

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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1 Summary

Mozambique holds presidential and parliamentary elections on 15 October. Initial unofficial results confirm widely held expectations that the ruling Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo) party and its presidential candidate, former defence minister Filipe Jacinto Nyusi, will win. However, Frelimo's win will come with a lower margin of victory and fewer seats in parliament. Election irregularities are reported on election day but are not expected to significantly impact the popular will of the electorate. The main opposition Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo) and its leader Afonso Dhlakama protest the results but will not resort to violence and remain committed to the peace process. The Mozambique government launches its fifth oil and gas licensing round.

1.1 Presidential and parliamentary elections held

Mozambique's 10.7 million registered voters took part in presidential and parliamentary elections on 14 October.¹ Former defence minister and ruling **Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)** presidential candidate **Filipe Jacinto Nyusi** (see *ARC Mozambique March 2014 Briefing*) is widely expected to win, but with a lower margin of victory than incumbent president **Armando Emilio Guebuza** (2005-present). However, the lower margin of victory will not impact Frelimo's ability to govern.

*"Nyusi will win the presidential election, but with a much lower share of the vote than the outgoing president Armando Emilio Guebuza got in 2009. The main opposition **Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo)** leader **Afonso Dhlakama** will win more votes, and therefore more seats in the parliament, despite the idea that they would be penalised because of the so called war actions over recent years ... [the other main opposition party] the **Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM)** failed to build successes similar to that of the 2013*

¹ BBC, 16 Oct 2014.

municipal elections, which were boycotted by Renamo. However, [the party] may increase the number of seats in parliament from eight to around 30.”²

The **Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes (CNE)** (national election commission) will not release official elections results until 15 days after the elections, some time in late October. The initial projections from the **Secretariado Tecnico de Administracao Eleitoral (STAE)** (Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat) indicate that Nyusi will receive 60% of the vote, *“almost double the number of votes Dhlakama will receive”*.³

“The presidential candidate of the ruling Frelimo party, Filipe Nyusi, is likely to win the 15 October general and the provincial election with over 55% of the valid votes. However, the opposition leader, Afonso Dhlakama, and his Renamo Party have made remarkable recovery. It seems that by the end of the counting process, this picture will not change much.”⁴

Although STAE has delayed the delivery of formal final results, unofficial results are in line with recent projections from **Observatório Eleitoral (OE)** (Electoral Observatory), Mozambique’s largest and most credible election observer group.⁵ The OE predicted the outcome of the presidential election (with rounded results) as follows: Nyusi (58%), Dhlakama (35%) and MDM leader **Daviz Simango** (8%).⁶ For the parliamentary elections, the results are also expected to reflect OE estimates: Frelimo (57%), Renamo (32%), MDM (10%) and others parties (1%).⁷ Taking into account these projections, the distribution of seats in parliament will likely reflect a similar pattern: Frelimo 143 (currently it holds 191 seats), Renamo 82 (now has 51) and MDM 25 (now has eight).⁸ This pattern is largely reflected in individual provinces, with one major exception – **Sofala Province** – the only province where Dhlakama won a strong majority.⁹ The projections suggest a more balanced 250-seat parliament with Frelimo's count reduced and the two main opposition parties increasing their parliamentary presence.¹⁰

1.2 Irregularities reported

Domestic and international election observers reported irregularities on voting day such as instances of alleged ballot stuffing but they are likely not significant enough to have greatly affected the overall

² Source, political analyst, Maputo

³ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁴ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁵ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁶ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁷ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁸ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁹ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

¹⁰ AFP, 16 Oct 2014.

outcome of the election, and, more importantly, will not lead to successful legal challenges to annul the election. Renamo initially refused to recognise the unofficial results, but is now willing to negotiate with the Frelimo government and has promised not to return to “*the bush*”.¹¹

Most polling stations opened on time at 7am on election day although some did not open until well after 1pm.¹² Early indications are that voter turnout was high.

*“... many believe that the turnout might be bigger than in the last elections, based on anecdotal reports of crowds of the voters in the polling stations.”*¹³

Voting ended at 6pm but some polling stations remained open to accommodate voters in line, and closed later in the evening around 6.30pm or 6.45pm.¹⁴ In terms of ‘hotspots’ on voting day, ARC notes three areas of concern¹⁵:

- **Tete Province:** Renamo members allegedly vandalised and burned ballot papers at polling stations in three schools in **Tsangano District**. Hence, voting was cancelled at the polling stations. Renamo claimed that it had destroyed the ballot papers because they were stored in the houses of community leaders and were sent to polling stations already stuffed with votes for Frelimo. Moreover, government authorities banned the **European Union (EU)** observer mission from observing in Tete. The government claimed they did not have the right paperwork, “*...so Tete, perhaps not surprisingly, is the hotspot of the day so far*”.¹⁶
- **Nampula Province:** mostly to do with late opening of polling stations and absence of materials.¹⁷
- **Beira:** mostly centred on failure to issue credentials to observers and party delegates, and some delays in distribution of materials and incomplete voter registry books.¹⁸

In general, the election process was described as “*good*”, although observers and political analysts highlighted some core issues.

*“... reports of attempted election fraud, polling stations that opened late, police shooting, tear gas to disperse voters gathered in the polling stations allegedly gathering to supervise the count of votes ... there were situations of violence in Beira, **Quelimane**, Tete and Nampula ... delays in issuing credentials for polling station members and observers ... polling stations that started*

¹¹ Source, political analyst, Maputo

¹² Source, political analyst, Maputo

¹³ Source, political analyst, Maputo

¹⁴ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

¹⁵ Source, respected political commentator, Maputo

¹⁶ Source, respected political commentator, Maputo

¹⁷ Source, respected political commentator, Maputo

¹⁸ Source, respected political commentator, Maputo

voting with incomplete number of the polling station members ... change or lack of register books in some polling stations.”¹⁹

Other irregularities reported on election day include:

- Ballot box stuffing: There were reports from national observers indicating that there were incidents of ballot box stuffing in **Niassa, Tete, Gaza, Sofala, and Maputo**.²⁰ MDM and Renamo both refused to recognise or sign the district results in **Dondo** (Sofala Province) and claimed the results, which gave victory to Frelimo, were fraudulent.²¹ There were several other reports of pre-marked ballot papers being found. In Dondo a reporter for the newspaper **Zambeze** was attacked and had his camera confiscated after he took pictures showing polling station staff marking ballot papers for Frelimo.²²
- Assaults on polling stations: An assault on polling stations in **Inguri and Angoche** caused polling station staff to flee and halted the counting process.²³ In Tsangano, Renamo held five people hostage, two polling station staff and three police, after attacks on polling stations on the morning of election-day.²⁴
- Power cuts: During the counting process²⁵ electricity cuts were reported on the evening of election day in many parts of Mozambique. This meant some counting took place in the dark, increasing the possibility of fraud and error.²⁶
- Results changed: A senior STAE officer was detained in Beira for forging results.
- Change or lack of registration books: This was one of the frequent problems reported in Quelimane, Beira and Nampula.²⁷ There were reports of some polling stations, in Maputo and elsewhere, that had extra register books, sometimes called Lista de Transferidos (transfer list) or simply lista dos agregado (extra voters list). There were also reports of polling stations where the number of voters was more than double the number of people on the register book.

Despite the reported irregularities, the **Southern African Development Community (SADC)** said the presidential and legislative elections *"were generally peaceful, transparent, free and fair and credible"*.²⁸ The SADC observer chief, **South African** foreign minister **Maite Nkoana-Mashabane**, urged disaffected parties to resort to the available legal channels to lodge their protests.²⁹

¹⁹ Source, respected political commentator, Maputo

²⁰ Source, political analyst, Maputo

²¹ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

²² Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

²³ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

²⁴ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

²⁵ This was more serious in Nampula, another opposition stronghold.

²⁶ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

²⁷ Source, political analyst, Maputo

²⁸ AFP, 17 Oct 2014.

²⁹ AFP, 17 Oct 2014.

Following the election **Antonio Muchanga**, spokesman for Dhlakama, rejected the results on the grounds that serious irregularities had taken place. On 16 October, Muchanga said,

*"Renamo does not recognise these results and demands the cancellation [of the election]. We cannot recognise the results of an election in which there were votes already marked in favour of Frelimo."*³⁰

People feared that this would bring back confrontations between the Frelimo government forces and Renamo, as the opposition group still has armed men throughout the country.³¹ However, two days later, Dhlakama told Mozambique media that he wanted to negotiate the results with Frelimo and promised not to resort to violence.³²

*"[Dhlakama] wants to negotiate a unity government. This has not yet been denied by Renamo itself ... Dhlakama is telling diplomats that he wants a national unity government and he is calling for negotiations to lead to a unity government which would totally restructure the state apparatus and security forces to remove Frelimo influence and hold free and transparent elections in two years."*³³

Dhlakama is trying to seek diplomatic help to achieve his unity government objective or obtain some concessions from the government.³⁴

*"People believe that Frelimo will not accept such demands of a unity government. Maybe Dhlakama also knows that, but he hopes that diplomats will put pressure on Frelimo and the government to make major concessions even if they do not grant him a unity government."*³⁵

1.3 Government launches 5th oil and gas licensing round

The **Instituto Nacional de Petróleo (INP)** (National Petroleum Institute) launched Mozambique's fifth oil and gas licensing round in **London (United Kingdom)** on 23 October.³⁶ The licensing round offers 15 new exploration blocks in the **Rovuma, Zambeze** and **Palmeira** basins, which cover 76,800 square kilometres.³⁷ The new petroleum law that parliament passed in August 2013 will govern the licensing round.³⁸ The government will close the licensing round on 20 January 2015.³⁹ The main

³⁰ Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, No. NE- 68 through 59, Oct 2014.

³¹ Source, political analyst, Maputo

³² Source, political analyst, Maputo

³³ Source, western political researcher, Maputo

³⁴ Source, locally engaged staff member at a western embassy, Maputo

³⁵ Source, political analyst, Maputo

³⁶ Source, political analyst, Maputo

³⁷ Source, political analyst, Maputo

³⁸ Source, political analyst, Maputo

objective is to attract operators that can get to work quickly so the government can start receiving revenue from gas exports.

“Without doubt, the option that gets the gas flowing the soonest also gets the royalties into the national coffers the fastest and in a decade of mounting deficits and tougher deal making by partners both official and private, very soon this will be Mozambique’s paramount concern.”⁴⁰

International oil and gas companies such as **Italy-based Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi’s (ENI)** and **United States (US)-based Anadarko** are already present in Mozambique’s oil and gas sector. They have discovered reserves of some 200 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of commercially viable natural gas reserves. Gas exports are expected to start in 2018/2020. Mozambique is expected to receive \$115 billion in revenue from gas resources between 2020 and 2040, according to research from the **International Energy Agency (IEA)**.

1.4 No return to war

Despite Renamo’s concern with regards to the reported irregularities on election day (see above). Dhlakama has publicly stated there is *“no need”* to return to war.⁴¹ Dhlakama said, *“I am not a war-monger”* and asked his supporters to wait for the release of the official elections results.⁴² Although Renamo still retains some armed elements, it has committed to integrating them into Mozambique’s security services as outlined the peace plan signed in September (see *ARC Mozambique September 2014 Briefing*). Despite Renamo’s commitment not to return to war, security forces will remain on high alert until the final elections results are released in late October.

2 Implications

Frelimo’s election victory was widely expected. The official results are expected to reflect current unofficial results from local election observers. Renamo’s commitment not to return to war is a positive sign for Mozambique political and security outlook. Mozambique’s fifth licensing round is an important step in the development of Mozambique’s oil and gas sector. Many foreign investors delayed their investment decision in 2013 due to the perceived security risks associated with Renamo’s low-level insurgency at the time. However, the smooth transfer of power from Guebuza to

³⁹ Source, political analyst, Maputo

⁴⁰ www.clubofmozambique.com

⁴¹ www.clubofmozambique.com

⁴² www.clubofmozambique.com

Nyusi combined with Renamo's commitment not to return to the bush, will enhance investor confidence in Mozambique's extractive sector.

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