



CENTRO DE INTEGRIDADE PÚBLICA
Anticorrupção - Transparência - Integridade



Editor: Joseph Hanlon | **Publisher:** Edson Cortez | **News Editor:** Borges Nhamire

Number 80 - 25 November 2018

Published by CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública (Public Integrity Centre),
Rua Fernão Melo e Castro, nº 124, Maputo. eleicoes@cipmoz.org <http://bit.ly/LocEI2018>
To subscribe in English tinyurl.com/sub-moz and in Portuguese <http://eepurl.com/cYjhdB>.
To unsubscribe in English tinyurl.com/unsub-moz and in Portuguese <http://ow.ly/ErPa30ekCru>.

Material can be freely reproduced; please mention the source.

Ghost voters give Frelimo victory in Marromeu



Frelimo won by 772 votes in Marromeu the district elections commission (CDE) announced Friday, 23 November, compared to an independent count which showed a Renamo victory by 3656 votes. This required 2406 ghost voters and taking 1113 votes away from Renamo.

The main difference came in the 8 polling stations where the election were rerun on 22 November as ordered by the Constitutional Council, because in the 10 October election ballot papers had been taken by police and senior officials of the election technical secretariat (STAE). Then, the count was done in secret without opposition members being present.

Exactly the same thing happened on 22 November, with some ballot papers taken by police and STAE, and in other polling stations the station staff did the count but then threw out observers and media and blatantly forged the results sheets and refused to accept opposition protests. But this time there were observers in all polling stations who reported the real totals before being evicted.

The two polling stations at Samora Machel primary school at noon on polling day, 22 November. Perhaps the queues are of ghosts who do not appear in photos.

Turnout on 10 October was 67% but the district elections commission (CDE) claims the turnout at the 8 polling stations was an incredible and record breaking 87%, while observers report a much more plausible 48%. On 22 November we reported that our correspondents noted a low turnout at the two polling stations at Samora Machel primary school with no voters in queues by noon (see photo above). But the CDE reports an incredible 94% turnout at Samora Machel school, which would have required queues all day - perhaps of ghosts that cannot be seen in photographs.

The two most implausible results were at 25 June primary school. Polling station 3 in the school had 800 voters registered, but 811 people voted. In an unprecedented event, there were no blank or invalid ballot papers; 590 voted for Frelimo while only 200 voted for Renamo. Independent observers at 25 June primary school said that only 433

people voted, of whom 305 voted for Renamo and 108 for Frelimo (and there were 5 blank and invalid votes).

The CDE said that that polling station 5 at 25 June school, only 780 of 800 registered voters cast ballots, 530 for Frelimo and 180 for Renamo. Independent observers only saw 373 voting, with 296 for Renamo and 72 for Frelimo.

We give detailed tables of the Marromeu results below. The summary is:

For all 39 polling stations and both polling days:

	CDE		Observers & STAE internal	
Frelimo	9143	48%	5828	35%
MDM	1493	8%	1266	8%
Renamo	8371	44%	9484	57%

And for the 8 polling stations on 22 November

	CDE		Observers & STAE internal	
Frelimo	3817	75%	791	30%
MDM	236	5%	74	3%
Renamo	1066	31%	1798	68%
Turnout	87%		48%	

Comment

Response to Marromeu will set agenda for October 2019

As predicted, the acquiesce of the Constitutional Council (CC) and National Elections Commission (CNE) to fraud in five municipalities on 10 October has already been seen as a licence to cheat by senior people in Frelimo. Jaime Neto, recently named Frelimo first secretary in Sofala, gave a statement Friday celebrating the victory in Marromeu, praising his party workers, and making no mention of any misconduct. To be elected a provincial secretary requires the approval of the head of the party, President Filipe Nyusi. Therefore his statement this morning will be seen approval from the top for what happened in Marromeu.

Thursday night and in six municipalities on 10 October Frelimo majorities in the district elections commissions excluded opposition commission members and fabricated totally new results. In some cases ballots were removed with the assistance of the police, who proved to be highly partisan in several cities. This is fraud at a higher level than before. Previously fraud was mainly at the polling stations - ballot box stuffing and invalidating opposition votes. This year, it is at the district elections commission level.

Marromeu and Gurué in 2013 proved to be the testing grounds. Frelimo stole the elections in Marromeu in 2013 and was not challenged, but the Constitutional Council (CC) reversed the involvement of the district and provincial elections commissions in Gurué in 2013 where the CC forced a rerun of the election. That set a boundary line of what level of fraud was permitted in 2014.

This year, fraud at the level of Gurué in 2013 was permitted. The CC, which has a broad mandate and investigated Gurué in detail in 2013, this year chose not to intervene in blatant frauds, where even the CNE's own provisional counts showed that district elections commissions were faking the results.

The CC even ruled that opposition parties cannot protest. Bizarrely, the CC ruled that if a party is illegally excluded from the district and city count, it must protest at that meeting that it was not permitted to attend - clearly an impossibility. And Jaime Neto and other senior Frelimo figures have taken their guidance from this.

Are they right to believe that district and provincial level fraud is now permitted, and the presidential election next year can be won simply by fabricating results sheets at polling station and district level?

Free, fair and transparent elections next year depend on the response of the CC and CNE now, and more importantly on whether or not Mozambican civil society and the international community choose to respond. Frelimo is betting that civil society will remain passive. And it is betting that the international community is less interested now in governance, secret debt and elections, and only interested in gas and mineral investments by its companies - and thus will continue to work with a re-elected Filipe Nyusi and Frelimo.

Is Frelimo right in its assumptions? *jh & bn*

Comparison of results in the 8 polling stations voting on 22 November

Results compiled by	Eleitores recenseados - Voters registered	Votos na Urna - Total votes	Participação - Turnout	Votos Validos - Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo
CDE	5904	5154	87%	5119	3817	236	1066	75%	5%	21%
Observers	5904	2841	48%	2663	791	74	1798	30%	3%	68%
Difference	0	2313		2456	3026	162	-732			

Comparison of results in EPC Samora Machel

EPC Samora Machel has 4 polling stations. Observers took down results in all 4 on 10 October, but the ballots in polling stations 2 and 3 were taken by police and STAE, and then voting in these two polling stations was ordered to be rerun by the Constitutional Council.

Note that the agreed results on polling stations 1 and 4 are very similar to the original vote in polling stations 2 and 3 and to the observer count of the rerun - 45-55% turnout and 55-65% of the vote for Renamo. By contrast the CDE result is very different for stations 2 and 3, with 95% turnout and only 13% for Renamo.

	New vote 22 Nov	Eleitores recenseados - Voters registered	Votos na Urna - Total votes	Participação - Turnout	Votos Validos - Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Branco - Blank	Nulo - Invalid		
Polling stations 1 and 4, voted and counted 10 October															
07130-01		800	550	69%	503	182	46	275	36%	9%	55%	25	4.5%	22	4.0%
07130-04		522	163	31%	128	39	17	72	30%	13%	56%	3	1.8%	32	19.6%
Total		1322	713	54%	631	221	63	347	35%	10%	55%	28	3.9%	54	7.6%
Polling stations 2 and 3															
Votes counted and reported by observers before taken by police, 10 October															
07130-02		800	492	62%	474	97	47	292	20%	10%	62%	53	10.8%	3	0.6%
07130-03		800	391	49%	391	79	28	227	20%	7%	58%	53	13.6%	4	1.0%
Total		1600	883	55%	865	176	75	519	20%	9%	60%	106	12.0%	7	0.8%
Observers 22 November															
07130-02	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	800	398	50%	364	130	4	230	36%	1%	63%	4	1.0%	21	5.3%
07130-03	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	800	324	41%	289	92	3	194	32%	1%	67%	3	0.9%	5	1.5%
Total		1600	722	45%	653	222	7	424	34%	1%	65%	7	1.0%	26	3.6%
STAE provisional 22 November															
07130-02	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	800	752	94%	750	623	12	115	83%	2%	15%	0	0.0%	2	0.3%
07130-03	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	800	760	95%	759	680	3	76	90%	0%	10%	0	0.0%	1	0.1%
Total		1600	1512	95%	1509	1303	15	191	86%	1%	13%	0	0.0%	3	0.2%
Difference		0	790		856	1081	8	-233				-7		-23	

Comparison of results in EPC 25 de Junho - Sede

EPC 25 de Junho has 8 polling stations, but only one had a parallel count. In 6 of the 8 (denoted ☒) ballots were taken by police and the Constitutional Council forced a new vote on 22 November. STAE counted the other two on 11 October, but changed the results for one of them (denoted C) in its final result.

Here we compare: 1) the original 11 October STAE count for 2 polling stations and the observer count on 22 November for 6 polling stations to 2) the final CDE/STAE numbers. (Note that in 5 of the 6 the results shift votes to Frelimo with an impossibly high turnout, but in one - polling station 06 - the official result matches the observer count.)

	New vote 22 Nov	Eleitores recenseados - Voters registered	Votos na Urna - Total votes	Participação - Turnout	Votos Validos - Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Branco - Blank	Nulo - Invalid		
STAE 11 October for polling stations 2 & 4; Observer 22 November for rest															
07127-01	☒	800	525	66%	525	228	27	270	43%	5%	51%	5	1.0%	14	2.7%
07127-02		800	560	70%	523	138	28	357	25%	5%	64%	27	4.8%	10	1.8%
07127-03	☒	800	433	54%	433	108	20	305	25%	5%	70%	3	0.7%	2	0.5%
07127-04		800	515	64%	476	87	35	354	17%	7%	69%	21	4.1%	18	3.5%
07127-05	☒	800	373	47%	373	72	5	296	19%	1%	79%	6	1.6%	27	7.2%
07127-06	☒	800	353	44%	353	68	6	279	19%	2%	79%	5	1.4%	7	2.0%
07127-07	☒	800	320	40%	211	55	4	152	17%	1%	48%	2	0.6%	107	33.4%
07127-08	☒	304	115	38%	115	38	5	72	33%	4%	63%	4	3.5%	6	5.2%
Total		5904	3194	54%	3009	794	130	2085	25%	4%	65%	73	2.3%	191	6.0%

STAE 23 November

07127-01	☒	800	746	93%	746	601	42	103	81%	6%	14%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
07127-02		800	560	70%	523	138	28	357	26%	5%	68%	27	4.8%	10	1.8%
07127-03	☒	800	811	101%	811	590	21	200	73%	3%	25%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
07127-04	C	800	535	67%	476	250	35	191	53%	7%	40%	21	3.9%	38	7.1%
07127-05	☒	800	780	98%	770	530	60	180	69%	8%	23%	4	0.5%	6	0.8%
07127-06	☒	800	365	46%	353	68	6	279	19%	2%	79%	5	1.4%	7	1.9%
07127-07	☒	800	703	88%	703	575	87	41	82%	12%	6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
07127-08	☒	304	237	78%	227	150	5	72	66%	2%	32%	4	1.7%	6	2.5%
Total		5904	4737	80%	4609	2902	284	1423	63%	6%	31%	61	1.3%	67	1.4%
Difference		0	1543		1600	2108	154	-662							

Missing polling stations at EPC Julius Nyerere

At EPC Julius Nyerere, of 10 polling stations which voted on 10 October, 4 were not reported by STAE until 23 November. Of the rest, 5 were reported on 11 October and the numbers remained unchanged, and 1 was reported on 11 October but changed in the 23 November report (with 142 votes taken from Renamo and given to Frelimo).

Of the 4 missing polling stations only reported on 23 November, 3 seem to transfer votes from Renamo to Frelimo and one does not. There was an observer at one of the missing polling stations on 10 October, and a comparison shows 75 votes taken from Renamo and largely given to MDM.

	Eleitores recenseados - Voters registered	Votos na Urna - Total votes	Participação - Turnout	Votos Validos - Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Branco - Blank	Nulo - Invalid
--	--	--------------------------------	------------------------	--------------------------------	---------	-----	--------	---------	-----	--------	----------------	----------------

STAE 11 October - 6 polling stations reported

07125-02	800	598	75%	571	190	53	328	32%	9%	55%	20	3.3%	7	1.2%
07125-03	800	588	74%	530	202	40	288	34%	7%	49%	31	5.3%	27	4.6%
07125-05	800	563	70%	541	159	43	339	28%	8%	60%	16	2.8%	6	1.1%
07125-06	800	556	70%	505	147	30	328	26%	5%	59%	16	2.9%	35	6.3%
07125-08	800	465	58%	437	126	43	268	27%	9%	58%	11	2.4%	17	3.7%
07125-09	400	257	64%	241	77	15	149	30%	6%	58%	9	3.5%	7	2.7%
Total	4400	3027	69%	2825	901	224	1700	30%	7%	56%	103	3.4%	99	3.3%

But one polling station was changed in the 23 November STAE report

07125-08	800	465	58%	437	268	43	126	61%	10%	29%	11	2.4%	17	3.7%
difference	0	0		0	142	0	-142				0		0	

STAE 23 November - polling stations not reported on 11 October

07125-01	800	584	73%	549	281	40	228	51%	7%	42%	20	3.4%	15	2.6%
07125-04	800	554	69%	517	149	46	322	29%	9%	62%	20	3.6%	17	3.1%
07125-07	800	593	74%	561	506	22	33	90%	4%	6%	22	3.7%	10	1.7%
07125-10	574	333	58%	278	80	90	108	29%	32%	39%	30	9.0%	25	7.5%
Total	2974	2064	69%	1905	1016	198	691	53%	10%	36%	92	4.5%	67	3.2%

But one polling station was reported on 10 October by an EISA observer

07125-10	574	333	58%	311	102	27	183	33%	9%	59%	15	4.5%	7	2.1%
----------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	----	-----	----	------	---	------

Difference **0** **0** **-33** **-22** **63** **-75** **15** **18**

Marromeu counts by polling station

Polling centre		STAE provisional and observer counts					CDE final count 23 November 2018				Difference			
		source	Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo	Valid votes	Frelimo	MDM	Renamo
EPC Samora Machel	07130-01	s11	503	182	46	275	503	182	46	275	0	0	0	0
	07130-02	☒ob	364	130	4	230	750	623	12	115	386	493	8	-115
	07130-03	☒ob	289	92	3	194	759	680	3	76	470	588	0	-118
	07130-04	s11	128	39	17	72	128	39	17	72	0	0	0	0
EPC 4 de Outubro	07129-01	s11	593	239	55	299	592	238	55	299	-1	-1	0	0
	07129-02	s11	622	287	53	282	622	287	53	282	0	0	0	0
	07129-03	s11	580	177	56	347	580	177	56	347	0	0	0	0
	07129-04	s11	547	150	63	334	547	150	63	334	0	0	0	0
	07129-05	s11	471	162	40	269	471	169	40	262	0	7	0	-7
	07129-06	s11	233	94	28	111	233	94	28	111	0	0	0	0
	07129-07	s11	304	134	18	152	304	134	18	152	0	0	0	0
EPC Acordo de Lusaka	07128-01	s11	323	216	25	82	323	216	25	82	0	0	0	0
EPC 25 de Junho - Sede	07127-01	☒ob	525	228	27	270	746	601	42	103	221	373	15	-167
	07127-02	s11	523	138	28	357	523	138	28	357	0	0	0	0
	07127-03	☒ob	433	108	20	305	811	590	21	200	378	482	1	-105
	07127-04	s11	476	87	35	354	476	250	35	191	0	163	0	-163
	07127-05	☒ob	373	72	5	296	770	530	60	180	397	458	55	-116
	07127-06	☒ob	353	68	6	279	353	68	6	279	0	0	0	0
	07127-07	☒ob	211	55	4	152	703	575	87	41	492	520	83	-111
	07127-08	☒ob	115	38	5	72	227	150	5	72	112	112	0	0
EPC Josina Machel	07126-01	s11	551	192	51	308	551	192	51	308	0	0	0	0
	07126-02	s11	524	119	60	345	524	119	60	345	0	0	0	0
	07126-03	s11	423	99	50	274	423	99	50	274	0	0	0	0
	07126-04	s11	267	62	30	175	267	62	30	175	0	0	0	0
EPC Julius Nyerere	07125-01	s23	549	281	40	228	549	281	40	228	0	0	0	0
	07125-02	s11	571	190	53	328	571	190	53	328	0	0	0	0
	07125-03	s11	530	202	40	288	530	202	40	288	0	0	0	0
	07125-04	s23	517	149	46	322	517	149	46	322	0	0	0	0
	07125-05	s11	541	159	43	339	541	159	43	339	0	0	0	0
	07125-06	s11	505	147	30	328	505	147	30	328	0	0	0	0
	07125-07	s23	561	506	22	33	561	506	22	33	0	0	0	0
	07125-08	s11	437	126	43	268	437	268	43	126	0	142	0	-142
	07125-09	s11	241	77	15	149	241	77	15	149	0	0	0	0
	07125-10	ob	333	102	27	183	278	80	90	108	-55	-22	63	-75
EPC 3 de Fevereiro	07124-01	s11	587	218	49	320	587	218	49	320	0	0	0	0
	07124-02	s11	495	199	43	253	501	199	43	259	6	0	0	6
	07124-03	s11	414	142	46	224	414	142	46	224	0	0	0	0
	07124-04	s11	246	78	17	151	246	78	17	151	0	0	0	0
EPC Joaquim Chissano	07124-05	s11	343	84	23	236	343	84	23	236	0	0	0	0
TOTALS			16601	5828	1266	9484	19007	9143	1491	8371	2406	3315	225	-1113

Margin of victory

% of valid votes

3656 772
 35% 8% 57% 48% 8% 44%

☒ob = rerun, observer count ob = observer count s11 = STAE provisional 11 October s23 = STAE 23 November



Published by CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública (Public Integrity Centre) ,Rua Fernão Melo e Castro, nº 124, Maputo. eleicoes@cipmoz.org <http://bit.ly/LocEI2018>

Detailed coverage of 2018 municipal and 2019 national elections is again being provided by the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*, which has covered all of Mozambique's multi-party elections. We will have a large team of local journalists throughout the country, ensuring that our reports are accurate and verified.

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

Previous issues of this year's newsletter are available on <http://bit.ly/LocEI2018>

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

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

2018 Local Elections is part of the Votar Moçambique programme

Programme financed by:

Co-financer:

The block contains four logos: Votar Moçambique (with a ballot box icon), the Swiss Confederation (with text in German, French, and Italian), the European Union flag, and the Portuguese Cooperation for Development logo (with text in Portuguese).