

Polity IV Country Report 2010: Mozambique

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Score:</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2009</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2010</td> <td style="width: 15%;">Change</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Polity:</td> <td>5</td> <td>5</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Democ:</td> <td>5</td> <td>5</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Autoc:</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Durable:</td> <td></td> <td>16</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tentative:</td> <td></td> <td>No</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Score:	2009	2010	Change	Polity:	5	5	0	Democ:	5	5	0	Autoc:	0	0	0	Durable:		16		Tentative:		No		<p style="text-align: center;">Authority Trends, 1975-2010: Mozambique</p>
Score:	2009	2010	Change																						
Polity:	5	5	0																						
Democ:	5	5	0																						
Autoc:	0	0	0																						
Durable:		16																							
Tentative:		No																							
SCODE	MZM	CCODE	541	Date of Report	1 June 2011																				
Polity IV Component Variables																									
XRREG	XRCOMP	XROPEN	XCONST	PARREG	PARCOMP																				
2	2	4	4	2	4																				
Date of Most Recent Polity Transition (3 or more point change)																									
End Date			Begin Date																						
27 October 1994			28 October 1994																						
Polity Fragmentation: No																									
Constitution																									
1990																									
Executive(s)																									
President Armando Guebuza (FRELIMO); directly elected 1-2 December 2004, reelected 28 October 2009, 75.0%																									
Legislature																									
Unicameral: Assembly of the Republic (250 seats; proportionally elected; most recent elections, 28 October 2009) Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO): 191 Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO): 51 Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM): 8																									
Judiciary																									
Supreme Court																									

Narrative Description:¹

Executive Recruitment: Transitional or Restricted Elections (7)

After thirteen years of military struggle with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Portugal abandoned its colonial claims on this poor East African country in 1975. Without holding elections or a national referendum, Samora Machel was appointed president of Mozambique and his Marxist-based FRELIMO was designated as the country's only legal party. Following President Machel's death in 1986, FRELIMO's Central Committee designated Joaquim Chissano as his successor. In an effort to end the country's long-running civil war with the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), President Chissano accelerated reforms aimed at transforming Mozambique into a multi-party democracy. The 1990 constitution paved the way for the conduct of the country's first multi-party presidential elections in 1994. International observers described the 1994

¹ The research described in this report was sponsored by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF). The PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. The views expressed herein are the authors' alone and do not represent the views of the US Government.

elections, which were won by President Chissano, as meeting the minimum standards for a procedural democracy. RENAMO, which signed a peace accord with the government in 1992, accepted these results and agreed to cooperate with FRELIMO in the post-election era. President Chissano was re-elected in 1999 in controversial elections that sparked sporadic violence between FRELIMO and RENAMO supporters. While RENAMO claimed that fraud and electoral irregularities plagued both the presidential and parliamentary elections of 1999, nevertheless, international observers deemed them to be relatively free and fair. In 2001 there was a simmering debate between old-line socialists within FRELIMO and supporters of President Chissano over the future of the party and its leadership. In September 2004 President Chissano declared that he would not run for a third term in the December elections.

Eight presidential candidates and twenty-five political parties participated in the national elections of December 2004. Despite very low voter turnout and claims by RENAMO of electoral irregularities, both the presidential and legislative elections were deemed to be largely free and fair by international observers. While these observers noted some shortcomings and irregularities, nevertheless, they argued that they were not sufficient to alter the election results. The FRELIMO presidential candidate, Armando Guebuza, won a landslide victory while his party showed impressive gains in the National Assembly. President Guebuza was reelected with 75% of the vote in 28 October 2009 elections. Immediately following the polls, RENAMO general secretary Ossufo Momade demanded that the elections be annulled due to “massive fraud” and a transitional government be set up to run the country until the electoral laws could be overhauled and new polls organized; he suggested that “new sacrifices” may be necessary to “save democracy” in Mozambique.

While the opposition parties alleged that FRELIMO won the presidential and legislative elections of October 2009 through fraud, once again, international observers claimed that the actual conduct of the polls was relatively clean and that the outcome largely reflected the will of the people. However, they did identify the decision by the National Election Commission, which has close ties to FRELIMO, to limit the participation of the newly formed Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM) during the election campaign as problematic. They also expressed concern over the episodes of partisan political violence that occurred during the campaign. In general, the active dominance of the ruling FRELIMO over the electoral process and government policy ensures that the party will not be seriously challenged by any opposition groups in the near future. In view of these structural advantages and the ruling party’s exploitation of these advantages, executive selection in Mozambique must, at best, be viewed as “transitional or restriction election” since the end of the civil war and beginning of multi-party elections in 1994.

Executive Constraints: Moderate Limitations (4)

Despite functioning as a multi-party democracy since 1994, policymaking and implementation processes in Mozambique continue to be dominated by the central leadership of FRELIMO. The National Assembly, which actively debates government initiatives and does generate some independent legislative proposals, nevertheless, remains clearly subordinate to the executive branch. Moreover, the weak judiciary remains unable to provide an effective check on the power of the executive branch.

In November 2004 the parliament passed some minor revisions to the constitution. While these changes did not place any significant limitations on the president or significantly increase the power of the legislature, nevertheless, it did place the head of state firmly under the rule of law. Under these revisions, the president is no longer immune from criminal prosecution or legislative impeachment.

Political Participation: Political Liberalization: Limited and/or Decreasing Overt Coercion (9)

Until 1992 FRELIMO was the only legally recognized party in Mozambique. Since then over twenty-five parties have formed in this country, the most significant being the civilian arm of RENAMO. While RENAMO has agreed to cooperate with FRELIMO under this new democratic system, nevertheless, political tensions between the two parties remain high. While the government continues to accuse RENAMO of maintaining ties to groups of armed guerrillas, RENAMO accuses the FRELIMO-dominated government of electoral malpractice and the use of state funds for political purposes. Tensions between these two groups escalated in the aftermath of the December 1999 elections. Violent anti-government demonstrations and the boycott of RENAMO parliamentarians resulted in heightened tensions in 2000. At the peak of their boycott, RENAMO threatened to form a government of its own in the six northern and central provinces where its political support is strongest. RENAMO parliamentarians ended their boycott of the National Assembly in October 2000. Despite the contentious political atmosphere in Mozambique over the past couple of years, the FRELIMO government continues to seek a compromise with opposition forces

and has accepted several proposals from these groups, revising the electoral law and in 2004 revising several controversial aspects of the constitution.

A third significant political party made its debut in 2009, the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM). Led by a former member of RENAMO, Daviz Simango, the MDM was formed in early 2009. While it faced considerable legal barriers to campaigning in the October 2009 elections, nonetheless, Simango came in third in the presidential balloting with 9% of the vote while his party garnered 8 seats in the legislature. While still relatively small compared to FRELIMO and RENAMO, its strong showing in the electoral contests of 2009 indicate that the people of Mozambique may be seeking alternatives to the political dominance of the two major parties.