

FAST Update

Mozambique

Semi-annual Risk Assessment
January 2005 to June 2005

F

S

A

E

Contents

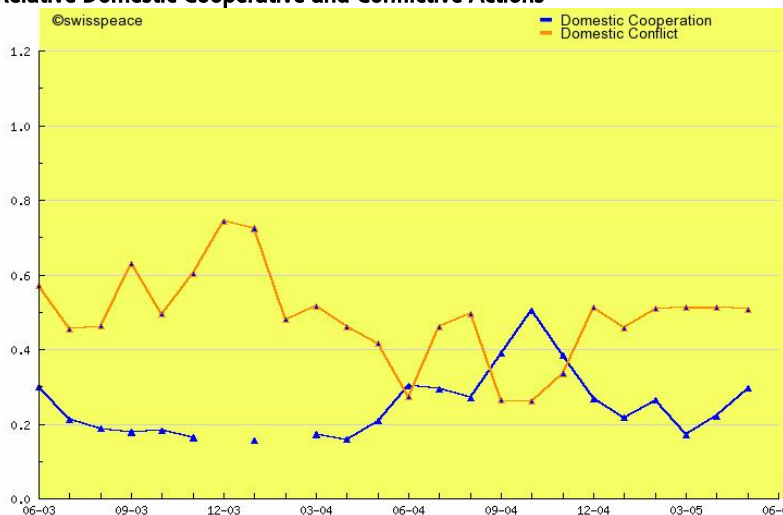
Relative Domestic Cooperative and Conflictive Actions	3
Country Stability and Relative International Cooperation	5
Appendix: Description of indicators used	7
The FAST International Early Warning Program	8

FAST Update Subscription: www.swisspeace.org/fast/subscription_form.asp

Contact FAST International:
Phone: +27 12 346 9545
Fax: +27 12 460 0997
<mailto:FAST@swisspeace.ch>
www.swisspeace.org/fast

Country Expert:
[Elisio Macamo](#)

Relative Domestic Cooperative and Conflictive Actions



Average number of reported events per month: 87

Indicator description: see appendix

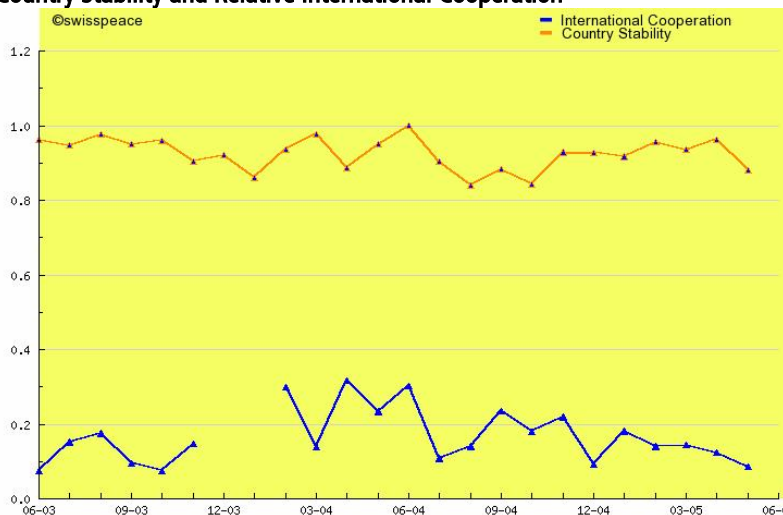
Risk Assessment

- Positive developments dominate the first half of 2005, the six month period since Mozambique held its third multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections. Conflictive events have levelled off more than in any period in the past few years, and levels of domestic cooperation have increased. Frelimo, and its candidate Armando Emilio Guebuza, won by a very large majority, even in constituencies formerly regarded as Renamo strongholds.
- Renamo, along with most opposition parties, rejected the election results on the grounds that there had been massive fraud. International and national observers, who initially had declared the elections free and fair, confirmed later that the elections had been tainted by a considerable number of technical irregularities, including the disappearance of ballot boxes, results sheets and intimidation of voters. The opposition issued a declaration in Maputo, calling on the international community to persuade the government to hold a rerun, a request met with rejection especially as the opposition call included a plea for money to be made available to that effect. Leading up to the installation of the new Parliament and the inauguration of the new President, the opposition continued to reject the election results. The opposition leader, Afonso Dhlakama, was absent from the inauguration of the Head of State and failed to appear at a lunch which the new President hosted for the leaders of opposition parties.
- In the few couple of months after the elections relations between the ruling Frelimo party and other opposition parties were tense, although at no time was there any hint of violence. The coalition around Renamo maintained its stance against Frelimo over electoral fraud; and Frelimo refused to concede to the opposition's accusations of missing ballots, nor to their demands for bringing to count officials who had committed irregularities, or of a recount of contested voting stations. While not accepting the legitimacy of the results the opposition subsequently came to accept the status quo, partly due to Frelimo's overwhelming victory, and partly because the donor community rejected calls for a rerun. They were then quick to turn their attention to current events and parliamentary matters.
- Dhlakama has faced criticism from within his own party for being personally responsible for the defeat. Benjamin Pequeno, a prominent Renamo party member, even demanded his resignation so that the party could renew itself. Calls by political observers such as the journalist Salomão

Moyana of Zambeze for Renamo, and PDD – Raul Domingos' party – to consider a merger, were rejected by the latter on the grounds that with Afonso Dhlakama at the head there was no guarantee of substantive renewal.

- It seems, however, that the country is now moving towards a sort of entente after the initial post-election turbulence and there is no reason to fear that this trend may be reversed. There are two reasons for this cautious optimism. First, there have been calls within Renamo from the increasingly dominant group who are not comfortable with the sabre-rattling language of the old guard, for renewal of the party and a moderate tone towards the ruling party. They appear to believe that the strength of the opposition will come from addressing substantive issues that concern the electorate. Afonso Dhlakama has acknowledged some of these criticisms, recently surprising observers, as well as his own followers, by calling on everyone to recognize Armando Guebuza as their head of state and abstain from insulting him. The second reason has to do with Guebuza's ruling style. In stark contrast to the former government, which many perceived to be weak in its commitment and effectiveness in dealing with peoples' growing concerns about levels of corruption, state lethargy and crime, he has placed considerable emphasis on assertively addressing these issues. In so doing, Guebuza has disarmed the opposition while at the same time rallying support behind Frelimo.
- The language in which both the opposition as well as the government have couched their political message in recent months suggests that the positive trend in domestic cooperation will continue. Any negative development is likely to result from the government's inability to honour its election promises in which case people might take to the streets.

Country Stability and Relative International Cooperation



Average number of reported events per month: 87

Indicator description: see appendix

Risk Assessment:

- The graphs confirm the optimistic appraisal of the current political situation. International cooperation was 'on hold' during the time of the elections, picking up slightly in January. The subsequent dip represents a period of negotiation and consolidation. Country stability has moved in a positive direction, evidence of the growing stability in the relationship between Frelimo and the opposition parties. The donor community were initially cautious in their endorsement of the electoral process and called for greater transparency and efficiency in the future. Nevertheless, they have unconditionally approved Frelimo's victory in the presidential and parliamentary elections.
- President Guebuza has been active in the region, visiting Angola and signing a mutual visa exemption agreement with South Africa and Botswana. Several of his ministers have been to the principal European capitals to canvass support. Above all, the donor community appears to trust the sincerity of the new government's promise to root out corruption and crime. The President appears to be committed to a well-functioning state bureaucracy: in every speech he has made since his inauguration, he has drawn attention to the fight against what he calls "espírito do deixa-andar" – loosely translated as an attitude of indifference by civil servants. His ministers and governors frequently endorse this stance, and the majority of the population applauds the stand that the government has taken. To achieve these objectives, Guebuza seems prepared to distance himself from the previous government. Indeed, most observers take the view that his insistence on "espírito do deixa-andar" is a veiled critique on his predecessor, whom most in Mozambique considered too lenient and lacking in resolve.
- With the exception of the Prime Minister, Luísa Diogo, who kept her position, probably thanks to her purported good relations with the Bretton Woods institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, President Guebuza's cabinet shows a remarkable break with the previous government. He invited into the government mostly provincial governors and junior officials from several ministries. The principle behind this seems to have been political profile as opposed to technical skills, even if the latter are not lacking. One recurring criticism of Joaquim Chissano was that his government had lost sight of the key issues facing the country, which his government was merely managing in their own business interests. By appointing people with

political experience, particularly people who are thoroughly acquainted with the day-to-day life of ordinary Mozambicans away from the centre of political power in Maputo, President Guebuza has sent a signal to his party, and to the country, that he favours politics that is informed by grass-roots values. Months after the elections, Guebuza continues to travel the country, seeking contact with ordinary people and checking up on Frelimo party structures at the local level, true to his stated commitment 'to get out of Maputo'.

- The first 100 days of the new government being in office have passed. Expectations were high and so, measured against practical realizations, there is not much to show, though all ministries had been asked to draw up a list of things to be done that could be presented as the initial success of the government. While most local observers credit the new government with a fresh and serious commitment to integrity in their running of public affairs, there are also those who think that the time has come to move from discourse to practice. President Guebuza seems to be pacing his actions cautiously and is yet to take firm steps that will see the coming to court of pending cases such as the BCM scandal and the related murders of Siba-Siba Macuácuá and Carlos Cardoso.
- In Mozambique, international cooperation and country stability are intricately related because the country is heavily dependent on foreign assistance for its survival. Two-thirds of the budget is sourced from foreign aid, while most infrastructure, construction and social programmes, such as poverty alleviation, are funded from abroad. The donor community acknowledges the fragility of Mozambique's fledgling democracy and recognizes the need to support and strengthen institutions of governance.
- The European Union have called for an inquiry into the irregularities as well as a thorough review of the legal electoral arrangements, but this is being done in a spirit of cooperation. It would have wanted the Constitutional Council to pursue the cases left unanswered. As far as the rule of law is concerned, the donor community appears to have some scepticism about the government's willingness to deal energetically with corruption.
- Overall the new government has performed in a manner that has won the respect of donors. Some important donors, such as Germany and Britain, have stepped up their commitments. Mozambique's plight in relation to the sugar exporting industry and the consequences for this sector of European protectionist policies, has received much positive international attention. A significant factor in favour of Mozambique's international profile is the decision of Joaquim Chissano, the former President, not to seek re-election. This is hailed by many both inside and outside the country as a landmark in Mozambique's short democratic history, and in Africa as a whole. The UN Secretary General has invited him to mediate in the crisis in Guinea Bissau, a decision which not only reflects positively on Chissano's standing, but also on the country as a whole.
- The next few months are unlikely to see any deterioration in Mozambique's relationship with its donors. With growing international awareness of the difficult condition of countries such as Mozambique, documented by the recent G8 decision to write off the debt, Mozambique is likely to benefit even further on account of its positive performance in meeting donor demands for more accountability, market reforms and commitment to fighting poverty.

Appendix : Description of indicators used | Page 7

Variable Name	Description / Definition
All Events	IDEA categories: a count of all coded events with WEIS cue categories ranging from 1 to 22 (all WEIS cue categories) plus an additional 11 IDEA event cue categories (Event type: 'other').
Conflict Carrying Capacity	The Conflict Carrying Capacity (or CCC) is a composed index that depicts the overall stability of the country or region of interest. The CCC is operationalized in terms of the multiplicative interaction among three Proportional measures: (1) civil contentiousness or the Proportion of civil actions that are reported as contentious or "direct" and thus challenge (at least implicitly) the state's monopoly on conflict regulation; (2) state repression or the Proportion of state actions that are reported as extra-institutional or "direct" both in response to direct challenges from the civil sector and those initiated by the state to repress and control opposition; and (3) violent contention or the Proportion of actions entailing physical damage to persons or property. The index is scaled between 0 and 1, where 1 means high and 0 low stability.
Country Stability	The country stability index is another version of the CCC measure with minor changes in order to improve the responsiveness of the index to events that influence the stability of a country.
Cooperative	Proportion of all actions belonging to all cooperative categories yield, comment consult, approve, promise, grant, reward, agree, request, and propose to All Events.
Conflictual	Proportion of all actions belonging to all conflictive categories reject, accuse, protest, deny, demand, warn, threaten, demonstrate, reduce relationships, expel, seize, and force to All Events.

Who are we?

FAST International is the early warning program of swisspeace, based in Berne, Switzerland. The program is funded and utilized by an international consortium of development agencies consisting of the Austrian Development Agency (ADA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

What do we want to achieve?

FAST International aims at enhancing political decision makers' and their offices' ability to identify critical developments in a timely manner so that coherent political strategies can be formulated to either prevent or limit destructive effects of violent conflict or identify windows of opportunity for peacebuilding.

How do we work?

FAST International uses both qualitative and quantitative methods, with the combination of methods being determined in each case by customer needs. The centerpiece of FAST International is the collection of single cooperative and conflictive events by means of a web-based software, applied by local staff using a coding scheme called IDEA (Integrated Data for Event Analysis), which is based on the WEIS (World Interaction Survey) coding scheme. The monitoring by FAST International is done independently from Western media coverage, thus providing for a constant influx of information. This information is collected by FAST International's own Local Information Networks (LINs). The quantitative empirical analysis is based on composed indicators developed within the IDEA framework. Since even the most profound quantitative analysis requires interpretation, FAST International cooperates with renowned country/area experts.

What are our products?

FAST International offers different early warning products tailored to customer needs. The only standard product available to the general public is the FAST Update, which provides the reader with an overview of developments on a semi-annual basis. It consists of three to five tension barometers (graphs), displaying cooperative and conflictive developments, which are analyzed by FAST's country/area experts on the basis of specific indicators. Whenever major changes occur in one of the countries or regions under scrutiny, FAST releases Special Updates, which follow the structure of the regular FAST Updates. FAST Updates are available in either hard copy, in electronic form on the respective country page or by subscription.

Which countries do we currently monitor?

Africa: Angola, Burundi, DRC/Kivu region, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia
Asia: Afghanistan, India/Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Europe: Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Russian Federation/North Caucasus region