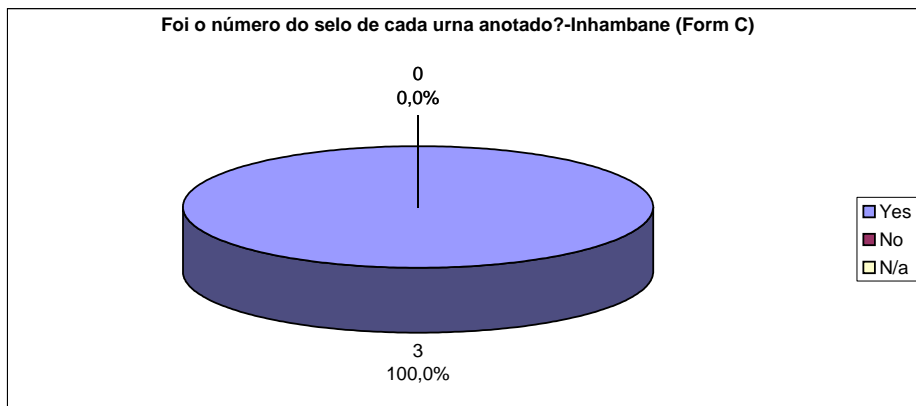
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	100,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	0	0,0%

*Foram as urnas seladas?*



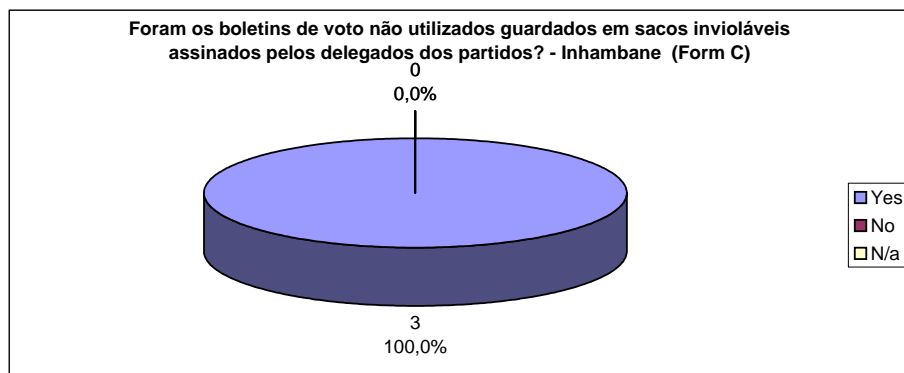
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	100,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	0	0,0%

*Foi o número do selo de cada urna anotado?*



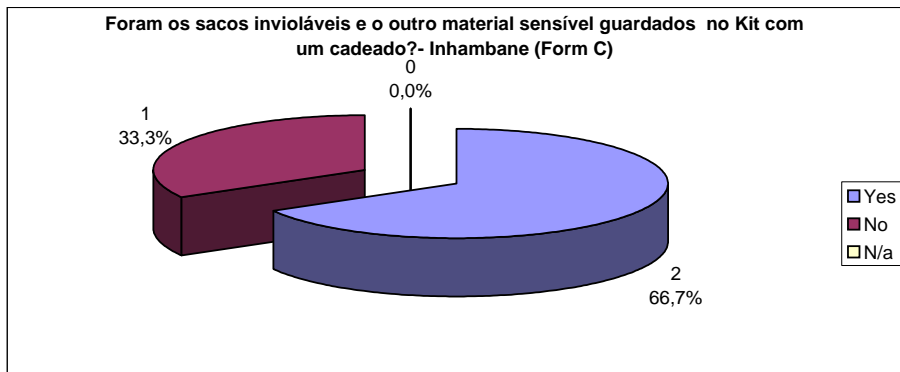
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	100,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	0	0,00%

*Foram os boletins de voto não utilizados guardados em sacos invioláveis assinados pelos delegados dos partidos?*



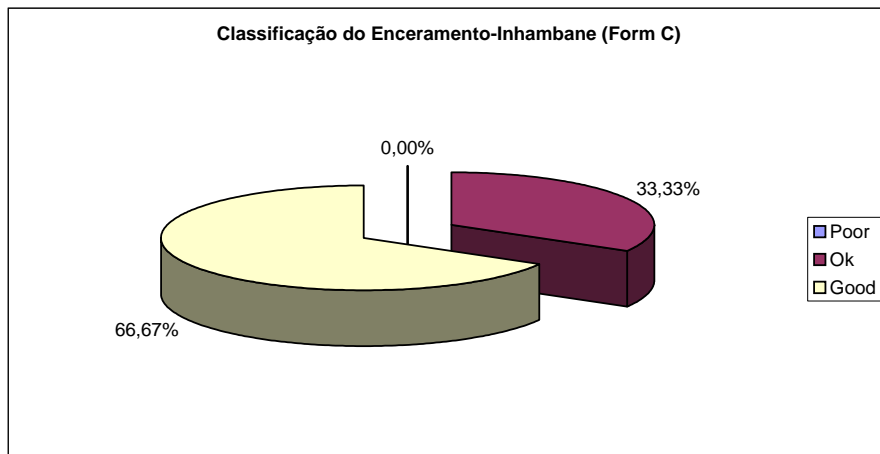
Classificação	AV	%
Yes	3	100,0%
No	0	0,0%
N/a	0	0,00%

Foram os sacos invioláveis e o outro material sensível guardados no Kit com um cadeado?



Classificação	AV	%
Yes	2	66,7%
No	1	33,3%
N/a	0	0,00%

Classifique o processo de encerramento



Classificação	%
Poor	0,00%
Ok	33,33%
Good	66,67%