ROLE PLAYED BY CHURCH AND STATE IN THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE, 1975-2004.

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in the

Faculty of Theology

University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Prof G.A.Duncan

2013

Declaration

I, Júlio André Vilanculos, declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree Philosophiae Doctor at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another University/institution.

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The Political action of citizen's individually or collectively is always determined by a multiplicity of factors: first, political socialisation; second, logic of the dominant political culture in the society; third, factors of ideological nature; forth, religious factors to name but a few. In the particular case of Mozambique it can be seen that from independence in 1975 onwards the political and religious dimension went through several changes. In the political area the changes were observed more profoundly after the independence of the country under the orientation of FRELIMO the political party in power. From that moment until 1990 the country was governed by the domination of one political party under a Marxist system of socialism. In the religious arena, the domination of the Roman Catholic Church was observed prior to independence since it was working together with the dominators (Portuguese) and other Christian religions were persecuted by this church. However, after independence another dimension became a changing force within the country. First of all the relationship between FRELIMO and the church was not good. Second, from 1982 this relationship started to take on a positive nature. The questions that then arose were the following: What are the factors that might have contributed to this changed situation? How can this dimension be explained? What are the implications of these changes?

This study seeks to discuss the role played by the church and the state in the democratisation process of Mozambique. It starts by exploring the general background of Mozambique where issues such as liberation, civil wars and eventually peace negotiations are discussed. It discusses also the church and state relationship highlighting the contribution from the protestant churches towards Mozambican independence. This study discusses and explains the reasons why the church should be participating in political issues in order to build a good and decent democracy for all the people in Mozambique. Following, it demonstrates and discusses in a nutshell some of the activities undertaken by different churches who have sought collaboration with civil society and political authorities for the edification of peace, democracy, development and the wellbeing of human beings in Mozambique. It also discusses some issues both positive and negative regarding the elections that have occurred in Mozambique. Finally from the observation and analysis that has been completed, the conclusion of

this study is in the form of some recommendations which will help to improve the kind of democracy that the majority of the people in Mozambique crave.

Key Terms

Christian Council of Mozambique

Church

Corruption

Democracy

FRELIMO

Joaquim Alberto Chissano

Mozambique

Peace Negotiations

Portugal

Poverty

RENAMO

State

Abbreviations

AACC	All African Conference of Churches
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APIE	Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado/Park Estates State Administration
AFER	African Ecclesial Review
AWEPA	Associação de Parlamentares Europeus para África/ European Parlimentarians with Africa
CUECA	Catholic University of Eastern Africa
CCM	Conselho Cristão de Moçambique/ Christian Council of Mozambique
CEM	Conferência Episcopal de Moçambique/ Mozambique Episcopal Conference
CIEDIMA	Central Impressora e Editora de Maputo/ Central Publisher and Maputo Editor
CISLAMO	Conselho Islâmico de Moçambique/ Islamic council of Mozambique
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CNE	Comissão Nacional de Eleições /National Electoral Commission
CDC	Comites de àgua- Water Committees
DIC	Direcção da Identificação Civil/Civil Identification Directorate
FAM	Forças Armadas de Moçambique/ Mozambican Armed Forces
FDC	Fundo do Desenvolvimento da Comunidade/Community Development Fund
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/Mozambique Liberation Front
FODECOM	Foruns de Desenvolvimento Comunitário de Montepuez-Montepuez Community Development Forum
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
GPA	General Peace Agreement
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IPAJ	Instituto do Patrocínio e Assitência Jurdica/Institue for Legal Aid and Sponsorship
ID	Identification document
MDM	Movimento Democrático de Moçambique- Mozambican Democratic Movement
MANU	Mozambican African National Union
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
NY	New York
NGO's	Non-governmental Organisations
OJM	Organização da Juventude Moçambicana/Mozambican Youth Organisation
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana/Mozambican Women's Organisation
ONJ	Organização Nacional de Jornalistas/Journalists' Trade Union
ONP	Organização Nacional dos Professores/Teachers' Trade Union
OTM	Organização dos Trabalhadores Moçambicanos/Organisation of Mozambican workers
PDD	Partido para a Paz, Democracia e Desenvolvimento- Party for Peace, Development and Democracy.
PhD	Philosophiae Doctor
PPP	Preparing People for Peace
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional de Moçambique/ Mozambique National Resistence
TAE	Transformação de Armas em Enxadas/Transforming Arms into Ploughshares
TB	Tuberculosis
TVM	Televisão de Moçambique-Mozambican Television
STAE	Secretariado Técnico da Adminintração Eleitoral/Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STV	Soicos Television
UDENAMO	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique/National Democratic Union of Mozambique

UMESP	Universidade Metodista de São Paulo/ Sant Paul Methodist University
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	National Union for Mozambique Independence
UNOMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
USSR	Union Soviet Socialist Republics
VIM	Volunteer in Mission
WCC	World Council of Churches
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Title: Role played by Church and State in the democratisation process in Mozambique, 1975-2004.

The purpose of this research is to analyse the different stages of the relationship between church and state since 1975 onward as well as to analyse the contribution of churches towards Mozambican democracy. The contribution of churches in Mozambican democracy has not been given much prominence by church historians. The available records on this matter are written mainly by laypersons, philosopher and people working is social area. The researcher explors the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process looking at some challenges faced by both church and state for the promotion of democracy and peace in the nation. This means that the researcher explors the contemporary Mozambican context, and the historical events contributing to the present level of democracy in the country. Last, the researcher brings some recommendations to the church and state highlighting some areas that still need in-depth study.

1.1 Background of the study

The Portuguese colonised some parts of the African continent. Christian missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church always accompanied the colonisers. On this note, Chamango argues that there is no way one can talk about evangelisation in Africa without considering the issue of colonisation and vice versa[1]. The Portuguese targeted Mozambique for colonisation. The first contact of the Portuguese with Mozambique was in 1498 when Vasco da Gama on his way to India passed through this country[2]. When the Portuguese discovered the richness in some countries of Africa in general and Mozambique in particular they became very interested in different programs. In the case of Mozambique the Portuguese were interested in a crusade against Muslims.

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[1] S. Chamango, *A Chegada do evangelho em Moçambique* (1982), 3.
[2] L. C. Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique: Caminhos de Hoje e de Amanhã*, Maputo: Imprimi Potest *(*1987), 72.

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Evangelism was an aim and commerce was their greatest interest because of the gold, ivory and slaves[3].

Evangelisation was firstly performed by the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church and later on by Protestant missionaries coming from different denominations such as Reformed Church in 1842, Anglican Church in 1861, United Congregational Church (American Board) 1880, Presbyterian Church of Mozambique in 1881, Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1882, Free Methodist Church in 1885, Episcopal Methodist Church 1890, just to mention a few. Later on, there was a Pentecostalism phenomenon that emerged in Mozambique in 1911 through Paul Khosa a young Pentecostal that belonged to Tsonga ethnic that was converted to this movement while working in South Africa[4]. This Pentecostal movement and other that emerged later were also involved in evangelism process within the country.

The coming of the Portuguese to Mozambique demanded that Mozambicans fought for their country. In 1964 Mozambicans, tired of oppression, started liberation movements which the research will deal with in chapter two of this thesis. When analysing the political situation of Mozambique since its independence in 1975 it was observed that a transition had occurred. This transition happened not only on the political side but it happened also between the church and state relationships. For example, the transition from a one-party system of government to a multi-party system that started in 1992 with the peace agreement signed in Roma influenced the research.

According to the history of Mozambique, after the liberation war that ended with the signature of the Lusaka Accord in 1974 and the independence of the country in the following year, the country fell into another terrible situation which was civil war.

1.2 Statement of the problem

From reading the work of previous researchers, the researcher found that from 1975 when FRELIMO came into power the relationship between the church and state in

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[3] G. Growther, *Africa*, Hawthorn: Lonely Publications (1995), 615.
[4] http://dnm.cadp.pt/espaco-lusofonia/107-mocambique (accessed on 20 November 2013).

Mozambique deteriorated[5]. Helgesson goes further in stressing that the activities of various religious organisations in the nation objectively constituted an obstacle to the advancement of the revolutionary process and the main reason being that all these religious organisations disseminated amongst the population antiscientific concepts of the world, of man and of society[6]. Consequently, the government officials closed many church buildings and Christian fellowship services operated outside church buildings. At worse, some missionaries were imprisoned[7].

The researcher observe that by the 1980s the relationship between church and state in Mozambique had changed rapidly because by that period rebel activities had gained a strong momentum. Perhaps the government needed support from the churches. President Samora Moisés Machel in his discourse in 1982 greatly appreciated the activities of the Protestant churches[8].

However, the change of the relationship between church and state reached its peak by the participation of President Joaquim Alberto Chissano in the celebrations of the centenary of the United Methodist Church, in December, 1990. The governor at that time and the chief administrator of the government praised the church and its leaders for their positive work throughout the century[9]. From that moment until presently, the relationship between the churches/religious organisations and the state in Mozambique has been good. This is clearly evidenced by the involvement of churches in some areas particularly in the area of social services as well as in political area.

Mozambique constitutes one of the African nations that have been cited in the continent of Africa as well as internationally as being an example in maintaining peace, stability, and enhancing democracy[10]. In addition, the Mozambican democratisation process has been drawing attention and the interest of developed countries which think that it is paramount to support Mozambique because it promotes a good example of peace and democracy in the continent. There is no doubt that some people in Mozambique even at

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[5] G. J. Rossouw and E. Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique* (1993), 538.
[6] Helgesson, *Church, State and people in Mozambique: A Historical Study with Special Emphasis on the Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region* Uppsala: Tryck AB Press (1994), 8.
[7] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 7-8.
[8] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 10.
[9] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 11.
[10] http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/JUD-22211732-LWS (accessed, 23 February 2010).

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an international level may not understand the major factors that might have been or which contributed to the present situation of peace and democracy in the nation. Others may even question how it is possible that after sixteen years of civil war in Mozambique and even after signing the peace agreement between FRELIMO and RENAMO the nation is peaceful up to the present time.

1.3 Definition of operational terms

Civil war: is a war that is fought internally within a nation between differing factions, religious groups, or powers[11].

Church: this term can be defined in twofold. The church as the Body of Christ and the church as a denomination. As the body of Christ, means that every Christian is a part of Christ's body, it emphasises the unity that must be a part of the church. Thus the church is a single body formed by a number of different members being brought together in Christ[12]. As a denomination it means "an organised Christian Church or tradition or religious group or community of believers or aggregate of worship centers or congregations, usually within a specific country, whose component congregations and members are called by the same name in different areas, regarding themselves as an autonomous Christian Church distinct from other denominations, churches and traditions"[13].

Clergy: is the generic term used to describe the formal religious leadership within a given Christian Church. Depending on the denomination, clergy usually take care of the ritual aspects of the religious life, teach or otherwise help in spreading the religion's doctrine and practices[14].

According to Waltz, "this word comes from the Latin word '*clericus*' meaning priest. In the United Methodist Church for instance, it refers only to those who have been ordained as deacons. An ordained minister is one who has progressed sufficiently in

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[11] http://www.wisegeek.org/what-is-a-civil-war.htm (accessed on 12 November 2013).
[12] http://www.bibleviews.com/church1.html (accessed on 20 November 2013).
[13] http://www.philvaz.com/apologetics/a120.htm (accessed on 26 November 2013)
[14] http://www.experiencefestival.com/clergy_ -_christian clergy# (accessed, 7 October 2009)

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preparation for ministry to be received by the Annual Conference as either a probationary member or an associated member[15] or elders the name given to the higher order of the ordained ministry in the United Methodist Church"[16].

Civil Society: Has been defined as "an arena where manifold social movements…and civic organisations from all classes…attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangement so that they can express themselves and advance their interest"[17]. Minnis defines Civil Society as "private and public associations which are guaranteed the rights to organise, mobilise and if they desire may influence political decisions of the state control"[18].

Democratisation: it is a term designating a movement for the implementation of a liberal democracy system[19]. Democratisation is basically a process of establishing, strengthening or extending the principles, mechanisms and institutions that define a democratic order[20].

Democracy: "The word democracy comes from Greek *Demos* 'the people' and *Kratein* 'to rule', and signifies "rule by the people". The origin of democracy is Athens and its direct democracy, where all citizens took an active part in decision-making through general assemblies or direct elections"[21]. For the sake of this dissertation the representative democracy is applied to promote a system of rule that embraces elected officers who undertake to represent the interests or views of citizens within the framework of the rule of law"[22].

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[15] A. K. Waltz, *A Dictionary for United Methodist*, Nashville: Abingdon Press (1991), 76.
[16] Waltz, *A Dictionary for United Methodist*, 87.
[17] E. Macamo, *War, Adjustment and Civil Society in Mozambique*, Harare: Sapes Books Publisher (1995), 93.
[18] J. R. Minnis, *Prospects and Problems for Civil Society in Malawi*, Blantyre: CLAIM Publisher (1998), 130.
[19] L. De Brito, *Estado e Democracia Multipartidária em Moçambique*, Maputo: Centro de Edtudos Africanos Universidade Eduardo Mondlabe (1993), 17.
[20]http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/political%20science/volume7n2/ajps007002006.pdf (accessed, 10 October 2009).
[21] I. S. Jenset, *Democratization as Development aid in Mozambique: which role does education for citizenship play?* (2005), 43.
[22] D. Held, *Prospects for Democracy*, California: Stanford University Press (1993), 5.

Laity: The word is "taken from Greek '*Laos*', meaning '*people*'. In the Christian church it means the people of God. In particular, laity designates those who are not ordained ministers"[23].

Peace: The word does not only mean cessation of war, but also includes a state of harmony, where people are free from mental, economic, political, social, spiritual conflict and disease[24].

Peace Intervention: Refers to the "actions by external nation-states in pursuit of policy objectives or favourable conditions to achieve those objectives; actions taken to uphold internationally accepted values or laws; efforts to alter the dynamics or outcomes of a process under way"[25].

Socialisation: "is the process by which people learn to adopt norms, values, attitudes and behaviour accepted and practiced by the ongoing system"[26].

Socialism: is defined as "any of various theories or systems of the ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution by society or the community rather than by private individuals, with all members of society or community sharing in the work and products. Essentially, everyone works together for the greater good. This is the intermediate stage, according to Marxist doctrine, which comes between the capitalism and communism stages"[27].

1.4   Scope of the study

The researcher concentrated on the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process of the nation. Since in Mozambique there is an ecumenical organisation entitled Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), comprised of twenty-two Christian denominations and two Christian organisations. This organisation was

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[23] Waltz, *A Dictionary for United Methodists*, 82.
[24] A. Cesar, *Religion and Peace in Acholiland: 1986-1998* (1999), 3.
[25] M. E. King, *A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflicts Studies*, Geneva: University Press (no further details available), 21.
[26] http://www.docstoc.com/docs/2258752/What-is-Socialization (accessed, 26 September 2009)
[27] http://americanaffairs.suite101.com/article.cfm/defining_socialism_and_fascism (accessed, 8 October 2009).

taken as the base in the process of analysing the role played by the church in the democratisation process. The Roman Catholic Church also was taken into consideration because it played a crucial role working hand and hand with the CCM. The scope of this study is mainly from 1975 to 2004. The year 1975 is significant because historically that is when Mozambique attained its independence from Portugal and it is the same year that the relationship between church and state in Mozambique started to depreciate sharply. The year 2004 is significant in the study because that is when Joaquim Alberto Chissano the first president who introduced the multi-party democracy in the country decided to relinquish presidential powers from his own will.

In dealing with Mozambican democracy, the researcher started from the one-party system to the current democracy. Concerning multi-party democracy, the research was concentrated on the issues related mainly to the 'electoral' process since the majority of Mozambicans see the casting of votes as the only way of exercising democracy. Nevertheless, the research also touched on other areas of democracy in general. Since this is a historical study the research also touched the period before 1975 and after 2004 in order to try and make this work more meaningful and understandable. The study was conducted mainly in the following cities of Mozambique: Beira, Chimoio, Inhambane, Lichinga, Maputo, Nampula, Pemba, Quelimane, Tete and Xai-Xai. Some districts also were visited by the researcher.

1.5   Objectives of the study

i.   To trace the historical process of the relationship between church and state in Mozambique from 1975 to 2004.
ii.   To study the process of democratisation in Mozambique.
iii.   To investigate the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process in Mozambique.
iv.   To explore contemporary Mozambican society and the historical events contributing to the present level of democracy in the country.
v.   To discover the challenges facing the nation for the consolidation of democracy.

1.6   Research questions

The purpose of this study is to analyse the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process in Mozambique. In order to obtain the necessary information the researcher used the following research questions:

  i.   What is the role played by the state in the multi-party democracy in Mozambique?
  ii. What characterises contemporary Mozambican democracy? Anything to criticise?
  iii. Mozambican democracy (elections) is characterised by abstention. What message are people conveying through this attitude?
  iv. How to change this scenario?
  v.   What is the contribution of the church towards Mozambican democracy?
  vi. Should churches be involved in politics? Why?
  vii. To what extent should it be said that church and state are working together for Mozambican democracy?
  viii. How the relationship between church and state is evaluated?

1.7   Motivation

From 1975 when Mozambique acquired its independence, new political laws were formulated by the leaders of the party that fought for independence. Since the Portuguese who dominated Mozambique were accompanied by Roman Catholic Missionaries, the first objective of FRELIMO was to eliminate the Christian religion arguing that it represented the coloniser and oppression. This fighting was directed first of all towards the Roman Catholic Church members later on the same project embraced the Protestants Churches as well. As a consequence of this attitude most of the churches were closed and people were not allowed to worship, in other words Christians were required to apostatise. However, this situation changed from 1982 when the government and churches started to work together. The researcher was interested in investigating this relationship.

The General Peace Agreement (GPA) was signed after the involvement of the church in the negotiation process and up to this moment Mozambique is still enjoying peace even though it is a negative peace. At this moment of a multi-party democracy in Mozambique it seems like the state now trusts Christians to lead some democracy projects. For instance, the first president of *Comissão Nacional de Eleições*-National Electoral Commission (CNE) Dr. Brazão Mazula is an assiduous member of the Roman Catholic Church, the second president Rev. Jamisse Uilson Taimo is a pastor of the United Methodist Church and the third president Rev. Arão Litsure is a pastor of the United Congregational Church. The researcher is interested in investigating the role of the churches in the democratisation process of Mozambique as well as analysing how the Mozambican state is working together with churches in this process.

1.8 Literature review

The book of Phiri, K.M and Ross, K. R (1998) entitled "Democratisation in Malawi a Stocktaking"[28] highlights the role played by the churches in the democratic process of Malawi. In addition, this book presents three major roles played by the church: mediatory, advisory and educative. The book also indicated that the church can be a problem in the process of democracy and the writer of the book called the problem "the hidden face" of the church. Furthermore, Otti, M., Phiri, K.M. and Petel, N. (2000) in their book entitled "Malawi's Second Democratic Elections: Process, Problems and Prospects"[29] dealt with the role of Christian churches in the area of democracy and theological education. The church played a courageously prophetic role while proclaiming the word of God in a situation of injustice, oppression and other kinds of problems relating to social and public order and seeking to maintain democracy. This book stressed also prayers in public affairs as another role of the church as well as its involvement in making public statements and publications. These books inspired significantely the researcher considering the way the contribution of the church in Malawi democratisation is discussed. For instance the expression the church can be a problem in the process of democracy, was of great importance since it helped the

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[28] K.M. Phiri and K.R. Ross, *Democratisation in Malawi: A Stocktaking*, Blantyre: CLAIM Publisher (1998).
[29] M. Ott *et al*, Malawi's *Second Democratic Elections: Process, Problems and Prospects*, Blantyre: CLAIM Publisher (2000).

researcher to bring some proposals so that such situation can not happen in Mozambique.

Mazula, B (1995) the editor of "*Moçambique: Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolimento-*Mozambique:Elections, Democracy and Development"[30] demonstrated clearly the involvement of churches in the political arena in Mozambique through participating in the social life of the people. The editor validated how much the churches were involved in the preparation for peace and the elections in the country as well as in other issues of democracy (intervention in issues of public life as well as in politics). Most importantly, this book dealt with the role the churches played in Mozambique during the first elections of the country. This book was used as an eye opener for the researcher since it dealt about the involvement of the church in Mozambican democracy considering that this was a new experience in the country. The material of this book is used to highlight that the involvement of the church in democratic process is always necessary.

Sachikonye, L (1995) the editor of "Democracy, Civil Society and the State: Social Movement in Southern Africa"[31]. This book highlights very clearly the church and state relationship, most importantly the book presents different periods of the relationship between the church and state since the period when the two were not in good relations until when the church and state started to have a good relationship. The material of this book was used to draw some experiences of civil society involvement in democracy in order to strengthen the involvement of Mozambican churches in democracy as members of civil society.

Mugambi, J.N.K (1997) in his book entitled "The Church and Reconstruction of Africa: Theological Considerations"[32]. Highlights the different ways the church can be involved in the process of democracy: according to this author the church can be involved in democracy through civic education, monitoring the elections and through developing a theological basis for church involvement. The material of this book

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[30] B. Mazula, *Moçambique Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*, Maputo: Publicações Inter-Africa Groupo (1995).
[31] L. Sachikonye, *Democracy, Civil Society and State: Social Movement in Southern Africa*, Harare: Sapes Book Publisher (1995).
[32] J.N.K. Mugambi, *The Church and Reconstruction of Africa: Theological Considerations*, Nairobi: AACC Publications (1997).

contributed significantly for the compilation of this thesis since it helped to reflect about different ways can be used by churches on its involvement in democracy. In addition to that, this book was an inspiration by showing that there is need to reconstruct Mozambique after civil war and the church must be part of that process.

Jere, P. Q (2007), in his article "Church and Democracy in Malawi" seeks to demonstrate how the church in that country was involved in the political field. The author in his explanation (biblical and scholarly approaches) applied two different approaches; both agree that churches should not remain silent in political issues of a country. However, Jallah, T.T (2006) in his dissertation entitled "The Role of the Church in Promoting and Sustaining a Democratic Culture of Peace in Post-war Liberia" highlighted the totalitarian role of maintaining democracy in Liberia. The dissertation stressed that the church was the only nationwide avenue because of its institutional strength and its sense of obligation for public morals and social justice. On the area of elections the dissertation stressed that the role of the church was very clear in civic education where people were taught the importance of voting. In the case of Liberia it was the Christian Council of Churches that carried out this program. Jere's article was so important since it helped the researcher to highlight that there is need for Mozambicans to follow examples of other countries where the churches never kept quiet on democratic issues. Different of Jallah who stresses the role of the church mainly on civic education, this thesis highlight that pastors can also be involved in democracy occupying position of leadership in organs that are responsible in running elections.

Helgesson, A (1994) in his book entitled "Church, State and People in Mozambique: A Historical Study with Special Emphasis on the Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region"[33] produced excellent work in trying to explain the relationship that existed between church, state and people in Mozambique. History does not hide any information therefore Helgesson stated the strength and weaknesses of the Roman Catholic Church as well as of the United Methodist Church. His book is also divided into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence, with more concentration on the Inhambane region. This book shows clearly the way some of the churches like the Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church and the United

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[33] A. Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*.

Methodist Church related to the state in Mozambique. The only weakness of this book is that it focused only on Inhambane province which is located in the Southern region of Mozambique and its content do not deal with democratic matter since it was written before the introduction of democracy in Mozambique. However, it inspired the researcher to understand the development of the relationship between church and state before the introduction of democracy.

Every book reviewed by the researcher was significant and was very helpful for the compilation of the thesis because they have dealt with most aspects of the role played by the church in education, social services and democratisation process. In this context, these books raised issues such as should the church be involved in politics? Should church members participate in the election programs of the country? These issues and others are deeply analysed in this thesis. In order to cover some gaps other books as depicted in the footnotes and bibliography were utilised by the researcher.

1.9   Justification of the study

Carrying out this research was of great importance for Mozambicans and not only Mozambicans because it will also bring to the fore the concrete role played by Mozambican churches and the state in the process of democratisation. In addition to that, this research will help people to understand that the church is not there only to carry out its ministry of teaching the Christian faith, charity and preaching the gospel but also to show that it has a mandate to be involved in the life of people in its totality. "It would thus appear that the radical critique of the church, on the part of FRELIMO government, may have been an attempt to divert the church's attention away from its involvement in political and social issues…it was when the church refused to accept such a designated, purely spiritual role in society, stressing rather that the Christian Gospel applies to life in its totality"[34]. In fact, democracy is part and parcel of the life of the people and the church needs to deal with this as is mentioned by Malawian writer Peter Von Doepp that it is important to keep in mind that in Malawi churches both

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[34] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 6.

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consciously and unconsciously, through action and inaction continue to shape the political life of the country[35].

1.10   Research methodology

The researcher applied in this study two methods from "social theory" namely comparative and quantitative methods. According to Bürke the comparative method is of paramount importance because it allows historians to seek and obtain in advance the causes of certain social phenomenon[36]. According to this method this study attempted to bring out the underlying similarities and differences of the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process in Mozambique. The reality on the ground in Mozambique shows clearly that the church is playing a role in the democratisation process in Mozambique apart from the state. Therefore, this thesis examines, in comparative terms, the theoretical and empirical basis of this claim in the Mozambican context. The comparison served as a pivot for arriving at a comprehensive historical and sociological appreciation of the differing contribution and contradictory tendencies of church and state to the democratisation process in Mozambique. The second method that was applied was the quantitative method. According to Bürke through this method questionnaires were elaborated and interviews were conducted with a certain group of people leading to an analysis of the questions following established criterions.[37] The theoretical outline covered by the discussions concerning the research questions that was addressed through the analysis of empirical data in chapter five. The empirical data was collected during a field study in a convenient sample. Data collection depended on primary and secondary sources.

1.10.1 Primary sources

These comprised of documentary material: archival data, interviews, group discussion and questionnaires. During the interview process, guided questions were applied

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[35] P. Von Doepp, *The Kingdom Beyond Zasintha: Churches and Political Life in Malawi's Post-authoritarian Era*, Blantyre: CLAIM Publisher (1998), 102.
[36] P. Burke, *História e Teoria Social*, São Paulo: Editora UMESP (1992), 41-42.
[37] Burke, *História e Teoria Social*, 54.

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because they were very flexible both on the part of the interviewer and the interviewee on the ground that it gave an instant feedback and opportunities for the interviewee to ask questions which he or she did not understand.

In questionnaires, closed and open-ended questions were applied. Closed-ended questions minimised the researcher's time and effort in analysing data as well as providing the guidelines to what the researcher is looking for. The researcher further used open-ended questions in order to give the respondents an opportunity to express their views freely in order to provide more data to be used by the researcher.

Both interviews and questionnaires targeted church leaders and other individuals. For example, Bishops from different churches, district superintendents, pastors, lawyers, teachers, students, nurses, builders, business people and politicians were consulted. Politicians played a very crucial role in the interviews since most of them knew better about the relationship between church and state and the introduction of democracy to Mozambique. In addition to that, the researcher targeted also the representatives of civil society from different Mozambican Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) working in the area of democratisation process. This does not necessarily mean that other people who were interviewed did not know about this matter. Targeted people were of mixed gender and ages who are eyewitnesses to the role that the church and state are playing in the Mozambican democracy. The questions for both questionnaires and guided questions for interviewee were translated into Portuguese since this language was to be used for data collection.

1.10.2 Secondary sources

Secondary sources covered library books, journals, internet, magazine, articles, text books, Bible and newspapers.

1.10.3 Sampling

The sample was drawn from selected parts of Mozambique such as Beira, Chimoio, Inhambane, Lichinga, Maputo, Nampula, Pemba, Quelimane, Tete and Xai-Xai. In these parts the researcher preferred to contact people who were to provide relevant information.

1.10.4 Research instruments

In the process of data collection the researcher used three different instruments namely: a cassette recorder, digital camera and notebooks. The cassette recorder was used for recording information during interviews and it was very helpful in saving time. However, permission was asked from the interviewee by the interviewer and an informed consent letter (ethical clearance) from the Research Ethics Committee was displayed to every interviewee as a signal of respecting the subject rights. The digital camera captured important images that are included in this thesis. Finally, a notebook was used for recording the information during the data collection.

1.10.5 Data processing and analysis

The researcher recorded, transcribed, translated and assessed the data using textual analysis. All data was checked for completeness, accuracy and uniformity. The research data from questionnaires was processed manually according to the themes. The research data from the interviews was manually analysed and the findings were integrated in the writing of this research thesis. The researcher used research assistants, people of goodwill who were not paid any money. In consultation with the supervisor the researcher formulated the questionnaires.

1.11   Significance of the study

This research will bring awareness to Christians from different denominations, believers of different religions, non-believers and to government officials about the importance of the role played by churches and state in the process of democratisation in the nation. This study highlighted the relationship of the church and the Mozambican state. This relationship focused on both negative and positive perspectives. On the positive side the researcher highlighted how the church works with the state in the process of democratisation of the nation. This research will help both clergy and laity of different denominations to understand that it is the church's responsibility to be involved in different issues that constrain the nation. It will also help Mozambican government to understand that the role of the church is not only to preach the Christian gospel but also to be involved in other issues that hinder the development of human beings. Different methodologies will be useful in order to reach some of the people in the government. First, the thesis will be given to some of the church members that are either workers in government offices or those who can get access to government people as a form of disseminating the content of this thesis. Second, the thesis will be available in some public libraries where people of different backgrounds can get access to read. Third, other further ways of disseminating the thesis will also be explored. At further stage thes thesis will be translated into Portuguese so that a good number of Mozambicans can read.

1.12   Anticipated constraints

First, it is known that the practice of democracy in Mozambique is very recent and there is a lack of relevant material that deals with this topic. To deal with this situation the researcher complemented the written material with interviewees and questionnaires. Second, some people were afraid to give authentic information for some reasons namely: lack of trust with the interviewer and lack of understanding the importance of this research. There is no doubt that there were some misunderstanding since thinking that the researcher is related with political issues. Hence some people may think that the researcher is part of the political system. For the researcher to deal with this situation he clarified very clearly the purpose of the study. In addition to that, the letter

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from the church where the researcher is a member, the letter from the promototer as well as the ethical clearance were very useful as a confirmation that he is not a member of any political party, but a person only involved in research for study purpose. Third, looking at the system of the study (distance learning) and the distance between South Africa where the work is supposed to be presented and Mozambique where the researcher is living and working constituted a constraint for the compilation of this thesis on time. Fourth, some respondents did not return their reply to the questionnaire and this situation caused an inconvenience to the researcher in the process of analysing the questions. As a way forward the interview was a solution. Last but not least, the lack of funds constituted another constraint in the process of the compilation of the research on time. Therefore, this constraint was not of great impact since the researcher was lobbying for financial support from people who were willingly to support the writer. Despite of all these constraints mentioned above, the researcher tried by all means to overcome such situations.

1.13   Chapter Outline

1.13.1   Chapter One- Introduction

The research focused on a specific topic dealing with the role played by the church and state in democratisation process of Mozambique. This chapter laid the foundation for the research. It included the background of the study, the statement of the problem, definition of operational terms, scope of the study, objective of the study, research questions, review of the literature written on this subject not only necessarily in the Mozambican context, justification of the study, research methodology, significance of the study and anticipated constraints.

1.13.2   Chapter Two- The Mozambican background

In this chapter, an overview of the Mozambican background was provided. This includes critical study of the Portuguese domination in Mozambique highlighting the Portuguese missionary work, its advantages and disadvantages. The liberation and civil

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wars deserved a special attention on this study looking at the impact of these wars. This chapter also discussed the role played by the churches during the liberation war and peace negotiation.

1.13.3 Chapter Three- Church and State relationship in Mozambique

This chapter examined the church and state relationship in Mozambique. Here the researcher discussed the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches, the contribution of the Protestant churches towards Mozambican independence. The climax of this chapter was the discussion of the attitude of FRELIMO towards the church and traditional leaders (religion).

1.13.4   Chapter Four- Towards Democracy in Mozambique

In 1990 a new era dawned in Mozambique. The political system changed with a new constitution that introduced the multi-party system. New political parties surfaced which identified openly as political parties. This chapter attempted to discuss critically the previous governing system of Mozambique likewise for the introduction of democracy in Mozambique. Issues like abstention, the correlation between democracy and development and the challenges for democracy were considered. This chapter attempted to answer the research questions, what is the role of the church and state in the democratisation process in Mozambique?

1.13.5   Chapter Five- Research findings

This chapter attempted to answer other research questions and was based on the following research questions:

- What is the role played by the state in the multi-party democracy in Mozambique?

- What characterises the contemporary Mozambican democracy? Anything to criticise?

- Mozambican democracy (elections) is characterised by abstention. What message are people conveying through this attitude?
- How to change this scenario?

- What are the contributions of the churches towards Mozambican democracy?

- Should churches be involved in politics? Why?

- To what extent should it be said that the church and state are working together for Mozambican democracy?

1.13.6   Chapter Six- Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter included a critical summary of the study. The role played by the church and state in democratisation process of Mozambique was emphasized and some recommendations were brought up as a way of solving some problems faced on Mozambican democracy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MOZAMBICAN BACKGROUND

2.1.   Portuguese domination

The history of Mozambique[38] did not start from the time of Portuguese domination. There were different empires that dominated Mozambique long before the Portuguese came into the country. Many attractive resources were found in the whole Indian Ocean litoral, and in the rivers that go through the country with the Zambezi River being one of great importance[39]. These natural resources (rivers and the flat litoral) facilitated an easy penetration into different communities along these rivers and the seashore. It is of paramount importance to mention some of the empires that dominated Mozambique before the Portuguese which includes: The first was the so called Bantu-speaking people, the Khoisan, the Bushmen, the Karanga, the Mwene Mutapa Empire, the Ngoni and the Undi[40]. The movements and empires mentioned above are not of interest for this study. Consequently, they will not be considered in depth. The starting point for the study is the Portuguese domination not as the central focus to be discussed but as an entrance point into the discussion.

The first contact for the Portuguese with Mozambique was on 10 January 1498 when Vasco da Gama passed through Inhambane[41]. Then da Gama's ships anchored in Mozambique Island in the North of Mozambique on his way to India. In Inhambane, because of the good hospitality that da Gama and his team received, they called that place *Terra da boa Gente* Portuguese words meaning "land of good people". As a result of that warm reception, Vasco da Gama offered the traditional chief of Inhambane four objects: a jacket, red trousers, a cap and a drain-pipe[42]. There is no doubt that on these two stops, one in Inhambane and another in Nampula, da Gama and his vessels

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[38] According to Henriksen the name 'Mozambique' derives from one Musa al Bique, a sheikh or a prominent person on the island.
[39] T. H. Henriksen, *Mozambique: A History*, Cape Town: Rex Collings with David Philip Publisher (1978), 1.
[40] Ibid, 1-15.
[41] S. Chamango, *Sumário da História da Igreja em Moçambique* (1991), 10.
[42] Chamango, *Sumário da História da Igreja em Moçambique*, 10.

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were more interested in exploring the diversity of the products from the Indian Ocean (including fish and prawns), and the fertile land for agriculture as well as the natural resources. In addition, the Portuguese were astonished at the stone buildings and the atmosphere of prosperity[43]. In the opinion of the researcher, this situation motivated the Portuguese to think of applicable modalities to explore the richness of Mozambique, not only that but to Christianise the people of the country. In order to fulfil their intent they first of all fought the Arabs (who were Muslims) that had already settled in the country. From the above situation it can be seen that when the Portuguese came to Africa (and Mozambique in particular) they were interested in commerce, evangelisation and a crusade against Muslims. It was because of these projects that in the 1530s more Portuguese penetrated into the interior of Mozambique to places such as Sena, Tete, Luabo and Quelimane[44].

One of the major strategies that accelerated the domination of the Portuguese over Mozambicans was the introduction of Prazos[45]. The project of Prazos began in the 17th century when the Portuguese started sending settlers to occupy the country with the objective of turning the occupied land into their own property as argued by Henriksen "the prazo masters relied on Africans for defence, trade, food and women. Using African techniques as well as labour in mining gold, hunting elephants, raising food and building houses and forts, they gradually became Africanised"[46].

Since the Portuguese needed to expand their authority, domination and promoting profitable business ventures they introduced companies as a new modality for exploiting the country. These companies were run through private means by British, Dutch and French firms[47]. The country was divided into three main companies namely: the Mozambique Company, covering two provinces Manica, Sofala and part of Gaza, the Niassa Company covering two provinces Niassa and Cabo Delgado and the Zambézia Company which included the Zambézia and Tete provinces. Maputo,

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[43] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 21.
[44] H. J. Sindima, *Drums of Redemption: An Introduction to African Christianity*, London: Praeger Publisher, (1994), 56.
[45] For detailed information on Prazos the research recommends a book written by T. H. Henriksen entitled *Mozambique: A History*, Cape Town: Rex Collings with David Philip Publisher, (1978).
[46] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 55.
[47] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 104.

Inhambane and the other parts of Gaza provinces were under the direct administration of the colonial state[48].

The introduction of companies into Mozambique brought to the country new forms of exploitation since the occupiers needed to generate an income. Examples include the family tax where each member of the family had to pay a certain amount to the owners of the company. Considering that the majority of Mozambicans did not have money to satisfy this demand, they had to double their workload, working in their own and the company's fields. This work was compulsory and was designated as *chibalo* (forced labour). It was in this context that the companies introduced the production of new crops such as cotton, tobacco, tea, sugar, rice and coconut[49] so that they could bring revenue to the colony. According to Eduardo Mondlane three major techniques were applied by the Portuguese for controlling these territories. First, Portuguese business people were sent to Mozambique on the pretext that they were only coming for commercial purposes, but later on the Portuguese then sent troops to eliminate any kind of resistance from local chiefs. Second, the Portuguese came to Mozambique and requested land for agricultural purposes but later on they claimed that the land was theirs. Third, the Portuguese missionaries came as peacemakers and were involved in evangelisation which was used to mislead Africans while the Portuguese troops were occupying and controlling the Mozambican land[50]. It was from this last technique that originated the following saying: "When white people came to our continent they had the Bible and we 'blacks' (indigenous) had the land. They said 'let us pray' and we closed our eyes to pray. At the end of the prayer 'whites' had the land and Africans had the Bible[51]. The reason for the exploitation undertaken by Catholic missionaries was caused by the fact that the 1940 concordat maintained a comfortable and mutually relationship between church and state. Consequently the church could not criticise the Roman Catholic Church whenever it committed a negative attiutudes.

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[48] M. Hall & T. Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since Independence*, Athens: Ohio University Press (1997), 3.

[49] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 106.

[50] E. Mondlane, *Lutar por Moçambique*, Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos Publications, (1995), 33.

[51] Extrated from T. Maluleke, *Black Theology as Public Discourse*. Concept Paper for the Academic Workshop Cape Town, 30 September - 2 October 1998 in http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/me99/docs/maluleke.htm (accessed, 11 November 2010).

2.2   Portuguese missionary work in Mozambique

The arrival of Vasco da Gama in Mozambique in 1498 marked the first missionary contact with the inhabitants because he came with some Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits who gave spiritual guidance to the soldiers and seamen who were part of his force[52]. Evangelisation gained momentum between 1514 and 1612 when the first missionary team came to Mozambique from Goa (India) and it was made up of the following priests: Gonçalves da Silveira, André Fernandes and Brother Fernando André da Costa who came to Inhambane[53]. Unfortunately, this first stage of evangelising was unsuccessful and this situation prompted a furious Portuguese scholar named A. da Silva Rego to write the following statement, "the virgin forest was not ready yet for the people to peacefully accept the Gospel…because it is dominated by the absolutism of chiefs and the interest of the blacks (indigenous)"[54]. After this failure in Inhambane, the Portuguese missionaries decided to penetrate into the interior of the country and in Sena-Sofala Province about five hundred (500) people were baptised[55].

The second missionary work in Mozambique began in January 1612 after the papal Bull issued by Pope Paulo V who elevated Mozambique to a "Prelature Nullius"[56]. This period is considered to be the time when some people in Mozambique started welcoming the Portuguese missionaries because some of the chiefs related to Monomotapa went to Dominican Seminaries in Goa to be trained as priests. Consequently, as we can see there were three orders of missionaries in Mozambique (Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits) who later on changed their evangelistic motifs and became more interested in trade, particularly gold, ivory and slaves. This situation created a crisis between the Portuguese state and the Roman Catholic Church and it culminated in the chasing away of Portuguese missionaries from Mozambique and the three orders were abolished and only four priests from Goa were left in Mutarara-Tete[57].

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[52] L. C. Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique: Caminhos de Hoje e de Amanhã*, Maputo: Imprimi Potest (1987), 31.
[53] Fereira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 72.
[54] Fereira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 72.
[55] H. J. Sindima, *Drums of Redemption*, 56.
[56] Prelature Nullius means a certain area of Roman Catholic Church that is functioning without a Prelate/Bishop. In such situation the Pope chose an Administrator to run the activities of the Church.
[57] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 72-74.

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Despite the problems between the Portuguese government and the Roman Catholic Church, missionaries continued coming to Mozambique in their campaign of evangelisation. According to Ferreira, the year of 1940 became very significant because the Roman Catholic Church began to have a systematic plan of evangelisation as a result three Dioceses were founded in Mozambique namely: Maputo, Beira and Nampula. Later on, the dioceses of Pemba, Lichinga, Inhambane, Xai-Xai, Tete and Quelimane were also created[58].

From the above observation the same missionaries who supported the Portuguese domination, continued spreading the gospel using new strategies. To begin with, the Roman Catholic missionary priests constantly worked with the African chiefs believing that by so doing the people would follow the example set by the ruling class. Second, the missionaries concentrated their efforts on teaching and preaching the gospel. Third, they translated (the translation was introduced in the Roman Catholic Church as a way to keeping their members within the church since by that time some Protestant churches undertake the process evangelisation and they used the transaltion as their main tool. The Protestant churches were the first Christian denominations to open school teaching in local languages and this included Bible lessons) some portions of the Bible into local languages. According to Kwame Bediako the translation of the Bible into local language ensured that a deep and authentic dialogue would take place between the Gospel and African tradition, authentic in so far it would take place not in the terms of foreign language or of a foreign culture but in the categories of local idioms and world-views. In adition to that, Lamin Sanneh argues that the significance of Scripture translation it that, it enables a people's language and thus their experience of truth, to be connected to the reality and actuality of the Living God. It is this which makes language itself into a theological category, confering upon it eternal significance and transcendent range[59].

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[58] Fereira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 74.
[59] K. Bediako, The Role and significance of the translation of the Bible into African Languages on consolidation of the Church and its expansion into unreached areas. http://www.wycliffe.net/resources/missiology/globalperspectives/tabid/97/Default.aspx?id=1105 (accessed on 18 November 2013).

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More significantly, of these three strategies education was the most important. For this reason wherever missionaries went they opened schools[60]. The most important target of these schools was not to develop the country's people by teaching, but to just teach them the Portuguese language. This position is supported by Macy who agrees by stressing that Mozambicans were kept from developing any kind of professional skills. On the contrary they were given little opportunity to receive even primary education. She goes on to say that to save national social expenditure, Portugal put the Roman Catholic Church in charge of educating the indigenous people. As a result by the time Mozambique became independent in 1975 there were only six economists, two agronomists, three lawyers, forty university graduates and less than a thousand indigenous people who had graduated from high school[61].

2.3 Critical examination of Portuguese domination

It is true that the majority of Mozambicans have the idea that the Portuguese colonised some countries in Africa in general and Mozambique in particular. Hence, the majority argue that there is no need to explain what positive effects they may have effected for colonised countries. However, the researcher is of the view that the Portuguese presence in Mozambique had both negative and positive impacts. In this manner, it is significant to appreciate the positive things that the Portuguese did as far as the researcher is concerned because the positive works outweigh the negative. The impact of Portuguese domination in Mozambique can be understood as threefold: social, political and economic and had a negative and positive impact. The researcher starts by analysing the negative impact of the Portuguese administration and missionaries in Mozambique. The major objective for the Portuguese who came to Africa was to civilise Africans and they wanted them to accept everything they were doing on the continent. In fact, the Portuguese were the source of the exploitation and oppression of Mozambicans and they are the ones to blame for the poverty in Mozambique and other African countries which were colonised by them.

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[60] htt://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/students/curriculum/m14/activity4.php (accessed, 15 December 2010).
[61] P. P. Macy, *Women's Lives in the District of Cuamba Mozambique* (1997), 3.

Colonial education was the main channel used to exploit the Mozambican mentally. At worst, education was not available to everybody but to only a few and the majority remained illiterate. The fact is that the few people who accepted had the status of *assimilado*[62]. With this principle, Mozambicans were taught to look down upon their own culture which was considered to be backward, uncouth, barbaric and heathen. Even the very few educated people had to learn Portuguese as a means of alienating them from their own language and culture. The problem of alienating people' from their own language still is perpetuated in Mozambique today and there are still people in the country who cannot speak their own local language because they were not taught by their parents thus affirming that it is a language for old people (this is a sad reality lived countrywide) and it retards the minds of the speakers. This situation was motivated by the policy that was adopted by FRELIMO soon after independence in 1975. Since this new party wanted to eliminate tribal diversity this meant eradicating local languages and adopting Portuguese as the language of unity for the entire country. However, it is recognised that during the time of Portuguese domination in Mozambique, girls were neglected by being barred from education and other facilities. This was motivated by the fact that on African patriarchy this phenomenon of neglecting girls education and supress women voice was a reality and they were treated with a condescending attitude. As a consequence, until the present girls from Mozambique rural areas have not gone to school, allegedly because there is no need to avail them of an education because they are only waiting to get married. The Portuguese were of the view that the majority of girls only needed to learn how to take care of their husbands and children. It was from this context that some years ago the Mozambican government made a decision to promote education for girls, arguing that the percentage of boys enrolled in schools has to be at least the same as that of girls or the ratio of the enrolled girls has to be higher than that of boys.

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[62] A Portuguese term that immerged as a reply of the accusation thrown by indigenous to the Portuguese as racists. The Portuguese gave this status to some Africans arguing that from the moment they are given this status they belong to the Portuguese community with the same privileges as those of the Portuguese. They were the most christinised, civilised Africans compared to their counterparts. Looking deeply at what was going on with these *assimilados*; it was not true that they had the same privileges. The only thing is that they escaped some of the restrictions that the indigenous people experienced. Even with the status of *assimilado*, their economic situation was totally different from that of Portuguese, even in terms of education the assimilado needed to make more effort than the white in order to pass; in most cases the *assimilado* did not use the same toilet as the Portuguese. To be *assimilado* meant not to accept to be an African but to identify with Portuguese people. This was really a cultural, political and economic identity prejudice for colonised people.

In the social arena, the impact of Portuguese was felt in intermarriage with Mozambican women thus creating from the children of these marriages a class of Afro-Portuguese where some of them did not even have a chance to know their fathers. In addition to that, Portuguese colonisation brought chaos in Mozambique because of the issue of the slave trade which had a negative impact on the families and nation. Treaties of contract labour with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were introduced by the Portuguese and this had a social influence; for instance Mozambique lost thousands of people from the rural areas thus creating serious social demographic imbalances[63]. Some of these people were taken to work in the gold mines of South Africa, others were taken to work on the farms and mines in Southern Rhodesia as well as in the construction and maintenance of the railways connecting Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In addition to that, many Mozambicans were sold as slaves to some western countries like North America, Brazil, France, and Spain[64], many people died or were killed while on the ships and others were thrown alive into the Ocean if they complained of being sick. This situation contributed significantly to the depopulation of the nation and the immediate effect was indeed the loss of the most productive human resource; increasing famine; debt and disease just to mention a few.

In the political arena, the coming of Vasco da Gama (Portuguese) to Mozambique opened a way for the coming of Portuguese masses into the country as well as opening a way for the introduction of colonial domination of the land that according to them they had discovered. It was with the coming of the Portuguese that Mozambique and other African states came to be independent. It was with the presence of Europeans that caused the boundaries of Africa to be demarcated according to which European countries colonised each area[65].

Economically, from the time the Portuguese started exporting raw materials found in the country to Portugal in order to be manufactured, they brought back some of the manufactured goods to Mozambique to be sold at exorbitant prices as a way of draining

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[63] A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, Boulder: Westview Press (1983), 53.

[64] A. J. Reibel, *An African Success Story: Civil Society and the 'Mozambican Miracle's* in http://africanajournal .org/PDF/vol4no1/vol4no1_3_Aaron%20J.%20Reibel.pdf (accessed, 21 January 2011).

[65] A. A. Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, (19987) , 96-99. The researcher adds that it is important to note that in 1885 most countries in Europe met in Berlin and demarcated Africa without setting a foot on this continent.

the little economic resources the Mozambicans had. On the positive side, the presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique was very important because they provided the country with basic infrastructures such as: roads, railways, harbours/ports, telephone and airports. In addition, in 1965 the Portuguese discovered a vast deposit of natural gas at Pande in Inhambane province. Another important project that was started during the colonial era was the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric Dam. It was during the same period that most of the mineral potential of Africa was discovered which required the introduction of a mining system and the Portuguese carried out this very well. During the same period new cash crops were introduced into Mozambique and other African countries: cotton, peanuts, palm, oil, coffee, tobacco, rubber and cocoa[66]. The introduction of these crops was very important for the lives of Mozambicans since they were utilising them for their survival. Some areas of Mozambique still have some coconut plantations left by the Portuguese which now have reverted to Mozambicans. Concrete examples are the three coconut plantations that exist in Massinga District. It is known that since the Arab presence in Mozambique, the commerce they introduced was through the exchange of products but the Portuguese were able to introduce money for the first time in Mozambique giving a new face to commerce. Natural Gas and electricity produced in Mozambique constitutes a major segment of Mozambican development as well as being able to supply other parts of Africa. The development of some countries in the region through their use was possible because of Portuguese technology introduced to Mozambique.

Similarly, it was during the same period that hospitals and schools were introduced in the country. As the population grew, the colonisers launched campaigns against some epidemic diseases by providing medical facilities. The same systems were adopted by the Mozambican authorities after the nation attained independence and up to now whenever there is an epidemic, the government carries out campaigns against the disease by awakening people about the dangers of such disease. It was through the coming of the Portuguese to Mozambique that urbanisation began. Some towns were expanded, while at the same time new ones were established. The Portuguese presence in Mozambique was very important in the religious area since Christianity had been introduced. It was through Christianity that western education was introduced into the

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[66] Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, 100.

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whole country. As a result, primary, secondary and university education appeared for the first time for the nation[67].

2.4   Protest and liberation war

The situation that Mozambicans went through under Portuguese domination was terrible. The Mozambicans were characterised by different adjectives like: "indolent, incapable and incompetent"[68]. This state of affairs infuriated the Mozambicans to such an extent that they felt it necessary to do something in order to change the situation despite any consequences it may bring to the country. In the beginning, resistance was manifested in different forms namely: rural protest, the struggle of urban workers, poetry and members of the independent churches in the name of God felt the need to take part in the protest[69], since the domination was considered by Christians from those churches as hypocrisy. Henriksen also claimed that Chope[70] songs and Makonde[71] wood carving were other forms of protest against colonial oppression in Mozambique.

The protest in the rural areas was characterised by tax evasion, work slowdowns, desertion and sabotage, while in the urban setting the workers opted for strikes, riots and work stoppages[72]. Practical examples of the strikes are those of *Lourenço Marques* now Maputo port, in the 1930s. Other strikes occurred in the ports of *Lourenço Marques*, Beira and Nacala in 1963[73]. The independent churches played a role too in the process of protesting against colonial domination in Mozambique. Churches like the Ethiopians and Zionists in the neighbouring countries of South Africa and Rhodesia now Zimbabwe are clear examples of that. According to Allen and Barbara Isaacman, workers and peasants who ran away from Portuguese threats found refuge in these churches, and when they returned home, they organised branches or autonomous sects. The most important issue about these sects was the fact that they made an appeal from

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[67] Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, 104.
[68] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 61-62.
[69] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 61-73.
[70] Mozambican tribe living in Southern Mozambique in Inharrime and Zavala district in Inhambane province.
[71] Mozambican tribe in Cabo Delgado province in the North of Mozambique.
[72] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 62.
[73] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 163.

their apocalyptic vision which relied on a belief in divine intervention and the destruction of the oppressor[74].

Regarding the use of poetry, names like José Craveirinha, Noemia de Sousa, Marcelino dos Santos, Gwante Valente, Rui Nogar,[75] Rui de Noronha and Luís Bernardo Honwane[76] are mentioned as people who manifested their hopes and frustrations for Mozambicans through their writing where they denounced all kinds of abuse and aggression from colonialism. Below is one example:

> We grew up lulled
> by the Chirico's song
> and as we reached in this way the level of Man
> the impetus was such it generated
> waves pregnant with crystal.
> And when the wind
> whips the sky
> and the sword falls
> tearing the flesh
> and horror touches
> the naked face
> Our love is not shaken
> This is the land
> where we were born[77].

Chope's songs are the ones most often mentioned by different authors when talking about the contribution of songs in denouncing the colonial regime. Furthermore, workers also had implemented songs in order to express their suffering and humiliation as the example below shows.

> You are making us suffer
> Beating me up
> You, beating me up
> You, Mr. balls owner
> Your penis
> You are making us suffer for nothing
> Me, working for nothing
> We've seen hardship with the sugar
> Look we're getting just two hundred only

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[74] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 72-73.
[75] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 75.
[76] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 162.
[77] A poem written by Marcelino dos Santos, extracted from A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1983*, England: Westview Press, (1983), 76-77.

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Getting three small cruzados only, your penis[78].

In the song above there is an ambiguous word "penis" that can not be pronounced in a normal situation but the workers in the situation they faced, found its use a form of manifesting their anger againt the oppressor. In the opinion of the researcher when critically analysing the use of ambiguous words from the time of Portuguese domination in Mozambique, it can be understood that it became a cultural issue and remained in the minds of people from different generations and it affects people in some of the areas of the country. The Mazive people from Funhalouro District in Inhambane Province are a concrete example of using nebulous words since for them it is not a problem insulting people no matter whom present.

Wood carvings and paintings also played a role in the protest against the Portuguese. On the one hand, the Makondes were skilful at carving wood into figures of white people beating the Mozambicans or Mozambicans carrying the Europeans in a *machila* or tying them with chains. On the other hand, painters like the late Vicente Malangatana depicted the same figures through using painted boards. The work and songs of the peasants, the work of poetry, wood carving, all had the same message of expressing the anguish and repugnance for forced labour (*chibalo*) and denouncing the action of black collaborators. All were conveying the message of dissatisfaction of the oppression that Mozambicans suffered under Portuguese rulers. Hedges and Chilundo highlighted that board painting, songs, music and popular dance played a crucial role in social critique and protest against colonialism since they came through local languages and local people understood the message it conveyed[79].

2.4.1   Movements involved in the liberation war

The issue of protesting did not only limit itself within Mozambique even the *assimilados* living abroad felt they had to support the idea of nationalism in their own country. Besides the *assimilados* there were also other people who had fled to other

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[78] The work song of labours employed by Sena Sugar Estates, extrated from A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, Boulder: Westview Press, (1983), 69.
[79] D. Hedges and A. Chilundo, *A Contestação da Situação Colonial, 1945-1961*, Maputo: Livraria Universitária (1999), 222.

countries because of Portuguese agitation. Some concrete examples include people like Noemia de Sousa and Marcelino dos Santos who fled to Portugal just to mention a few[80]. This resulted in the formation of some political movements in order to promote nationalism in their country of origin. Three movements of resistance were formed by Mozambicans who had been in exile for several years and far from the Portuguese. The first movement to be created in 1960 was *União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique*-National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO). It originated in Southern Rhodesia and was led by Adelino Gwambe and Rev. Urias Simango. The membership of this party consisted mainly of people from the central and southern parts of Mozambique; in 1961 Mozambican African National Union (MANU) was founded in Kenya with Makonde membership. Some scholars prefer to call it: Makonde African National Union or Mozambican African National Union. Finally the *União Africana de Moçambique Independente*-National Union for Mozambique Independence (UNAMI) was created in Malawi with the supporters from Tete[81].

From the explanation above, the three movements had their headquarters in different countries and incorporated people of different language groups, ethnic backgrounds, races, and religions[82]. These differences contributed substantially to the unfolding experiences of the history of Mozambique both during the liberation war and after independence so much that even in the current circumstances it continues to be heard and observed by some individuals of the country. With the independence of Tanganyika in 1961 and the elevation of Julius Nyerere to the category of president, serious work was done in order to unify the three movements into forming one party-FRELIMO. Automatically Tanganyika became the headquarters for the three movements**.** FRELIMO was founded on 25 June 1962 with Dr. Eduardo Mondlane elevated to the position of leadership[83]. There were many reasons that contributed to appointing Mondlane as President of FRELIMO. First, there was an internal disagreement within the three movements about who would lead the newly formed political movement. Then Mondlane was the consensus candidate since he did not belong to any of the three parties. Second, the level of education of Mondlane played also an important role since up to that time he was the only person holding a PhD

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[80] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 78.
[81] Hall and Young, *Confronting Levithan*, 12.
[82] J. H. Mittelman, *Underdelopment and the Transition to Socialism: Mozambique and Tanzania*, New York: Academic Press (1981), 33.
[83] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 80.

degree in whole of Mozambique. Finally, his experience as a professor and having worked at the United Nations revealed to many people that he had the capacity of leadership for the recently formed party. In Mondlane's opinion his election as the head of FRELIMO came to fulfil his belief in the necessity of liberating Mozambique as it is argued by Allen and Barbara Isaacman:

> I was interested in the nationalist struggle against the Portuguese for many, many years back. I could trace it to my own childhood, when my mother, who was a traditional woman, insisted that I go to school in order to equip myself to be able to face the Portuguese because my father had died trying to recover the power of the traditional people in Mozambique. My uncle, a paramount chief in the South, died after serving 25 years in a Portuguese prison because he opposed the Portuguese system[84].

The protests mentioned above and the formation of the three movements which later unified into one party were an attempt to seek a peaceful negotiation for the independence of Mozambique which was dominated by the oppressor but it did not happen as planned. Therefore, when the newly formed party FRELIMO held its congress in Dar-es-Salaam in September 1962, it declared openly the establishment of "an efficient organisation of the struggle of the Mozambican people for national liberation"[85].

2.4.2   Strategies applied and external support

Opposition to Portuguese colonialism was the only thing that joined the mind of every Mozambican from the three organisations (UDENAMO, MANU and UNAMI); even after the formation of FRELIMO the need for getting rid of the Portuguese continued to be the focus. It was in this context that everyone in the movements was called to participate in the big task of liberating the country through mobilising popular support. Mobilisation was done locally as well as outside the country for those living there. Strategies like petitions, protest letters and nonviolent demonstration[86] were applied in order to curb Portuguese exploitation of Mozambique. The most remembered specific manifestation was that of Makonde members of MANU in Mueda which ended in a disastrous massacre. According to Isaacman and Isaacman the Mueda massacre

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[84] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 79. The original quote is from the Journal entitled 'Africa Today' of Ronald Chilcote, Eduardo Mondlane and the Mozambican Struggle (1965), 4.
[85] Henriksen, *Mozambique*, 172.
[86] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 81.

revealed the lack of a coherent strategy[87]. With Mondlane in the leadership of FRELIMO, he worked in drawing other militants (locally and those who had fled to other countries) into FRELIMO with the main purpose of involving many Mozambicans in an armed struggle. Moreover, it is of paramount importance to highlight that common people (those who did not know anything about politics) had a strategic role to play, that of transporting material, producing and supplying food for FRELIMO armed forces, providing information and recruits for the struggle. Consequently, "on September 25th 1964, FRELIMO soldiers, with logistical assistance from the surrounding population, attacked the Portuguese administrative post at Chai in Cabo Delegado province"[88].

Concerning external support for Mozambique, two African leaders deserve special consideration whenever dealing with the liberation war namely: Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah the presidents of Tanzania and Ghana respectively who were the first pillars working tirelessly for the unification of the three movements into one (FRELIMO)[89]. Other African nations like Egypt, Algeria and Zambia were also FRELIMO partners with the provision of arms and training. Some Western socialist countries like the United Arab Republic, Soviet Union, Cuba and China are mentioned as being major financial sources for weapons and diplomatic support to FRELIMO[90]. Furthermore, some NGOs like the American Committee on Africa, the Lutheran World Federation, Oxfam and the World Council of Churches (WCC) supported the Mozambican struggle with the supply of books, blankets and other supplies for Mozambicans who were in Tanzania[91].

2.4.3   Result of liberation war

The first result of the liberation war was the Lusaka Agreement signed in Lusaka on 7 September 1974 between Mário Soares (the Portuguese Foreign Minister) and Samora Moisés Machel (the president of FRELIMO). One may ask the following question, why

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[87] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 80.
[88] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 84.
[89] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 81.
[90] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 172.
[91] J. H. Mittelman, *Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism: Mozambique and Tanzania*, New York: Academic Press (1981), 38.

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is it that this agreement was signed in Lusaka and not in Dar-es-Salam-Tanzania? The main reason which led to this decision was the fact that if the agreement was to be signed in Tanzania many people might think that there was manipulation since that country played a significant role for the whole history of FRELIMO. The two countries (Portugal and Mozambique) found Lusaka to be a neutral venue for the event. This agreement meant at cease fire and the formation of a political, military and legal basis for the transfer of power from the Portuguese to FRELIMO until the day of independence. In addition to that, the government and military structures were to be divided between the Portuguese state and FRELIMO which was called the transitional Government of Mozambique[92]. It was installed on 20 September 1974 with the composition of eleven ministers (six appointed by FRELIMO and five by the Portuguese Government) as it follows bellow.

Prime Minister- Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Minister of Internal Administration- Mr. Armando Guebuza (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Minister of Economic Coordination- Mr. Mário Fernandes da Graça Machungo (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Minister of Information- Mr. José Oscar Monteiro (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Minister of Education and Culture- Mr. Gideon Ndombe (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Minister of labour- Mr. Mariano de Araújo Matsinha (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
 Minister of Justice- Mr. Rui Baltazar Dos Santos Alves (Portuguese),
Minister of Health and Social Affairs - Dr. António Paulino (Portuguese),
Minister of Public Works and Housing - Mr. Luís Maria Alcantara Santos (Portuguese),
Minister of Communications and of Transport - Mr. Eugénio Baptista de Figueiredo Picolo (Portuguese),
A joint Military Commission of five ministers (three appointed by FRELIMO and two by Portuguese Government) was also as it follows:
Mr. Jacinto Veloso (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,
Mr. Alberto Chipande (FRELIMO) – from Northern region,
Mr. Sebastião Mabote (FRELIMO) – from Southern region,

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[92] Hall and Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 43.

Pissarro De Lima (Portuguese),

Mário Trinca (Portuguese)[93].

The task of the transitional government was to prepare for the proclamation of independence in the country. The preparation had different aspects: to familiarise people with FRELIMO's goals, the creation of dynamic groups as well as to start dealing with some pressing social problems that were inherited from the colonial period like illiteracy, disease, poverty, and economic dependence[94]. The end result of the liberation war was the proclamation of independence on 25 June 1975. With the independence of the nation, FRELIMO introduced its own programme for developing the country in order to guarantee the success of Mozambicans who were exploited for many years by the Portuguese. Some examples of the programme includes: the nationalisation and economic recovery which meant the use of available human resources, better technology for farming the land that was left by the coloniser, the improvement of the health and education systems were also of the interest to FRELIMO.

For the achievement of its plans for economic recovery FRELIMO took as its priority the neutralisation of subversive people who opposed or violated the decolonisation process and the unemployed people that abounded in the major cities of the country looking for better conditions of life. It was with this perspective that a program entitled "re-education camps" was launched. In the light of the Decree-Law 11/74[95] this program was at first designed as a measure to feed, and house prisoners. Later on it was shifted for people charged as thieves, prostitutes[96], drugs abusers, deviants and Jehovah's Witnesses[97]. This came as a consequence of independence whereby people living in rural areas found an open opportunity to seek better conditions in the urban zones or their periphery. In the words of the Interior Minister Armando Guebuza to FRELIMO the re-education camps meant "creating a new man free of all vestiges of the

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[93] No Author's details available, *Frelimo and the transitional government of Mozambique*, Braamfontein: South African Institue of International Affairs (1974), 3.

[94] Isaacman and Isaacam, *Mozambique*, 107.

[95] Hall and Young, *Confroting Levithan*, 46.

[96] This term was not applied only in the strict sense but was also used to identify single women with children. They were considered as people with a misguided morality.

[97] The Jehovah's Witness were sent to the re-education camps because they did not accept singing the national anthem. Alex Vines in his book entitled *RENAMO: From Terrorism to Democracy in Mozambique*, page 106 alludes that about 22,000 strong Jehovah's Witness community were sent to re-education camps.

older"[98]. However, the reality attested to the contrary since the only thing observed was the high index of unemployed people and the shortage of food and housing for the majority. These people were commonly believed to be "*marginais*" or "*improdutivos*" which in English means "delinquents" or "unproductive", and were seen as a contributing factor towards social instability, and therefore the only solution was the compulsory relocation of unemployed people from the major cities to rural areas where they would produce food and grow crops to improve the national economy. Not only the issue of unemployment contributed to the re-education camps program, there were people that went on the programme because of other problems according to the FRELIMO's program. An example was that of "Dr. David Alone, a Sociologist that was sent to re-education camp for publishing a book without first seeking permission from the party"[99].

In the words from Machel's speech, the task for the fulfilment of this plan was in the hands of the "peoples' militias, vigilant groups, the dynamising groups, the police, and the army would 'comb' the city for those who were not employed"[100]. Every person sent to re-education camp was engaged in agricultural activities producing sustainable crops like: maize, cassava, vegetables, cotton and tobacco.

Table 1.   Re-education Camps per province[101]

Provinces	Camps
Niassa	Chiputo, Macaloje, Lussanhande, Matama, Majune, Messuruce, M'telela, M'sawaize, Naisseko, Ilumba and Unango[102].
Cabo Delgado	Bilibiza, Chaimite and Ruarua.
Nampula	Itoculo and Muneia

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[98] J.M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, New York: Palgrave Publisher (2000), 95.

[99] Cabrita, *Mozambique*, 88.

[100] http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/op_producao.html (accessed, 10 January 2011).

[101] Cabrita, *Mozambique*,76.

[102] Unango was the centre called liberated zones located in Niassa Province. In places like this great figures of FRELIMO were staying and the first people to be sent to these places were members of the Jehovah Witnesses because they refused to sing the national anthem and broke other rules of Frelimo. Those people staying in places like these were compulsory taught all kinds by FRELIMO.

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Zambézia	Carico.
Sofala	Canda, Nhangau[103] and Sacudzo.
Inhambane	Inhangele and Inhassunge.
Maputo	Banganhane, Chia, Jafar and Mutatele.

Without judging the re-education camps program, the researcher is of the opinion that it was extensively viewed with concern, having involved multiple human rights abuses and failed to achieve its primary objectives of reducing urban problems and increasing food production in the rural areas. Regarding human rights abuses, it was observed that many people were caught on the roads and taken to the places mentioned above without informing their relatives. It was on this note that in 1984 the Episcopal Conference of Mozambique denounced these legislations as infringements of human rights saying the following words:

> These measures and laws are inhumane and humiliating. They do not take into account the inalienable dignity of all human being and of the people and they promote the abuse of power by the disregard of the life of the citizens […]. The law of the whip- law 5/83- fosters terribly inhuman or even criminal conditions. Moreover, it deeply shocks the sensitivity and the conscience of our people […]. This operation is a true nightmare for millions of citizens. Indeed, situations of violence and injustice it inflicts are very serious. The men and women of this country condemned by "Operação Produção"[104] to contempt, hunger and humiliation, and even to death are already very numerous. Not to mention many separated families who will suffer, much of suffering they do not deserve. If we want peace in our society, we need courage to re-examine this Operação Produção seriously, in order to very quickly eliminate the situations of violence and humiliation in existence, especially in the province of Niassa, and to immediately set the wrongfully deported detainees free[105].

In addition, a good number of people died because of illness as they tried to flee and some were eaten by lions. Those who did not perish in the camps came out physically and psychology damaged. There are still many people in those re-education camps because of lack of financial support to pay their transport back to their home areas and there are others, even with free transport available are ashamed to go back to their homes. While the researcher was working as Pastor in charge in Niassa province he was able to visit some of the places like Matama and Unango where some of the people

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[103] Visiting the Nhangahu area the researcher wondered at the presence of very big mango trees. And he was told that those mango trees were planted during the re-education program time. Whenever people died they were buried in a certain place and on the top they planted a mango tree to symbolise that the person who was buried there was not important.
[104] Operation and production.
[105] Patoral Exhortation letter of bishops from Mozambique, Maputo, May 7, 6.

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taken during re-education camp projects were still alive. It was really worse seeing and hearing the stories of these fellows still in the places previously used as re-education camps, saying that since they were sent to these places they have never returned to their relatives, spouses or children. The life condition of these people was and still is inferior, as it can be read on the testimony of Manuel Uique (see appendex A).

> When I was captured in Maputo there was not even time to communicate with my family home that I was taken to Niassa province. I left my wife, my children and relatives and I do not know up to this moment their situation and vice-versa. Maybe they think I am dead while I am still alive but suffering here in Niassa with no money to go back home all because of Machel and his program[106].

It was after this conversation that the researcher promised Uique to take his letter to Maxixe in Inhambane province, since he told the researcher that he had a sister there. When the time for the trip came the researcher took the letter and tried his best to locate the lady. After handling the message and explaining who had written it she first cried bitterly, then she posed the following question: "is he still alive?" We did the traditional ceremonies thinking that he is already dead. Yes these people are still living in re-education camps like slaves in their own country. This is mostly observed with males who decided to marry local women where divorce happens every year especially when it is near the harvest season. Women and their relatives living in the areas that were previously used as re-education camps, married to men from the Southern part of Mozambique uses the Southern men as a slave, working tirelessly in the fields, but at the end he does not enjoy the product of his work. This is caused by the situation whereby some weeks before the harvest quarrels happen in the family and it only ends when the man decides to abandon the family. A negative aspect of that is, after harvesting they distribute the levy among themselves and at the end the wife negotiates reconciliation with her husband and considering that he has nowhere else to go he accepts the reconciliation and this is repetitive.

Another testimony of abuse came from Regina Jaime from Matama who declared the following: We have to work. If we don't work we are told we'll be beaten. Already two men were beaten with a long flexible leather whip because they went to town on a Saturday night. We have to go far for our water and we don't have buckets. We have to carry our water in cooking pots and they are not very big. In addition to that, they slept in an empty shed that had been used to store sacks of wheat. The roof leaked, the

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[106] Manuel Uique (Lichinga, 14 April 2012) interview.

walls had gaping holes and it was very cold at night, and most men and women did not have mats or blankets. They covered themselves with sacks. Every day they ate beans and maize with no tomatoes, no oil and no onions[107].

Based upon the leading factor that thieves, prostitutes, drug consumers and deviants were the ones to be taken to re-education camps, it could be said that another "*operação e produção*" or operation production is necessary in the country today since the number of people committing the above mentioned misdemeanours are always increasing significantly, and the worst of all is the crime in Mozambique which is very high. In the view of the researcher, he considers it worse because it is about taking somebody's life. In every city and town in Mozambique there are specific places known by people where delinquents congregate to achieve their bad intentions. As an example, in Maputo city places like *Rua de Araújo* and *Avenida Julio's Nyerere* "Araújo Road and Julius Nyerere Avenue" are the most recognised for prostitution. The only acceptable justification for the program is to affirm that it came to be because of specific conditions that the country went through at that moment. The re-education camps contributed to the development of the Mozambican civil war as it is described in the section below.

2.5   Civil war

Soon after Mozambique attained independence in 1975 a civil war erupted in the country involving FRELIMO and RENAMO. The war was motivated by disagreements between the freedom fighters within FRELIMO's political system of governance. The ideological differences motivating the civil war were the following: FRELIMO had opted for socialism through the Marxist-Leninism being the partners the following: United Arab Republic, Soviet Union, Cuba and China. RENAMO option was capitalism influenced by neocolonialist countries such as America, Portugal and other African countries like South Africa, Malawi and Kenya just to mention a few. Moreover, the top leadership in the newly formed government was more from the Southern part of Mozambique, and that distorted the primary inception of FRELIMO which fostered nationalism rather than the regionalism that existed before. As it can be

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[107] S. Urdang, *And Still They Dance*, 196.

seen on page 32 of this thesis there were three militant groups (UDENAMO, MANU and UNAMI) that represented different regions of the country. The transitional government also represented the same regional pattern in the sense that the majority of the top leaders were from the South. This scenario motivated or became the root cause for the eruption of the civil war which had the participation of many peasants in and outside the country. This war resulted in the destruction of the economy and infrastructure of the nation. In such a situation, people realised that there was a need to bring the belligerent sides to a table of negotiation in order to curtail the situation. It was in this context that intervention led by churches and different individuals occurred.

2.5.1 Origin and root causes of civil war in Mozambique

The Mozambican conflict was characterised by the involvement of both external and internal forces. These two forces were very influential to the starting and development of civil war in Mozambique. David Hoile stresses that one of the major factors for the civil war in the country was "the lack of a proper definition of who the enemy was and what the goals to be achieved were, and the lack of common strategy"[108].

2.5.1.1 Origin of Mozambican National Resistance (MNR)

Mozambique acquired its independence on 25 June 1975 through the liberation war led by FRELIMO against the Portuguese. Consequently, a one-party communist society applying a policy of democratic centralism was created[109]. New initiatives were introduced by FRELIMO generating conflict within the party itself. For instance, the opposition parties that already existed were immediately banned including the anti-Machel party called Magaia which was still an underground movement, the Cabo Delgado Front (leader unknown) and the Mozambique Democratic United Front led by Domingos Arouca[110]. Some of the leaders of these parties were incarcerated in FRELIMO concentration camps while others fled to other African countries and

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[108] D. Hoile, *Mozambique resistance and freedom: a case for reassessment*, London: Mozambican Institute, (1994), 15.
[109] P. Stiff, *The Silent War: South African Recce Operations 1969-1994*, Alberton: Galago Publisher, (1999), 155.
[110] Stiff, *The Silent War*, 158.

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overseas. Not only these leaders but certain individuals within FRELIMO who were accused of negative behaviour were also sent to the concentration camps, André Matsangaissa[111] the first president of RENAMO and his successor Afonso Dhlakama[112] are practical examples.

The situation mentioned above relates to the frustration-aggression theory as it is highlighted by Leonard Berkowitz who argues that "A barrier keeping people from reaching an attractive goal they had expected to obtain can lead to open aggression"[113]. According to the frustration-aggression theory, human beings, as goal oriented organisms, naturally become frustrated when they are prevented from achieving what they desire. Therefore, that was the case in Mozambique because with the emergence of FRELIMO many people who had held positions of leadership were not allowed to continue in these positions and were denied the space and opportunity to express their anger. On this note Peter Stiff stresses that many people were put on public display and were never seen again. The names of people who were executed such as Rev. Urias Simango, Lázaro Nkavandame, father Mateus Gwenjere, Joana Simião and Paul Gumane, are well highlighted in certain documents[114].

In addition, the new government (FRELIMO) decided to nationalise all private schools, colleges, hospitals, clinics, legal practices, and private property. Further, the movement of people from one district to another without a legal letter written by recognised authorities was forbidden. In the case of disobedience of this rule a person had to undergo serious punishment which included torture or incarceration. This entire situation of new law brought by a new government left Mozambican people with a bad feeling about the leadership of FRELIMO party and it was followed by a new plan, to have an opposition which could change the prevailing situation. This new philosophy provoked the wrath of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, towards Mozambicans who had fled to Zimbabwe looking for safe place

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[111] André Matsangaissa, served as a FRELIMO guerilla comander from 1972 until 1975. He had been one of the many FRELIMO members detained after independence and sent to Sacuza concentration camp. He escaped from Sacuza in October 1976 and crossed over into Rhodesia seeking political asylum.
[112] Afonso Dhlakama, a graduate of FRELIMO's Nachingwea training base in Tanzania, served as a FRELIMO officer within northern Mozambique against the Portuguese, and was appointed FRELIMO logistical commander for Sofala province.
[113] L. Berkowitz, *Frustration-Aggression Hypotheis:Examination and Reformulation* in http://www.radford.edu/~jaspelme/_private/gradsoc_articles/aggression/frustration%20aggression.pdf (accessed 6 April 2011).
[114] Stiff, *The Silent War*, 155.

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from the persecution of FRELIMO, as well as the Portuguese who had come to Zimbabwe during the Mozambican liberation war. These three groups together decided to accelerate the formation of a resistance movement for deployment in Mozambique and that was the birth of the MNR which later took the name of RENAMO. It is from this perspective that the external cause of the Mozambican civil war was found.
On this matter there was the involvement of the CIO of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe in the formation of the MNR during those first days. The major factor that was the cause of Rhodesia forming resistance was the fact that FRELIMO had a relationship with the (Zimbabwe African National Union) ZANU of Robert Mugabe which was using the already liberated country (Mozambique) in waging its war against the Rhodesian regime. "The turning point came when President Samora Moisés Machel closed the Mozambican border with Rhodesia on 3 March 1976. FRELIMO granted the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) expensive rear base facilities from which to mount cross-border and attacks against Rhodesia"[115]. Then Rhodesia wanted to punish Mozambique for supporting the guerrillas of Robert Mugabe.

On the other hand there was the involvement of South Africa whose major objective was "to create a Southern Africa region in which all other states accepted South Africa's legitimacy and hegemony, and cooperated actively in policing opposition to the apartheid regime"[116]. Moreover, Davis says that Pretoria sought only to tame FRELIMO and its revolutionary zeal in supporting liberation movements which in the case of South Africa meant support for the African National Congress (ANC)[117]. With South Africa's help RENAMO's strength within Mozambique increased rapidly and it spread all over the country. It was through the support of South Africa that RENAMO's President Afonso Dhlakama managed to visit Portugal, West Germany and France with the purpose of gaining support amongst politicians, business leaders and journalists for fund raising and to advertise the existence of his political movement in Mozambique. As a result of his visit RENAMO managed to open offices in Portugal and West Germany. Still regarding external factors relating to the civil war in Mozambique, the destabilising movements (Apartheid in South Africa and Ian Smith in Rhodesia) were supported by the great fight between the West (led by the United States

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[115] Stiff, *The Silent War*, 158.
[116] W. Minter, *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique*, Witwatersrand: University Press, (1994), 43.
[117] M. Venancio and S. Chan, *War and Gropings Towards Peace*, London: Macmillan Press, (1998), 5.

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of America) and East (led by the Union Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to dominate newly independent countries such as Mozambique. That was seen as an unhealthy example since the Mozambicans had expelled the Portuguese and it was considered a bad example for neighbouring countries (South Africa and Zimbabwe whose external forces dominating them were supported by the West) which were still under the subjugation of outside powers controlling them.

With regard to the internal root causes, we find ethnicity as another cause of civil war in Mozambique. Various tribes in the Centre and North of the country saw FRELIMO's leadership as mainly dominated by the people of the Southern region of Mozambique. These groups felt that they were marginalised by the colonial regime and once again they were being threatened by FRELIMO[118]. It was with this perspective that David Hoile referred to the Mozambique National Resistance as the second war of liberation[119]. Additionally, other factors disappointed Mozambicans, for instance the elimination of old forms of authority, the emergence of communal villages whereby people were supposed to live compulsorily in the same area (communal villages) leaving their traditional properties. These factors contributed a great deal to the internal support of the rebels who were seeking to recover the old style of life disrupted by FRELIMO. In other words, it can be said that the civil war in Mozambique was a result of internal and external grievances. The researcher is of the opinion that the lack of education for Mozambican people as mentioned on section 2.2 page 25 in this thesis was another cause that contributed a great deal to the people supporting the rebellious movement of Afonso Dhlakama. These people did not have a clear understanding with which to analyse the consequences of civil war for the nation. The only issue that concerned them was to be given something for their own survival which they believe they would gain through participating in the destruction of the enemy (FRELIMO) and the people that support it.

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[118] Venancio and Chan, *War and Gropings Towards Peace*, 7.
[119] Hoile, *Mozambique*, 12.

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2.5.1.2 Actors

The main antagonists in the Mozambican civil war were the following: FRELIMO through its *Forças Armadas de Moçambique*-Mozambican Armed Forces (FAM) and the RENAMO. In fact RENAMO was created in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and was strongly supported by the Apartheid regime of South Africa as argued by Brück "As South Africa's president from 1978, P.W. Botha introduced a policy of destabilisation aimed at weakening left-leaning, black-ruled frontline states, including Mozambique. Rhodesia helped to set up the rebel group RENAMO as a mercenary movement launching strikes against Mozambican and pro-Zimbabwean targets"[120]. Besides these three factors, there were other countries which supported the Mozambican civil war namely: Botswana, France, Germany, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, Portugal, Tanzania, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States of America and Zambia. Weinstein and Francisco say that "at every point in Mozambique's conflict, foreign intervention played a crucial role: It provided the means to mobilise domestic grievances, the resources to wage a protracted war, and the financial incentives to end the war"[121].

2.5.2   The Impact of civil war on Mozambique

The civil war in Mozambique had both a socio-economic and political impact. Socially, the war provoked internal and external displacement of people. Internally, people ran away from their rural areas into towns as well as from one province to another in search of safe places to hide. Externally, people moved from Mozambique to neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Tanzania, South Africa and Swaziland. Besides that, there were some people who fled to other continents. People who went to neighbouring countries were placed in refugee camps and as a consequence there was a high level of prostitution as a survival strategy and this situation culminated in undesirable pregnancies, the spread of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV/AIDS) and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD)[122]. The host countries were also affected by the Mozambican civil war considering that these countries did not have

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[120] T. Brück, *War and Reconstruction in Northern Mozambique* (2006), 30.

[121] J. M. Weinstein and L. Francisco, *The Civil War in Mozambique,* Washington DC: World Bank Publisher, (2005), 158.

[122] A. Honwana, *Child Soldiers: caught in the trap*, 102.

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enough resources to accommodate refugees. The people who went into this situation, (children, youth and elderly) suffered trauma because of the gruelling circumstances of conflict. They saw their houses, schools and hospitals destroyed and they had to adjust to a situation of poverty and extreme misery. Many other people were massacred. The most remembered massacres in the history of the civil war in Mozambique were those of Homoíne where 424 people were murdered; Taninga where 278 people were murdered and Manjacaze with 92 murdered people[123]. It was within this perspective that Bishop Dinis Salomão Sengulane summarised the consequences of the civil war by saying that the war left the people with physical, emotional and spiritual wounds[124]. Civil war caused a shift in behaviour, for instance instead of being honest people became dishonest and corrupt.[125]

In summary, the civil war had serious negative impact on people's lives: loss of moral and social values, proliferation of weapons in inappropriate hands being used to perpetrate different kinds of crimes, increased poverty and depopulation of rural areas and at the same time urban areas becoming overpopulated. People who ran away from their homes no longer produced their own food and sometimes the quarrelling sides (RENAMO and FRELIMO) destroyed or grabbed the population's produce. This affected the economy of the country. Furthermore, P. Collier argues that the rebels' main targets included but was not limited to: telecommunications, airports, ports, roads, and bridges in order to destroy them so that they would reduce the economy of the country and/or to prohibit the easy movement of people and goods, a factor that increased poverty and reduced the state of the economy[126].

Disappointingly, the researcher failed to find any writers who had considered any positive impact of the civil war in the country apart from democracy and the multi-party system. It is assumed that the reason why scholars did not allude to any positive impact of the civil war might be the fact that the rebels destroyed the country. Though the researcher did not find scholarly written material he is of the opinion that democracy and a multi-party system represents the major gains of the civil war. However, if that is the case, the researcher does not support the idea because most of the countries in

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[123] D. Knight, *Mozambique: caught in the trap*, London: Christian Aid, (1988), 36-37.
[124] D. S. Sengulane, *Victória Sem Vencidos*, Maputo: no further details available, (1994), 35.
[125] Weinstein and Francisco, *The Civil War in Mozambique*, 21.
[126] P. Collier, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, Washington: Oxford University Press, (2003), 15.

Africa if not all of them acquired independence and change through bloodshed and destruction. Today, these countries celebrate their independence because of the people who fought for the country. As far as the researcher is concerned, it is unfair to say that the rebels were the ones who killed people, because even FRELIMO's soldiers killed people too. The reason why he is saying so is that the bullet from both fighters did not choose whom to kill. This idea is supported by a war testimony in Angonia district interviewed by Alex Vines who argues:

> The war in Angonia makes our work very difficult. Most of the villages have been burnt to the ground. All our livestock, animals have been stolen by the soldiers. All our grain stores have been burnt. Most of our young men have been forced into the army and most of our people have fled as refugees to Malawi. There is always fighting and we do not know the difference between the sides. They all wear the same uniform and carry the same weapons. They all demand food even though we have none ourselves, and they all punish us if we feed the enemy. The only difference is that at least Renamo does not stop us worshiping God and teaching the Gospel[127].

Nevertheless, the researcher highlights some positive impact of the civil war in Mozambique. For example: the abolition of the dictatorship system established and perpetuated by FRELIMO. This positive act paved the way for the establishment of multi-party democracy. It also stimulated people's minds to develop a positive outlook which they can challenge every life situation. Here the researcher refers that, while before the civil war in Mozambique, it was the men who were more active in finding solutions to cope with the pressing needs of life. Now women are also involved actively in finding solutions for the common good of the family and society as a whole. For example, before the end of civil war there were very few women who crossed the Mozambican border going to South Africa for work but nowadays there are thousands of them working in South Africa. Furthermore, it stimulated different organisations to fight poverty and it led churches to have an interest in political issues. Last but not least, it permitted cultural exchanges between people from different areas within the same country.

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[127] A. Vines, *Renamo: From Terrorism to Democracy in Mozambique?*, York: Cente for Southern African Studies University of York, (1996), 102.

2.5.3 The General Peace Agreement (GPA) for Mozambique

The Mozambican peace process experienced the intervention of different forces seeking to bring peace, stability and reconciliation to the nation. There were interventions started by African heads of state, religious organisations and the United Nations. This section seeks to look at the forces that intervened and the role they played.

2.5.3.1 The Nkomati non-Aggression Agreement

The first attempt in the peace process in Mozambique was taken by the late president Samora Moisés Machel who in 1984 decided to negotiate for peace with the South African government. The agreement was signed on 16 March 1984 by P. W Botha, President of South Africa, and Samora Moisés Machel and its main aim was "non-aggression and good neighbouring" with South Africa agreeing to end its support to RENAMO in return for Maputo ceasing its support for the African National Congress (ANC)[128]. "As a consequence the ANC was expelled from Maputo, its training camps were shut down, and its leadership forced to move to Zambia. South Africans committed themselves to ending military supplies and logistical assistance to the rebels in Mozambique"[129]. However, the Nkomati agreement failed because "elements within RENAMO felt that they could win the war militarily, but also because outside interest pressurised the rebels to halt dialogue and they committed themselves to continue military and financial support"[130]. It also failed to resolve many economic or legal aspects of the changeover.

2.5.3.2 Regional Intervention

As the civil war was escalating in Mozambique, diplomatic negotiations continued and by that time it involved some countries of the region in order to help Mozambique emerge from the civil war. Countries like Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe played

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[128] Venancio and Chan, *War and Gropings Towards Peace*, 13.
[129] Weinstein and Francisco, *The Civil War in Mozambique*, 180.
[130] F. Gonçalves, *Ideological Shifts, Economic Imperatives*, London: Conciliation Resources Publisher, (1998), 20.

important role in different forms, first in deploying the army to protect some strategic places. As the first example: The Nacala and Beira Corridors received special attention since it guaranteed the safe circulation of merchandise within Mozambique as well as in the region. On this note soldiers from Malawi and Zimbabwe were sent for the protection of the Corridors. Second, some of the heads of states were asked to mediate in the Mozambican conflict, for example: Presidents Arap Moi of Kenya and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe who worked for some time as mediators in the civil war. The talks led by these two Presidents failed probably because of the lack of trust between the working parties with the negotiating team and as a result the mediation was transferred to a non-state actor outside Africa.

2.5.3.3 Peace Intervention through Sant' Egidio

Before discussing into the role that this organisation played towards Mozambican conflict resolution it is paramount to look at its historical background and to see what had motivated its involvement in the Mozambican peace process project. The Sant' Egidio community as it is mostly called is a prominent example of a religious group active in faith-based peacemaking[131].

Sant' Egidio was found in Italy in 1968 and officially recognised in 1986 by the Vatican. It is composed of laity and clergy. Basically this is an ecumenical organisation since its members consist of Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox and currently has approximately 50.000 members from about 70 different countries. This organisation is rooted in the basic principles of prayer and social action[132]. In addition to that, it was created in order to solve some problems of that time concerning that the bourgeoisie of Europe were hiding the existence of people that were suffering within the church and in the society. According to Dr. Bolinhas this organisation was created as a movement seeking to purify the Catholic Church in Rome[133]. Now the question is why they came to be involved in the Mozambican peace process? Dr. Bolinhas discusses one of the major arguments that motivated Sant' Egidio to get involved in

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[131] J. Haynes, *Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia*, London: Rutledge (2009), 63.

[132] Dr. I. Bolinhas, *Das causas da guerra às razões da paz: A mediação da Comunidade de Santo Egídio no conflicto moçambicano* http://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo.php?art_id=106

[133] Dr. I. Bolinhas, *Das causas da guerra...* http://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo.php?art_id=106

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international relations. It is based on the principle that war is the major cause of poverty in the world and the cause of the destruction of communities and the people who are part of these communities[134]. From this perspective Sant' Egidio assumed work on a resolution for the Mozambican conflict but this was done with the unique objective of rescuing the human dignity being destroyed by the civil war, they assumed this responsibility impartially. This was also based on an evangelisation process which could be observed through the support for those facing problems and helping underprivileged people as well as praying for them. Therefore, this ideal alone was not sufficient to solve Mozambican problems, and so another aspect that deserves special attention is the procedures that guided them to come to Mozambique.

The involvement of Sant' Egidio in the Mozambican peace process was initiated by the Archbishop of Beira, Dom Jaime Gonçalves, who was familiar with this Christian organisation and its work from the time he had spent in Rome years before. He took the opportunity when invited by this organisation for evening prayers in 1973, where he explained to the members of Sant' Egidio what was happening in Mozambique in terms of the relationship between church and state. During the discussion, he affirmed that the Mozambican state had a negative image of the church since it was seen as a collaborator with the coloniser a situation which contributed to the nationalisation of church property[135]. Aware of the Mozambican situation, Sant' Egidio was to find ways to get involved on the process of helping Mozambique. The first stage taken by that Catholic organisation was to connect the Archbishop Gonçalves with Berlinguer the Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party as a way of seeking their involvement on the process of aiding Mozambique. Berlinguer was very eager about that contact with Mozambican matters since his party had relations with FRELIMO during the liberation process. In 1984 Berlinguer sent his brother to Mozambique with the following message "*Olha, vocês têm de se reunir com a Igreja para encontrar solução para alguns problemas*" in English it translates "in order to find solutions for the problems you have to get together with the church"[136]. In return, the diplomat started to negotiate with the Sant' Egidio in order to support Mozambique and since the country

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[134] Dr. Bolinhas, *Das Causas da guerra*… http://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo.php?art_id=106
[135] S. Antonio, *D. Matteo Zuppi revela mais pormenores do Acordo Geral de Roma*, http://macua.blogs.com/maombique_para_todos/2009/08/d-matteo-zuppi-revela-mais-pormenores-do-acordo-de-roma.html
[136] S. Antonio, *D. Matteo Zuppi revela.....* http://macua.blogs.com/maombique_para_todos/2009/08/d-matteo-zuppi-revela-mais-pormenores-do-acordo-de-roma.html

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was by that time affected by drought the support was given to the nation. However, the Catholic organisation had the following feeling: what would be the sense of the support if the country still involved in a civil war? From that moment the Mozambican Roman Catholic Bishops started to write and publish pastoral letters stating the urgency of a peace dialogue in Mozambique.

In 1987 the Bishops asked permission from President Joaquim Alberto Chissano to meet with RENAMO and the president allowed them. From that moment the Catholic Bishops worked tirelessly in order to meet with RENAMO's people and that happened in 1988. In the following year 1989 the president of RENAMO Afonso Dhlakama went to Italy to meet with the Italian governement and it had to be kept a secret from the Mozambican government. However, the Mozambican Bishops had informed the Mozambican government about the trip of Dhlakama to that European country[137]. It was on that visit that Dhlakama declared that the negotiations had to be in Italy after rejecting African countries like Zimbabwe and Kenya.

2.5.3.4 Peace Intervention through Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM)[138]

It is known through the history of Mozambique that from 1975-1982 the relationship between church and state deteriorated sharply as a consequence of the newly formed state, as well as the past actions on the part of the churches[139]. The relationship between the church and its impact will be analysed in a nutshell in Chapter Three of this thesis. Since the beginning of the civil war, the Christian Council of Mozambique felt that there was a need to approach the government in order to find ways of ending the

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[137] S. Antonio, *D. Matteo Zuppi revela*.... http://macua.blogs.com/maombique_para_todos/2009/08/d-matteo-zuppi-revela-mais-pormenores-do-acordo-de-roma.html

[138] CCM encompasses the following churches and Christian organisations: (1) African Episcopal Church of Light, (2) African Methodist Episcopal Church, (3) Anglican Church in Mozambique, (4) Bible Society of Mozambique, (5) Church of Crete, (6) Church of the Nazarene, (7) Emmanuel Wesleyan Church, (8) Evangelical Church of Christ in Mozambique (Zambézia), (9) Evangelical Church of Christ in Mozambique (Nampula), (10) Evangelical Church of the Good Shepherd, (11) Free Methodist Church, (12) Full Gospel Evangelical Church in Mozambique, (13) Lutheran Evangelical Church, (14) Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, (15) Reformed Church of Mozambique, (16) Salvation Army, (17) Scripture Union of Mozambique, (18) United Baptist Church, (19) United Congregational Church, (20) United Methodist Church, (21) United Church of Christ in Mozambique (American Board Mission), (22) United Church of Christ (Ex-American Board), (23) Wesleyan Methodist Church in Mozambique, (24) Zion United Christian Church in Mozambique.

[139] E. Macamo, *War, Adjustment and Civil Society in Mozambique*, Harare: Sapes Books Publisher, (1995), 104.

war. However, it was very difficult because the church was not on good terms with the state. Therefore, the CCM took advantage of the Nkomati non-aggression agreement and addressed President Samora Moisés Machel to thank him for the courageous decision of talking with South Africa and managing to come to an agreement. In addition to that, they suggested that it would be good if the President considered the issue of ending the internal war as well. The suggestion was not acceptable to the FRELIMO government[140]. Even with the negative reply from the government, the CCM did not lose hope, so the next thing done was to get more involved in this holistic exercise in order to achieve their objectives. As a result, in November 1984, a Commission of Peace and Reconciliation was created by the CCM aiming to work within and outside the church as a vehicle for peace and reconciliation. Nevertheless, the request of CCM for negotiation was not accepted until 1987 when President Joaquim Alberto Chissano replaced Samora Moisés Machel after Machel's death in an airplane crash in 1986. He welcomed the initiative and allowed the CCM to proceed with the plan. The year 1987 is of great importance for the church because that is when it was invited to participate in the discussion process of the new constitution. In addition, this is when the church had its property returned and given official permission to erect new buildings[141].

As the doors for dialogue between the two belligerents (FRELIMO and RENAMO) were opened, the first thing that was done was to prepare the ground for negotiation. The first stage was to try to identify somebody who could speak with RENAMO's leadership about the need for dialogue. To achieve this initiative, leaders of the CCM had to travel to different places like the United States of America, Kenya, Malawi and other countries. The CCM realised that peace was of great importance this was also realised by other religious organisations. It is from this perspective that the CCM found it important to invite those Christian denominations who were not members of CCM to join them. Thus CCM leaders invited the Roman Catholic Church (and the Archbishop of Maputo Alexandre dos Santos who was their leader) to go with the other leaders from CCM to the United States of America. It is from this perspective that the CCM and Roman Catholic Church that have been working for peace separately joined together for the same purpose that of turning Mozambique in a peaceful country.

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[140] D. S. Sengulane, *Victória Sem Vencidos*, 8-9.
[141] Macamo, *War*, 109.

Financial support for the travelling expenses to America and Kenya was supplied by the All African Conference of Churches (AACC) and World Council of Churches (WCC). There are two important figures that need to be highlighted because they facilitated the Mozambican delegation searching for peace in some of the places they went: Artur Lambo Vilanculo[142] and Betwell Kiplagat[143].

With the effort of the Mozambican churches, the ground for negotiation was prepared but the following issue was, where to find a place for the negotiations. The proposed venues Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Malawi did not have a general consensus among the negotiating group. Finally, the Roman Catholic Church offered a place which was Rome and the team of leaders agreed that Archbishop Jaime Gonçalves was the right person to be included in the negotiating team for this matter. Venâncio and Chan argue that "Jaime Gonçalves proved to be a central figure in the search for peace because of his close links not only to Sant' Egídio but also to RENAMO. Not only that he belongs to the same ethnic group as of most the RENAMO's leadership, the Ndau, but he was also related to Dhlakama through marriage"[144]. Consequently, he became part of the official mediating team together with Mário Rafaelli representing the Italian government and two more members of the Sant' Egídio community namely Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi[145]. These people at first were simply observers and later on they became mediators. The real negotiations started in July 1990. The peace process experienced a slowness of negotiation as soon as it started. As a form of trying to change the situation the CCM had to approach each of the leaders of the warring parties to address this issue. The breakthrough came when an assurance to accelerate the process of negotiation was given by the president of RENAMO Afonso Dhlakama on 4 March 1992 in a meeting held in Mombasa with the presence of Afonso Dhlakama, Bishop Dinis Salomão Sengulane (Anglican Church), Bishop João Somane Machado (United Methodist Church) and Rev. Lucas Amosse Tivane (United Church of Christ in Mozambique by that he was the secretary general of the CCM). The CCM also advised the negotiating teams to take the issue with seriousness. These figures contributed a lot

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[142] A Mozambican, member of the United Methodist Church living in the United States of America for his personal business.
[143] The Kenyan Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, an active member of the Anglican Church who had worked for the Christian Council of Kenya.
[144] Venancio and Chan, *War and Gropings Towards Peace*, 21.
[145] D. S. Sengulane and J. P. Gonçalves, *A Calling for Peace*, Maputo: no further details available, (1998), 31.

in setting up the peace initiative and political dialogue between the two fighters. Bishop João Somane Machado one of the figures highlighted that the dialogue that resulted in a peace agreement in Mozambique was an outcome of the dedication of the church figures in convincing the President of Mozambique as well as the opposition leader to sit down and find ways to finish the war. Besides that these leaders were accompanying the progress of the negotiation and whenever there was a slowdown these leaders would express their concern[146].

During the negotiations, there was a need to prepare people on issues of peace and the CCM went around the neighbouring countries where Mozambicans had fled, giving them humanitarian assistance and informing them that negotiations were under way. This meant preparing people for peace, democracy, reintegration, reconciliation and forgiveness. The work was done through, workshops, seminars, and debates. Places like Malawi, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia were visited. Even when the GPA was signed on 4 October 1992, the CCM continued to be involved in other projects of peace because the agreement was not only to end war but the main objective was to establish a lasting peace in Mozambique. It was in this light that the Mozambican Christian organisation started other projects related to peace such as civic education as way of preparing people for peace, elections, disarmament of mentality and hands through the *Transformação de Armas em Enxadas*-Transforming Arms into Ploughshares (TAE)[147] project, as it is written in the prophecy book of Joel 3:10. The peace process was not only a result of the peace efforts of different leaders and organisations as we said earlier but also of the Mozambican population's good will to see their country rebuilt[148].

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[146] Bishop João Somane Machado (Maputo, 15 April 2011) interview.

[147] TAE- transformação de armas em enxadas translated into English means transforming arms into ploughshares (Micah 4:3b). The project was designed with the objective of guaranteeing the prevalence of peace in the country and avoiding disturbance through weapons. The Christian Council of Mozambique was able to collect thousands of guns that were with people without any control from the government. People handed over the guns in exchange for any material that they wanted. The material included zincs, cement, bicycle, sewing machine and different tools that could be used to perform certain skills.The collected weapons were destroyed and used to make some objects of beauty, Christian objects. Some objects made by the collected guns can be found in national and international museums.

[148] J.U. Taimo, *National Initiatives to Stem the Flow of and Reduce the Demand for Small Arms and Light Weapons: Mozambique*, Geneva: WCC Publisher, (1998), 85.

2.5.3.5 The International Intervention

The United Nation (UN) was a key player in international intervention because it was first of all responsible for sponsoring the Mozambican peace agreement which contributed to having RENAMO upgraded to a credible political party[149]. After the signing of the GPA, the United Nations Security Council approved the establishment of United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) with the following activities.

- To withdraw Malawian and Zimbabwean troops from the Beira, Nampula and Nacala Corridors,

- To oversee the process of cantonment, demobilisation and disarmament,

- To create a new national army,

- To resettle the refugees and displaced people and

- To make preparation for the first elections[150].

The intervention of different actors for peace negotiation in Mozambican culminated in the establishment of a document which constituted the General Peace Agreement. This document comprised of seven protocols.

Protocol I- (Basic Principles)

Protocol II- (Criteria and arrangements for the formation and recognition of political parties);

Protocol III- (Principles of the Electoral Act);

Protocol IV (Military questions);

Protocol V (Guarantees);

Protocol VI (Cease-fire);

Protocol VII (Donors' Conference). For more details on these protocols (see appendix B) in this thesis.

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[149] D. J. Francis (et al) *Dangers of Co-deployment: UN Co-operative Peacekeeping in Africa* Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, (2005), 95.
[150] M. Rupiya, *Historical Context: War and Peace in Mozambique*, London: Conciliation Resources Publisher, (1998), 15.

Protocols were designed in order to guide the whole process of peace in Mozambique. However, since the GPA was signed in Mozambique in 1992 there are some aspects of the protocol that were not clearly observed and it is still putting in danger the project of Mozambican democracy. Below are somes issues that have always being cited by different people alluding that some of the protocols are not being observed. For instance protocol II paragraph 1 point d) states the following: 'Political parties shall be granted specific privileges, which shall be guaranteed by law'. Many opposition parties have alluded to the practice where political parties are not given the same privileges. It is true that the way political parties have been treated since the introduction of a multi-party democracy is so different considering the evolution of Mozambican democracy. There are some isolated cases where it may happen that some political parties or candidates may not have specific privileges due to some requirements like the payment of a caution fund that every party contesting for election shall pay. The idea of this payment is all about calling the parties to responsibility and seriousness in the process of democracy and election since for the first elections there were many political parties that were contesting for election beacuse of money donated by the international community.

Protocol II paragraph 1. e) says '…the parties must have fundamentally democratic principles by which they must abide and practice in their political activities'. Since multi-party democracy was introduced in Mozambique, it is observed that only the leaders of the top position of some political parties are elected democratically within their political parties but in some situations, Mozambicans came to know that there is a leader for a particular political party without knowing when the election for that leader took place and was not open to the public in general. The recommendation here is that since the country is now doing everything democratically the election of the leaders of different political parties in Mozambique have to observe certain rules in order that people do not question whether these parties are really committed to a multi-party democracy or not.

Protocol II paragraph 2. c) states that "the political objectives pursued must be non-regional, non-tribal, non-separatist, non-racial, non-ethnic and non-religious". This protocol is not observed by some politicians in Mozambique especially those who belong to RENAMO party. These politicians always highlight that it is their intent to

divide Mozambique into two regions suggesting Save River as the frontier. After the division the *Machanganas* (a term used to identify people living in the Southern area of Mozambique) will have their own president from the Southern area of the country which is comprised of four provinces namely: Maputo province, Maputo city, Gaza and Inhambane. From Save River to Rovuma River is made up of seven provinces namely: Sofala, Manica, Tete, Zambézia, Nampula, Cabo Delgado and Niassa which will be under the dominion of a leader from RENAMO party since this party was first established at this side of Mozambique and the majority of its adherent are from this area. It is important to highlight that this idea does not belong to all adherents of that political party but of a minority including the actual president of this party Afonso Dhlakama. However, it is paramount to recognise that politics does not deal with individual issues but with those issues that are of the interest of the majority for the benefit of the majority.

Protocol II paragraph 2. g) states that "joining a political party must be a voluntary act reflecting the freedom of citizens to associate with others who share the same political outlook." This protocol is not being fulfilled through the fault of some leaders from the two major political parties in Mozambique FRELIMO and RENAMO. There are people who joined the FRELIMO political party voluntarily but there are also those who joined because they wanted to get employed and the condition for that employment was having the "red card" identifying them as a members of this political party otherwise they would continue to be unemployed. This causes negative attitudes from some political leaders who end up pressurising workers to join this political party and if they do not, then they are persecuted and deprived of some privileges given to those who are already members of the party. People who have already joined the RENAMO party and choose to remain in the party have to obey everything about this political party because the moment people contest issues that are not correct they will be discriminated against ending up moving away from that party.

2.5.4 What contributed to the peace talks in Mozambique?

Many factors contributed to the peace talks in Mozambique, Ostheimer puts in this way: "A decisive aspect of the initial steps towards peace talks was the growing consciousness of changing regional and international realities"[151].

From RENAMO it is said regionally, South Africa changed its foreign policy and this situation affected RENAMO in terms of logistical support which used to come from this neighbouring country. Internationally, RENAMO faced problems because of the way it conducted its war. Its war tactics contributed to the strong criticism received from the international level and automatically the reputation of this party was totally discredited. Even local people started to question the reason why RENAMO was fighting because of its brutality (killing people, burning infrastructures and vehicles). Consequently people no longer supported this war the way they previously had.

For FRELIMO, the economic situation worsened significantly because people were not producing products that would support the development of the country and in addition the financial support from abroad was reduced. Facing this challenge, the only way found by FRELIMO to change this scenario was to end the civil war which demanded that they sit down with RENAMO to discuss the possibilities of ending the war. On the one hand at regional level the challenge faced by FRELIMO was the fact that the Mozambican force was dependent on Zimbabwean troops, since this country was also facing some critical problems it was not able to continue with the support. These troops were to be taken back in 1980s. On another hand, at the international level the USSR had announced in 1989 that their military advisors would leave within the next two years.[152]

2.5.5 The Implication of Peace Intervention in Human Security

Peace intervention in Mozambique contributed a great deal to the development of the nation economically, socially, religiously and politically. Before going further with this

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[151] Andrea E. Ostheimer, *Transforming peace into democracy: Democratic sturcture in Mozambique*, London: Routledge (1999), 17.
[152] Andrea E. Ostheimer, *Transforming peace into democracy...*, 17.

analysis, it is of great importance to highlight that peace had become a reality in Mozambique since the GPA was signed. This constitutes a beacon moment for Mozambicans because it gave them a chance to bring together long separated families. It also gave an opportunity to reunite people with their ancestors in their motherland, and it also gave them an opportunity to hold traditional ceremonies for their own reconciliation as well as reconciliation with their communities. The elements mentioned above show clearly how human security is very crucial for every African and during the civil war they did not have the chance for it. Peace intervention contributed a lot to human security in Mozambique considering that it brought freedom from fear and want. However, the issue of fear is debatable because it is true that Mozambicans no longer experience war but this does not make them live without fear because there are still situations threatening their freedom. For example, the landmines that were planted during the civil war, the guns which were distributed uncontrollably and the situation of crime within the country still exist to an extent.

The GPA in Mozambique also opened ways for the improvement of the economy, food production, health, education and security just to mention a few because there are good signs showing that people are experiencing a better time compared to the period before GPA, including a commitment to human security, guaranteeing that the basic human needs are met including food, clean water, affordable shelter, health care and education. For instance, in the area of education, during the civil war there were only two public Universities in Mozambique, but after the GPA was signed, Mozambique started having many public and private universities with faculties spread throughout all eleven provinces of the nation as well as in some districts. New primary and secondary schools were opened all over the country. These are vivid examples of development taking place as a result of the intervention towards peace by the government and different NGOs, religious institutions, and civil society who elevated the level of education of many Mozambicans. On the same note, these organisations are involved in the process of improving educational and health institutions. Some years ago, the Mozambican government introduced a loan program where by every year the government gives to every district seven million of Meticais, equivalent to $233,333.33 US at a rate of 30MZM/$1. According to the program, this amount was to be distributed to people to run profitable projects aiming at developing people at the grassroots level despite the party that people belong to. However, the fund is not used

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according to the plan. In most of the cases the fund is only given to FRELIMO members who are not paying back as it was planned.

The government is now involved in a reconstruction process focusing on social, economic and political areas as a form of eliminating poverty. This becomes possible through the involvement of foreign aid agencies in Mozambique. The major focus has been on health and education which Mozambicans depend on. The involvement of Mozambique in the development project is confirmed by the fact that on 26 September 2008 the current President of Mozambique Armando Guebuza was the only African Head of State who was given a prize from the Africa-America Institute located in the United States of America, as a sign of recognition of his good performance as leader of the nation as well as in the role he played for the last forty years of his life on behalf of the freedom, development and peace for his country and other nations[153].

During the civil war in Mozambique, people were living in fear because they could not even travel safely. Nowadays, with the GPA, people have time to think about running projects for their own development. Mozambican peace intervention contributed a lot to the increase of the country's economy as well as for the economy of the region. As it is known, Mozambique borders with some landlocked countries and these countries can now use the Mozambican harbours to deliver their goods, and they can either use roads or railways to transport their goods to their respective countries and it's now done safely. Despite all that has been mentioned here, there is a need to highlight the importance of environmental security that has to be promoted because it is the responsibility of each and every one to protect the integrity of creation, an obligation that is inseparable from the responsibility to protect human life.

2.5.6   Implication of Peace Intervention at the Global Level

It was through the peace intervention that Mozambicans demonstrated that they are peacemakers. This is the main reason why the former President of Mozambique Joaquim Alberto Chissano was chosen by the secretary general of the United Nations Ban Ki-Moon as an envoy for peace negotiations in Uganda. Additionally, because of

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[153] Mozambican Newspaper "Notícias"

reasonable security, Mozambique is now part of the "global village" meaning that the country is attached to other countries all over the world through modern forms of communication like internet. Mozambique is now capable of selling and buying goods more easily by using new technology. If we looked for instance at our tourism business, Mozambique sells its products through technological advertisement to the whole world. Internet networking has facilitated the selling and buying of products of any kind and even before the customer knocks the store room door. Moreover, in the area of academic research people are now able to purchase books using internet at amazon.com. Most significantly, Mozambique is no longer seen as a threat to the peace of other countries. There is no censorship of information from Mozambique to other countries; people can communicate with other countries freely.

2.5.7 Critical analysis of Peace Intervention in Mozambique

It was in the context of peace intervention that different individuals from both sides FRELIMO and RENAMO and different organisations including some heads of states played their roles in bringing peace to Mozambique. However, it was noticeable through some expressions and incidents that some people who were involved in the peace process had their own intents besides restoring peace in the country. With the above affirmation the researcher means that some people used peace negotiation as a source of wealth which is associated with corruption. This is clearly shown by Alex Vines when emphasising that "RENAMO's first secretary general, Orlando Cristina was murdered because he was investing funds given to RENAMO on a farm in Australia"[154]. In addition, on different occasions there was a tendency to delay the negotiations since some of the negotiators wanted to raise money on behalf of the negotiations. Once the RENAMO's negotiators summed up by saying that "there is no democracy without money"[155].

After delays in the negotiations on several occasions, the CCM and the Roman Catholic Church managed to encourage the two belligerents to continue going to the negotiation table until the GPA was signed. It is true that Mozambique is now at peace despite the

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[154] Vines, *Renamo: From Terrorism to Democracy in Mozambique?*, 145.
[155] Vines, *Renamo: From Terrorism to Democracy in Mozambique?*, 145.

fact that it is a negative peace (absence of war). So the question is: What is the reason for this situation? Despite the peace that Mozambicans are enjoying now, most of them are still living in a fear because there are a lot of issues threatening the peace in the country for example: crime and robbery perpetrated either by ordinary people or by the some police and people occupying high positions in the government, nepotism, violence and corruption. As far as the researcher is concerned, all of these aspects constitute challenges for Mozambican's democracy and peace which needed to be addressed profoundly by the CCM and other organisations soon after the GPA. It is appreciable that the CCM has done a good job in sensitising people about reconciliation, forgiveness and love; all of which were done at national level but there was a need for them to come to the grassroots in order to reach as many people as possible. The CCM did not cure totally the wounds of the people. On the contrary, the researcher is of the view that if things remain the way they are now, one day another civil war might break out because the root causes of the first civil war were not well addressed.

When the researcher reads books and articles written by different scholars trying to discuss issues relating to the civil war in Mozambique, he observed that they were saying that RENAMO lacked a political framework when it came to war, it was argued by Andrea E Ostheimer. "RENAMO had two choices. It could accept the rules of the game set by FRELIMO and hope for success in the elections, despite its political and programmatic weaknesses"[156]. But he disagrees with them because when analysing the current situation in Mozambique he concludes that some of the issues that the opposition fought for are being implemented now, for example, the introduction of a multi-party democracy, respect for humanity and the role of the traditional leaders, freedom of speech and human rights. From these perspectives, there is no doubt that RENAMO had a political agenda to address when it accelerated the civil war in the country. It is obvious that the way used by the opposition was not perhaps the correct one because everything was supposed to be done in a peaceful and good political atmosphere.

Another critical problems that was not observed was the fact the after the GPA there was no accurate control of the number of soldiers from RENAMO's side since this

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[156] A. E. Ostheimer, *Mozambique: Country Risk Profile 2001*,
http://www.swisspeace.ch/typo3/fileadmin/user_upload/Media/Projects/FAST/Africa/Mozambique/Mozambique_Case_Study_2001.pdf(accessed 28 April 2011).

would have been useful to find out if all of them were stationed. The control of guns were not done in good manner since there was no good control of all places that RENAMO had hidden relic material. Consequently, there are many people from RENAMO remaining with weapons which are being used to steal people's goods and putting to risk people's life. The CCM under the project TAE managed to collect thousand of guns but there are still guns with people the reason why it becomes very easy for RENAMO to organise people to create panic in some areas of Mozambique.

2.5.8   Lessons Learned from the Mozambican Conflict

The Civil war that lasted about sixteen years in Mozambique left some important lessons that cannot be forgotten in people's lives,

- That the Mozambican civil conflict was linked with neighbouring countries and the internal grievances contributed a lot the local people supporting the war,

- That in a civil war the negative impacts were mostly felt by women and children,

- That multi-track initiative[157] was very important in bringing the war to the end, especially the involvement of the church that in the past was seen as the enemy of the government, now it brings peace to the country,

- That was not easy to build trust between two groups that had spent a long time fighting and,

- That war is not a good way to resolve the problems of a country.

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[157] The term multi-track diplomacy refers to the combination of official, governmental actions to resolve conflicts (track one) and unofficial efforts by non-governmental professionals to resolve conflicts within and between states (track two).

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2.6   Rebuilding Mozambique after Civil War

With the peace settlement of 1992, Mozambique came to know a different situation compared to what was experienced during the sixteen years of civil war. With the new government it was possible at least to use the word peace in the country even though there was still a lot to be done, so that peace could be the reality that Mozambicans have been looking for. Many questions were raised in the minds of the common people in Mozambique, even from leaders of both sides (FRELIMO and RENAMO). Some examples of these questions are: what needs to be done in order the rebuild the country? How about the thousands of people who ran to other countries in the region or in other continents? What can be done for displaced people? How about the uncountable and illegal weapons circulating in the country? How about the infrastructures destroyed during war? These questions constitute a practical example which demonstrates that the task was both physical and social reconstruction which continues to be paramount for the affected communities[158]. Knowing that the reconstruction appointed to physical and social arenas, the question now was: what was to be done first? Gibbs highlighted that the people themselves reached the following conclusion:

> In particular, the actual physical work of reconstruction following return- such as the building of homes and planting of fields- was considered by local people to be particularly crucial to the postwar healing of individuals and communities. Thus, reconstruction was conceived to arise first from individual and community actions rather from discussions with individuals on or about the traumas of war[159].

The researcher agrees with the position of the people as mentioned in the quote above. First, without undermining the urgent necessity of helping the traumatised people, the issue of rebuilding homes and planting fields was really the priority since shelter and food are a crucial basic need for people. Even the ones suffering from trauma conditioned by the war they needed these and they could be achieved by adults in a good healthy condition. Second, reconstruction in the social arena demanded the involvement of social institutions such as healers, churches and non-governmental organisations[160]. The major role played by these institutions was the facilitation of reconstruction projects on the one hand and healing on the other hand. By reconstruction projects the researcher means the physical work which includes the

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[158] S. Gibbs, *Postwar Social Reconstruction in Mozambique: Reframing Children's Experiences of Trauma and Healing*, London: Lynne Reinner Publisher, (1997), 227.
[159] Gibbs, *Postwar Social Reconstruction in Mozambique*, 228.
[160] Gibbs, *Postwar Social Reconstruction in Mozambique*, 145

building of different infrastructures as well as working in the fields for the production of crops.

For healing projects, Gibbs argues that healing and healing ceremonies were set in the context of people working to re-establish their lives[161]. The healing process was performed by the traditional healers and was done in a most complex form since it involved many rituals and it differed from one region to another. However, the common thing is that in every case the ritual is important to purify people from the bad deeds of the war, appease the spirits of those they might have killed, and open up a new and cleaner environment in which to lead their lives[162]. In addition, since the war did not only affect people but the community had suffered too, there was a need to perform cleansing for the community mainly with two objectives in mind. First, it was necessary to create an environment of reconciliation between people after a long period of separation and grievances caused by the civil war. Second, there was a need to reconcile the living with the spirit of the dead since in an African context: the ancestral spirits are believed to be able to intervene in the life of human beings in society. They protect and guide communities. They promote the fertility of the land and of women, ensuring the reproductive continuation of the family, good agricultural production, and good hunting[163]. The elements for this process of cleansing either people (who spent time in the bush) or their returning homes in the communities are: animals, traditional beer and herbal medicines. A traditional healer that was interviewed on the matter affirmed that the "*muri wa mathlanganisi (titi, nyamhutani, citsalala ni shepa)*"[164] meaning the moisture of these three remedies that are mostly used in traditional remedies to perform these traditional ceremonies.

The healing performed from the perspective of church doctrine is different in terms of the procedures when compared with the traditional form. However, there are still situations of syncretism as was shown from the word of some Christians that performed these healings:

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[161] Gibbs, *Postwar Social Reconstruction in Mozambique*, 232.
[162] A. Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, (2006),104.
[163] Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*,, 107.
[164] Natalani Samuel Jamisse Manhice. These are traditional names of medicine in Xithswa language spoken in some places of Inhambane province, (Massinga, 15 January 2011) interview.

> When we returned we prayed in the church, we made no ceremonies for the ancestors as the bible is against such things, we just called out their names during the service[165].

In the quote above there is a situation of people that know that the church is against ceremonies for the ancestors since they have to place their trust in the bible and prayers. Therefore, they prayed to God but they also had to invoke the names of their ancestors. This is a practical demonstration that for Africans the ancestors are still part of people that are alive. A very important note concerning the matter of ancestors it that it is predominantly the main line churches that are teaching against syncretism. However, the prophets of the independent churches performed religious services which had special rituals that were supposed to be performed for cleansing people returning to their communities[166]. This ceremony is important as it can be seen from the Zionist Bishop who argued that:

> We have cleansed many young men and women that came from the camps…The rituals are very important to cleanse them from the dirt of the war. We don't want them to live with that dirt because it can affect their lives negatively…We cleanse them inside and outside…they have to leave behind the bad things of the war…we don't want them to live like they did in the military camps[167].

Throughout Mozambique, the role of the church was recognised in the process of reconciling people and fostering the message of forgiveness between the offenders and offended.

2.7   Conclusion

In conclusion, it was observed throughout this chapter that Mozambique was at war. The most remembered wars were the liberation and civil wars. In the first the contenders were Mozambicans against the Portuguese and in the second the contestants were Mozambicans against Mozambicans. Indeed, to end both wars, courageous and visionary people, with good goals were necessary in order to achieve the peace that is experienced in the country today. The major reason why we say courageous people is that during the process difficulties of different levels were faced. In fact, the people that were involved in the negotiation process never lost hope. They wanted peace for all

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[165] Gibbs, *Postwar Social Reconstruction in Mozambique*, 234.
[166] Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, 118.
[167] Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, 120.

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Mozambicans. For instance, during the liberation war there was the involvement of Mozambicans (common people, workers, poets, sculptors and singers,) who joined hands in the pursuit of a common goal for the sake of Mozambique. It was noticeable that in order to end the war in the country the intervention of regional and international organisations was of paramount importance. Moreover, the participation of people needs to be taken into account since they also played a major role in bringing peace to the nation to the extent that they were instrumental in playing this role so that peace became a reality for the nation.

During the civil war, the church was an additional organisation that played a substantial role supplying food, medicine and other facilities for the affected people that were within and outside the country. In addition to that, the church played a crucial role for the Mozambican peace. It was the church that enabled the fighting powers to come together and negotiate for peace and it became a reality in the country.

Regardless of everything that happened during the war period in Mozambique, there is a need to consider that there was a certain dynamism brought to the country through the liberation and civil wars. The liberation war brought independence for the nation and hence Mozambicans started feeling free within their own nation. One of the immediate dynamic things to come out of the civil war was a change in the relationship between FRELIMO and RENAMO. In addition to that, it was because of the civil war that the dictatorship Marxist-Leninism regime came to an end. This meant also the end of the one-party system and the introduction of the multi-party system. In other words, it can be said that the end of the civil war meant the introduction of the free multi-party system.

It can also be said that the conflict in Mozambique contributed a great deal to the change of mind of the Mozambican government in the case of political tolerance within Mozambique, the recognition of traditional authority, the church being given its own independent space in the country just to mention a few examples.

CHAPTER THREE

CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONSHIP IN MOZAMBIQUE

3.1 Introduction

The history of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and other churches or religions (Protestant, Pentecostals, Independents and Muslim) on the one hand, and the relationship between all the churches and state on the other hand was an experience which had both bitter and positive aspects from 1975 onwards in Mozambique. At the beginning, it was bitter and later on the situation began to change. That scenario was not only observed between church and state, it was also a reality between traditional religion and the state. On this note, this chapter seek discuss both the hard and good times of the relation (Roman Catholic Church and other religious professions, Church and state, state and traditional religion) in Mozambique, with a parallel look at the causes, consequences and the current situation.

Rossouw and Macamo Jr. stresses that, "in the development of modern church-state relations in Mozambique, there are two distinct phases: the first from 1975 to 1982, the second from 1983 to the present"[168]. In the first phase, the relationship between the two was extremely tense and unfriendly while in the second period the relationship between church and state became more comfortable and friendly.

3.2 The relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant churches

It is known that the Roman Catholic Church was the first to come to Mozambique when Vasco Gama passed through the country in 1498 on his way to India. One thing that needs to be highlighted is the good relationship the Catholic Church had with the colonial power (Portugal being traditionally Catholic) undermined later relations with

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[168] G. J. Rossouw and E. Macamo, Jr, *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org (accessed, 26 July 2010), 537.

the Protestant churches. As Mozambique was Portuguese territory, work was not always easy for the Protestant churches[169]. A clear example is shown by Chingono who said "as early as the 1880s the Catholic Church and the Protestant missionaries in Southern Mozambique (Inhambane) were already locked in intense rivalry, characterised by innuendo, spiteful and sarcastic remarks directed by each to the other"[170]. However, the strategies applied by the Protestant churches (use of local languages, giving importance to the capacity of local people, accepting them in leading positions, acknowledging their skills and the translation of some bible passages into local languages) contributed significantly to increasing the credibility of these churches in the country even though their counterpart the Roman Catholic Church did not appreciate their good work. Consequently, the Roman Catholic Church created barriers preventing the introduction of Protestant churches to Mozambique, arguing that these churches were not supporting the Portuguese colonial presence in the country as well as ensuring that Mozambique remains Catholic[171]. For instance, in 1940 Portugal introduced a concordat that extended the Portuguese government's support to all Catholic Missionary Societies and their educational work with the condition of cooperating with Portugal's policies such as using the Portuguese language or educating people according to the Portuguese educational system. The concordat disadvantaged the Protestant churches since they did not have the same financial support for their missionaries. The reason for the concordat was because at that time all Protestant missionaries were not of Portuguese origin. The protestant denominations were suspected of not participating in the policy of the 'Portugalisation' of Mozambique[172].

Mr. Luís Paunde a Roman Catholic Church catechist who was interviewed about this relationship said that the Protestant churches were not allowed to build their chapels within a 32 kilometre radius of a Roman Catholic Church. Besides, there were accusations from the Catholic Church about how the Protestants worked:

- The Protestant churches taught politics to Africans,

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[169] A. Hastings, *Wiriyamu*, London: Search Press, (1974), 119.

[170] M.F. Chingono, *The State, Violence Development*, England: Ashgate Publisher, (1996), 166; Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 195-205.

[171] L. Brito Serapião, *The Catholic Church Conflict resolution in Mozambique's Colonial Conflict, 1977-1992*, http://jcs.oxfordjournaisa.org (accessed, 26 July 2010), 372.

[172] J. Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications (1994), 437

- The Protestant churches conveyed powerful religious propaganda; consequently their Protestant chapels and schools were gaining many people which prejudiced the Roman Catholic Church. People began to flock towards the Protestant missions as a form of appreciating the way the Protestant missionaries were working,

- The Protestant missionaries were accepted very easily because of their fast learning capacity concerning language, culture and society in comparison to the Roman Catholic Church and,

- Some of the Protestant missionaries had good academic qualifications.[173]

The accusations made against the Protestant missionaries to some extent were true and had their consequences for the Protestants namely:

- Many Protestant schools were compulsorily closed,

- Some Protestant chapels were burned and some evangelical stations were shut and the missionaries expelled,

- Children of Protestants had to choose either to remain illiterate while keeping their Protestantism or becoming Roman Catholic Church members through accepting catechesis of this denomination in order to receive schooling and,

- Some courageous evangelists and pastors were tortured to death and others taken to prison[174]. For example, Rev. Zedequias Manganhela pastor of the Presbyterian Church was found dead in prison where he was incarcerated in 1972. Other pastors of the same church imprisoned were Casimiro Mati, Abrão Aldasse and Gabriel Macavi. José Sidumo was also a member of the Presbyterian Church who was killed and his body was never found.

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[173] Mr. Luís Paunde, (Massinga, 29 October 2011) interview.
[174] Mr. Luís Paunde.

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Why were these people taken to prison and even killed? A simple answer to this question is that it was all about suspecting them to hinder the expansion of the Catholic Church, not only that, they were also accused of cooperating with a newly formed party (FRELIMO). For instance, some Catholic people said that Zedequias Manganhela used to organise fund-raising in different Presbyterian churches and sent the money to the FRELIMO party located Tanzania.

3.3 The contribution of the Protestant churches towards independence

Talking about the contribution of the Protestant churches towards the independence of the country, the magnitude of the exploitation that Mozambicans underwent due colonial domination has to be considered. There was no way to hinder Protestants from getting involved in the struggle for a free country. Furthermore, the contribution of Protestant churches towards independence cannot be seen as an isolated case, but as part of the contribution made from Mozambique by one body seeking to turn their country free.

The contribution of the Protestant churches towards the independence of Mozambique has many different aspects. Primarily, the influence and contribution from these churches was seen through the introduction of mission schools in the 19th century in Inhambane (the Methodist Episcopal Church opened Cambine Secondary School with boarding facilities). The Presbyterian Church opened Khovo Secondary school and boarding school in *Lourenço Marques* currently Maputo and the Anglican Church opened St. Cyprian Secondary School in Maputo and the Maciene Mission in Gaza. These schools were important for Mozambicans in different ways: They encouraged literacy amongst the natives. For instance, these churches were the first to start ministering and teaching to the population in vernacular languages and culture. They also encouraged Mozambicans to think about their own culture (anthropology), and this was very significant since Mozambicans were rehabilitating their own personality, self-esteem and self-respect as well as their own dignity which did not happen with their counterparts (the Roman Catholic Church) until later. Some distinguished figures in the history of FRELIMO were trained in mission schools such as: Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane the first president of Mozambique who was trained first in a Swiss Mission,

currently called Presbyterian Church school in Maputo then he studied agriculture at Cambine Mission (see appendix C). Later on he was given a scholarship by the Presbyterian Church to pursue his studies in America. Graça Simbine and Daniel Mbanze were educated at Cambine Mission. Later on Graça was also trained at Chicuque Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church[175]. Besides that, different Protestant Churches were able to offer scholarships to African students to pursue higher education in Mozambique[176] and others were sent overseas (e.g. to America, Lisbon or Switzerland)[177]. It was on this subject of scholarships that Helgesson quoted Graça Simbine while greeting the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1972: "Graça Simbine greeted the conference on behalf of her colleagues. She expressed gratitude for the interest of the Church in them and for having sent them to school, in order to prepare them to be of help in some respect in the future"[178]. She said these words soon after she fled from the University of Lisbon and joined FRELIMO forces in Tanzania. Graça became the first lady as the wife of Samora Machel, the first president of independent Mozambique, and she was the first lady to become a Minister after independence leading the Ministry of Education. One of the issues that marked her period as Minister was her ambition to improve the life of teachers (salary improvement) in Mozambique. Currently, she is married to Nelson Mandela and works actively in development projects as well as in social community areas supporting children who are suffering. She provides basic commodities as well as sending them to school. This is provided through a non-governmental organisation called *Fundo do Desenvolvimento da Comunidade*-Community Development Fund (FDC). There is no doubt that her passion for the improvement of society in general resulted from her training and experience acquired in the Methodist Episcopal mission where missionaries targeted improving the quality of life for Mozambicans by introducing self-supporting and sustainable projects.

The Protestant schools, even though persecuted by the colonial regime, used different means to raise awareness amongst the people, especially the young generation,

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[175] M. Hall & T. Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since Independence*, Athens: Ohio University Press (1997), 8.
[176] This was possible in Mozambique because by 1970 the 'Colégio Pedro Nunes- Pedro Nunes College' was opened in Lourenço Marques, now Maputo under the leadership of the first graduate of the Mozambique Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Almeida Penicela.
[177] A. Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 361.
[178] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 361.

regarding the situation they were going through. Silva argues that the introduction of a new system of education entitled *mintlawa/patrulhas*-groups (see appendix D) by the Presbyterian Church in 1930 and followed by the Methodist Episcopal Church later, played a crucial role in the struggle for independence because its main objective was to shape the personality of the young generation within the Christian education scope[179]. She goes on to say that these groups emphasised issues like cooperation, leadership, hierarchy, rules of organisation in a group, the meaning of responsibility and the construction of solidarity within the community[180]. Helgesson continues saying that the main objective of the *Patrulhas* was to stimulate young people to engage in activities which could reinforce lessons from ordinary schooling and daily Bible classes.[181] The subjects for these groups included Bible, Catechism, prayer, singing, moral, hygiene, gymnastics and hand-work[182]. On the one hand, the *mintlawa* was divided into gender groups, the boys and girls used to meet separately in order to have specific studies which were different from those the researcher had already mentioned. For instance, the young girls (between 10 to 20 years old) were taught cookery, sewing and activities related to caring for a family[183], and boys used to learn agriculture and raising animals, professional training including training to be a nurse and other medical professions. For both groups social and moral subjects were introduced. Regarding the matter of the issues offered by the Protestant churches, Angelina who had the opportunity of participating in the training of that time said:

> In boarding we were organised into age groups. The youngest girls were under the control of older girls with the responsibility of educating them about the principle of respect for elderly people. The boarding had its organisation. The first objective was to study. In addition to religious studies considered by the missionary a part and parcel of knowledge and education, we had also other activities that were combined with those of mintlawa to prepare us for life in the family. Girls learned rules of life for society. We learned about marriage: conduct of a married woman; the respect that is demanded before the husband as well as for the relatives of both sides, we learn how to cook and prepare home food. We were taught to take care of the youngest girls and we also learned about taking care of new born babies at Mission's hospital, we used to learn about taking care of children. The girls learned also to wash, clean and other activities of this type[184].

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[179] T.C. Silva, *Igrejas Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique: O caso da Missão Suíça (1930-1974)*, Maputo: CIEDIMA-Central Impressora e Editora de Maputo (2001), 76.

[180] Silva, *Igrejas Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique*, 77.

[181] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 252.

[182] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 238.

[183] Silva, *Igreja Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique*, 80.

[184] Silva, *Igreja Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique*, 230.

One important issue that was always considered in *mintlawa* was to keep everything that was taught secret. This means whatever was discussed in the groups was not supposed to be shared with other people outside the regular meeting.

The contribution of the Protestant churches towards the independence of Mozambique did not only end through the creation of the Protestant schools where the young generation was trained or on the creation of some journal groups, there was other contribution offered by the church as Helgesson stressed that:

> Via the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism, many Protestant Churches outside Mozambique were openly supporting FRELIMO; particularly through subsidies to the 'Mozambique Institute' in Dar-es-Salaam. Church support was also channelled through personal contact between representatives of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, New York, and FRELIMO leaders[185].

According to Eric Morier-Genoud the support coming from different churches through the WCC for the FRELIMO Institute in Dar-es-Salaam was of $120.000. But the support did not end with donated money there was also support for education, material needs, health and food[186]. The position taken by the Protestant churches through the development of studies and regulation that increased in the mind of Mozambicans the spirit of nationalist politics was of the greatest importance. The strategies of *mintlawa* introduced by the Protestant churches led to the creation of many other different groups like *Cruz Azul* meaning 'blue cross', *Grémio Africano*, (African Grémio)[187] as well as the publication of different journals like *o Africano* (the African), *o Brado Africano* (the African Brado), *Dambu dja Africa* (the Sun of Africa) by members of the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church published the *Kuca ka Mixo* (The Dawn of the Morning), *Mahlahle* (Morning star) just to cite a few. These groups and journals had almost the same objectives that of criticising the ways Mozambican people were treated by the Portuguese. For instance, Silva says that the *African Brado* developed initiatives against racism, discrimination, attacking the abuse perpetrated by the Portuguese government against Mozambicans. In addition to that, the *Mahlahle* for

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[185] Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique*, 359.

[186] Eric, Morier-Genoud, *Of God and Caesar: The Relation between Christian Churches and the State in Post-Colonial Mozambique, 1974-1981*, (1996), 21 (no further details available).

[187] A group of Mozambicans comprised of mulatos (colored) in the majority, was characterised by critics addressed to different social situations in Mozambique especially fighting against the assimilation of Portuguese culture, they demanded that everyone was to be considered despite their colour. Most importantly, part of the African Grémio was the fact that when black Africans came to be members of this organisation started to produce a journal contrasting the first member of the group and advocating the material and intellectual promotion of black people in the colony.

instance used to publish news about the Pan-African Congress with the intention of informing its readers about the political changes that were occurring in the world relating to the emergence of black political rights[188].

To sum up, the new Christianity introduced by the Protestant churches gave value to African tradition, rituals and a new thinking structure as well as new moral values which was on the one hand interfering with existing traditional religiosity (Roman Catholic Church tradition) but on the other hand constituted a continuity of what had already been introduced to Mozambique, though with some renewal in terms of their methodologies. Protestant churches took advantage of the Christianity that was already introduced by the Roman Catholic Church and helped Christians and society to think afresh about their religiosity and created a new environment seeking its identity. This is supported by Silva who argues that the Protestants, with their hierarchy representative, allowed democratic participation of all Christians in the church. Moreover, Christians were given a chance to state their opinions and feelings which were totally different from the system of education that was introduced by the Portuguese through the Roman Catholic Church[189]. Last but not least, the educated nationalists were incited by some missionaries to join the guerrilla movement and were also helped in their fight[190].

3.4 The attitude of FRELIMO Government towards the Church in Mozambique after independence

From his earliest youth Machel had experienced exploitation. At missionary school he was forced to spend most of his day cultivating cash crops for the benefit of the church. When he completed his primary education, his teachers decided to send him to seminary, rather than high school, where they hoped his rebellious nature would be tamed. Machel refused to go. Instead, he took a nursing course and then completed secondary studies at night, paying the cost from his meagre wages. His father not only suffered all the indignities of forced cotton production but in the early 1950s had his land confiscated and given to a Portuguese immigrant. Machel's eldest brother and many other close relatives died in South African gold mines[191].

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[188] Silva, *Igrejas Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique*, 61-67.
[189] Silva, *Igrejas Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique*, 70.
[190] E. Morier-Genoud, *Of God and Caesar*,16
[191] A. Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 99.

The statement above demonstrates clearly the link between the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese government not only that, but the situation that most Mozambicans faced in the country during colonial domination together with the Roman Catholic Church since the two worked hand in hand. In Machel's mind, even with Mozambique being independent the church still represented the presence of the exploiter in the country, a reason why it was compulsory for the church to be eliminated since it represented the coloniser and exploitation. This is evidently stated by Rossouw and Macamo Jr who said, when the FRELIMO government came into power in 1975, the relationship between church and state in Mozambique seriously deteriorated. The deterioration was caused by the policies of the new state on the light of the difficult life that people went through in Mozambique as well as the action and reluctance of the Roman Catholic Church[192]. The relationship between church and state can be explained through the following: Experiences of religion and churches and Nationalists' ideologies.

3.4.1 Experiences of Religion and Churches

The revenge against the church was of course raised by Mozambican nationalists coming from religious families. However, their experiences with the church were different; some had positive experiences with the church and others negative. It is of great importance to understand the relationship between the church and the state. For instance, the way Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane understood the church is different from that of Machel. The development of the first nationalists and many other to follow was not prevented by the church. They managed to study despite the barriers perpetrated by the Roman Catholic Church which were fostered by religious institutions. Most of the people that had this opportunity were supported by Protestant churches since these denominations gave opportunities to African people to study from primary, secondary schools as well as at university level with the possibility of gaining scholarships. The positive experiences these people had with the church led them to be favourably inclined towards church and religion.

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[192] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 538.

But people with the like mind of Samora Machel saw their future hindered by the Roman Catholic Church's discriminating policy towards Africans because they were black or Protestant. This was achieved through an enforced condition which demanded conversion to the Catholic Church in order to write exams. This led to hostility towards religious institutions or worse, it led to hostility towards faith in its essence. Another experience of the church is mentioned by Chingono who said:

> On one level the missionaries (Catholics in particular) sanctified the colonial state's conquest and subjugation of the indigenes, and on another the state exercised jurisdiction over the religious institution, ensuring it political protection. The missionaries built schools to train a submissive technocratic stratum to run the state apparatus … on traditional religion which gave authority to the chiefs in the system of rule. The ideology of the colonial state was therefore profoundly ambiguous: simultaneously encouraging the locals to perform their traditional rituals and also supporting the Christianity which sought to suppress these religions[193].

3.4.2   Nationalist Ideologies

Besides religious and church experience, ideologies also contributed to the attitude of the government towards the church in Mozambique. On this note, Eric argues that regarding nationalist ideology two factors have to be considered. First, the conspiracy between the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese state was such that when a nationalist rejected colonialism, he or she was influenced to become at least a critic of the Catholic Church if not of all churches and religion[194]. This was the situation in Mozambique. The formation of FRELIMO culminated in the rejection of the principles and values of the dominator, consequently the Catholic Church had to be rejected too because there was no way of denying one and accepting the other.

Otherwise, all religion was to be subjected to the same conditions. The rejection did not come from nowhere, the nationalists raised several questions about the conditions that were distorted by the coloniser in alliance with the Roman Catholic Church and the issue did not only end with questioning but everything that was not going well was supposed to be criticised.

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[193] M. F. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development*, 167.
[194] E. Morier-Genoud, *Of God and Caesar*, 17.

Second, since religion was under critique it was necessary to adopt a valuable alternative that could accommodate criticism. Therefore, the only solution that FRELIMO found adequate was Marxism which was highly anticlerical and against the churches. Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. argue that FRELIMO opted for Marxist-Leninism for two major reasons. First, its leaders were interested in gaining and maintaining the hegemony[195] of the people, since it was from the 16th Century that Christianity first came to Mozambique, it was observed that the majority of people were loyal to it as well as to traditional religion. However, with Mozambique now independent, the intention of the ruling party FRELIMO was to change the scenario of obedience to Christianity and traditional religion because of the image that the members of the new party had of Christian doctrine and African tradition so that in the same way that people were faithful to God through different denominations they were to resign their faith and be compromised to FRELIMO and be loyal. The new party felt that religion might at times have a negative impact on the hegemony of the party (of being the only organisation that should guide everything in the country as well as being the only organisation to be obeyed under the possibility of punishing people for neglecting the principles of the party). Second, the party opted for a policy of scientific socialism[196]. The reason for this option was the principles by which party members were supposed to be guided which was rational and scientific consideration; this could not be accommodated by religious people who are guided by their faith[197].

Despite the scientific socialism policy adopted by FRELIMO for the development of the nation, another policy against religion was introduced. With this policy two concerns

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[195] According to Antonio Gramsci, hegemony is the ideological predominance of the values and norms of the dominant groups over subordinate groups.

[196] Scientific socialism implies political arrangements; it is essentially an attempt to answer the fundamental economic questions that every nation has to answer. The name scientific socialism was adopted for the same political economy when the working class using the same political economy now further developed by Karl Marx called for a socialist order because it was they who created the value and hence the wealth, science had argued. Scientific socialism then, by which the profession means political economy, seeks to answer the question what is the source of a nation's wealth? The answer it has given is that a nation's wealth lies in industry and labour, hence industrialisation. The paramount task before us and the nation is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order which will provide food, clothing and shelter to meet the needs of the people in accordance with their means; a social order that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people. Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people. In concrete facts, it means: that the real income of all types of workers, farmers and peasants must rise; that prices of goods must not overleap wages; that educational and cultural amenity must be available to all people. Extracted from http://www.assatashakur.org/forum/pan-afrikanism-afrocentricity/8782-what-scientific-socialism.html (accessed, 18 January 2012).

[197] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 538-539.

were to be considered. What was the position of the state towards the church? What was the concern of the party about the church? According to the Mozambican constitution, freedom of religious belief was guaranteed to everyone in the country from that time up to this moment[198]. The constitution made it clear that neither the church nor the state should interfere with the other organisation's activities. It meant that the church was not supposed to interfere with state activities and vice-versa.

This decision was taken by FRELIMO after the Lusaka Treaty was signed where FRELIMO promoted new policies that were against the presence of Christian as well as traditional religion in the country. The decision to embrace Socialism and the turning of Mozambique government into laic[199] state e.g. 2nd article of the 2004 Mozambican Constitution is an example of the new decision. From this perspective everything that was said by the church was meaningless and people were forbidden to follow their faith of choice. After the victory of FRELIMO against the Portuguese they declared that God does not exist because of the anger that they had when their petition to the Roman Catholic Church to minister in camps in the bush during the liberation war was rejected.

Then "in their euphoria after their successful struggle against colonialism, they declared that they had achieved their victory without the assistance of the church. From there it was only a small step to declare that they had also achieved their victory without God"[200]. Graça Machel made a passionate comment in a speech in 1982 while visiting Gaza province in the Southern part of Mozambique:

> The difference between us, militants of the party and the religious, is that we believe in the power of man, on his creative capacity and the transformation of the world. For the religious, everything is the product of God living above men. We took the guns and fought against the Portuguese, and defeated them in ten years and expelled them. We did not pray. Likewise, we defeated Ian Smith. We did not pray. God never expelled the Portuguese in our land. The Portuguese soldiers were blessed to go and assassinate people and, when coming back they were again blessed. What kind of God allows these crimes to happen?

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[198] Constituição da República de Moçambique- Constitution of Mozambique Republic 2004.
[199] The term laic is originated from the Greek term "laïcité" meaning a political theory aimed at separating politics and religion with the goal of promoting religious freedom, and secularism in the sense of the declining importance of faith in individuals' daily lives. The supporters of "laicity" argue that the term implies free exercise of religion, but no special status for religion: religious activities should be subject to the same set of laws as other activities and are not to be considered above the law. The government refrains from taking a position on religious doctrine and only considers religious subjects from their practical consequences on the inhabitants' lives. Extracted from http://www.secularnations.com/index.php?page=Laiccountries (accessed, 18 January 2012).
[200] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 538.

> Mozambique is always a victim of floods and people die of starvation. God is not helping and does not feel for you[201].

In the light of this, FRELIMO declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party in February 1977 at its third congress[202]. In its essence the Marxist-Leninism was based among other things on atheism[203]. In Serapião's view, "such an ideology, however, was deemed a threat to freedom, particularly freedom of religion. It threatened the existence of the Catholic Church because it advocated a godless society that would create a new kind of man in Mozambique"[204]. The major intention was that the party members and people were supposed to be guided by rational and scientific considerations. For example, Heuvel points to socialism "taking from the haves to give to the have not's"[205]. With this choice FRELIMO intended to take properties that belonged either to the Portuguese or to the church since by that time the entire infrastructure was the property of one or the other. Vines and Wilson stresses the same point when saying that "the move against the churches was one of many ill-prepared policies FRELIMO adopted during the chaos of the Portuguese withdrawal. Especially in rural areas FRELIMO perceived a takeover of churches' considerable assets as essential for the implementation of state programmes"[206].

For the Marxist-Leninist the mother of socialism, God is considered an impediment, even an enemy of a scientific, materialistic, socialistic world outlook.[207] The aspects mentioned above contributed to the new ideologies of FRELIMO related to the church. In 1979 the second National Congress of FRELIMO produced new norms on how the churches have to function in the country such as the following: controlling the action of the church and its agents essentially Bishops, fathers/pastors and other people who were very notorious in the church[208]. This control consisted of the following: first, the publication of any Christian material (books, brochures, pamphlets) was supposed to be

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[201] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 193.

[202] Hall &Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 61.

[203] A. Okoko-Esseau, *The Christian Churches and Democratization in the Congo*, Leiden: E.J. Brill publisher, (1995), 150.

[204] Serapião, *The Catholic Church Conflict resolution in Mozambique's Colonial Conflict*, 1977- 1992, 375

[205] M. C. Heuvel, *Rebuilding Our Nation: Participating in the political process from the perspective of a Biblical Christian worldview*, Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University press, (1999), 19.

[206] A. Vines and K. Wilson, *Churches and the Peace Process in Mozambique*, Leiden: E.J. Brill publisher (1995), 132.

[207] Heuvel, *Rebuilding Our Nation*, 19.

[208] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 139.

controlled by the state and the party organisers. Second, the church was prohibited to offer activities that differed from those of the state and those of mass organisations like *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana*-Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM), *Organização da Juventude Moçambicana*-Mozambican Youth Organisation(OJM), *Organização dos Trabalhadores Moçambicanos*-Organisation of Mozambican workers(OTM), *Organização Nacional dos Professores*-Teachers' Trade Union (ONP) and *Organização Nacional de Jornalistas*-Journalists' Trade Union (ONJ). In addition to that, it was also forbidden to hold inter-confessional meetings. Third, the state regulated the recruitment of people entering seminaries and even other training programs related to church. For instance, people were only allowed to go to the seminary after turning eighteen. Not only that but they were expected to have completed military training run by the state as well as completing a certain period of time doing work determined by the state. Fourth, whenever the church had donations available for distribution it was compulsory that the state oversaw this process. The state wanted to hinder the churches using such donations to convert people or setting disbelievers at a disadvantage. Last, the state had to define areas for religious action[209].

This attitude towards the church was adopted because all actions of any Christian denomination were seen as a hindrance to the revolutionary transformation of society. The struggle against the church was the major condition which would contribute significantly to the triumph of new ideas as a demand for the development of an effective political task and ideology among the masses[210]. Furthermore, at the third Congress of FRELIMO it was declared that the ideological education of the masses was an essential condition for the eradication of superstition and obscurantism as well as other kinds of ideologies that constitute barriers to the transmission and implementation of FRELIMO's ideologies[211].

To make sure that all of FRELIMO's plans were properly conveyed to the people, the FRELIMO party created in 1977 three major organisations (OMM, OJM and OTM), these were called "mass democratic organisations"[212]. The OMM worked for the integration of women into political, economic life and for their emancipation from their

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[209] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 141-142
[210] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*,140.
[211] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 140
[212] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 126.

subordinate role in society. The creation of this organisation was an inspiration for traditional and Christian religion. The creation and the activity by the OMM helped men to give space for women to share their ideas since in African tradition women do not have important contributions to make. From the church perspective it inspired women to become clergy in some of the denominations like the United Methodist, Presbyterian, and the United Congregational Churches. For instance, the United Methodist Church in Mozambique ordained the first women clergy in 1979 and the same church was the first in Africa to elect a female Bishop in 2008. The OJM was responsible for the identification of the particular needs and problems of young people between the ages of 18-35 as well as raising their political consciousness. The task of this organisation depended on the area they were working. For instance, in the urban sector they dealt with severe issues such as prostitution, theft, bourgeoisie (middle class) habit and unemployment. In the rural parts of the country the OJM organised meetings and projects demonstrating the importance of the collective work that was stressed by the newly independent country[213]. The OTM work spread all issues that were apportioned with OMM and OJM now with the workers.

Some may question why these organisations were introduced by FRELIMO? It was very obvious that since the country was facing a lot of changes due to the transition from colonialism to independence there was a need to inform people of different ages, workers and unemployed people about the plans of FRELIMO and instructing them about the importance of their active participation in these plans. So these organisations played a very crucial role to ensure greater popular participation.

3.4.3   Critics against traditional religion and Church by FRELIMO

The traditional religion, Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism all suffered criticism under FRELIMO leadership soon after independence and up to 1980, and the persecution was intense all over the country. At the beginning the most targeted church was the Roman Catholic Church which was seen as a colonial heritage which consequently made it suspicious. This attitude did not end with the Catholic Church but further other churches were also suspected and persecuted. This is demonstrated

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[213] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 128.

through the words pronounced at a FRELIMO conference in 1978 which said "the activity of various organisations in our country constitute, objectively, an obstacle to the advance of the revolutionary process, the reason being that all these organisations seek to divulge among the population anti-scientific concepts of the World, of Man and Society"[214]. Here, the Church is preoccupied with evil spirits, the exorcising Church, the obscurantist Church. Either it is Catholicism, Protestantism or Islam, the religion is one whole, and the evil which one does, is done also by the other[215]. The religion undermining criticism was uttered during different occasions. This was done where people used to be concentrated together for political party purposes and this task was performed by everyone that belonged to FRELIMO. Whenever gatherings were held at different levels (national, provincial, district and local) the party secretary or whoever appointed to lead the meeting was compelled to say something against Christian religion, Muslims and traditional leadership. Moreover, schools at different levels, broadcasting, and whatever kind of popular manifestation (theatre, dancing, poem, and singing) had the same task of criticising traditional religion, the church and Muslims[216]. Now the question is why these religions suffered such intimidation? The researcher supports what Ferreira says about how FRELIMO considered religion:

> The religion was presented as superstition seeking to make the human being dependent to a supernatural that does not exist. It is not only useless to solve the practical problems of people, but it is also harmful for the trust of self-power, preventing them to dominate the nature to benefit the human being[217].

On the same issue of seeking the causes that were the origin of FRELIMO being against religion, scholars like Cabrita and Helgesson said:

> For FRELIMO, religion was yet another obscurantist manifestation that served to deceive, trick and divide the people. As such, it was subjected to the same treatment of other sequels of the colonial and traditional societies[218].

> The political leadership of that same Republic saw religious divisions as a threat against the unification of the people, as these inferred a group solidarity which was not necessarily subordinated to the cause of national unity…Religion a private matter was officially respected, but all organised religion, including traditional religions as well as Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam, was seen, at least potentially, as a divisive force[219].

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[214] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 8.
[215] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 7.
[216] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 192.
[217] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 192.
[218] J. M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, New York: Palgrave Publisher, (2000), 120.
[219] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 3.

According to Helgesson, points that were presented by the FRELIMO leadership in order to fight against the church were:

- The Christian faith had been offered to lull the people asleep, while the Portuguese occupied the land,

- The Clergy had early on opted for and actively promoted fascism, and the Church had, thus, become part of the colonial war against the Mozambican people (by strong moral support, as well as by supplying army chaplains),

- The church had promoted the feeling that Africans were racially inferior,

- Forced labour had been extensively used in Catholic missions,

- While attempting to "Portugalise" Mozambicans, the church had fought all African cultural and linguistic expression, to the extent of cultural genocide and,

- The church had prevented Africans from access to education beyond *quarta classe* (fourth grade), etc[220].

If these charges against the church were true, the suspicion of the party against the church was based on the idea that the church would not be prepared to accept the total life transformation in Mozambique which constituted the main objective of Mozambicans when they started the liberation war which culminated in independence. With this kind of uncertainty about church participation in the transformation project the only way that the party found was trying to eliminate religion in country.

A private religion that was defended by FRELIMO was not going to make a difference in Mozambique because religion in its main sense seeks to unite people together and inspire in them the spirit of mutual support in any kind of situation. It was because of this unity of Christian denominations that different infrastructures supporting the Mozambican were built (e.g. Chicuque Mission in Inhambane and Khovo Lar in Maputo). These were constructed with funds from the Methodist Episcopal and

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[220] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 4.

Presbyterian churches and the responsibility of the Chicuque mission was given to Methodist Episcopal while the Khovo Lar was under the Presbyterian Church. Additionally, it was through working closely together that these different Christian denominations managed to find scholarships for different Mozambicans who liberated the country from the yoke of colonialism.

FRELIMO found independence to be a good time to discredit the positive side of religion to society and considering the previous conditions that people had endured (exploitation under the Portuguese domination which culminated in slavery, liberation war that murdered thousands of people and destroyed a great deal of the nation's natural resources). In this situation if somebody appears to be affirming that people had to use their power to gain material things then it was very easy to convince them, especially since these people were seeking to recover their lost property.

3.4.4   Consequences

The rejection of the church and traditional religion in Mozambique had its consequences. Helgesson pointed out as the first consequence the fact that many church buildings were closed by official order allegedly because they were nearby schools and hospitals. The other measure taken by the same FRELIMO authority was to prohibit worship services outside church buildings[221]. The main intent of this decision was to hinder Christians from gathering for worship since it was declared that only FRELIMO can mobilise, unite, organise and lead the people[222]. To make the situation more complicated, church officials were required to carry a *guia da marcha*[223] to be able to travel within the country. In the church for instance, many missionaries, pastors and laity belonging to different Christian denominations were expelled from the country and others were persecuted and sent to detention camps (re-education centres), some were imprisoned or even murdered[224]. Cabrita estimates that in the first year of

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[221] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 7.
[222] Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, 120.
[223] This was permission letter that people were given by a FRELIMO leader that guaranteed them a circulation from one place to another in evangelist programs. In a case of missing this letter the person deserved punishment.
[224] E. J. M. Carvalho, *Teologia e Prática do Metodismo: Uma Experiência da Igreja em Angola*, SP: Imprensa Metodista, (1983), 34.

independence about six hundred missionaries left the country because they found it difficult operate under the new conditions[225]. In the United Methodist Church, Bishop Ralf Dodge who was considered a revolutionary leader was obliged to return to America his home country because of the persecution he suffered along with other leaders from different Christian denominations. He was suspected together with other pastors of the United Methodist Church of conveying revolutionary ideas to the black people and these ideas differed with those of the government (under the coloniser domination). The reason was the fact that Bishop Dodge targeted the training of black people to lead themselves within the church instead of having white people leading. This idea was not welcomed by the coloniser since they knew that the same ideas were going to expand outside the church. In addition to that, Bishop Dodge was fighting (non-violence) for the recognition of the church that was under suspicion because it had missionaries. Despite of what happened, it is important to note that even though Bishop Dodge was expelled from Africa his seed was planted since the presence of the church in Africa was recoginsed because of his persistence[226]. Not only that, Christians were compelled by FRELIMO militants to renounce their faith and religious practices; automatically they had also to reject missionaries and missions too. Below is a declaration from Laura David who experienced the obligation to renounce her faith she said:

> I was a very committed member of the United Methodist Church in Cambine area. When FRELIMO won against the Portuguese I became a member of the OMM while residing in the same area, but I did not intend to renounce my faith in God. However, in a certain day a FRELIMO delegation visited Cambine to work with people that belonged to OMM and all people that were gathered and I were challenged to decide to whom they were supposed to serve. One of the questions that was thrown to us was: to whom do you want to serve, the Church or FRELIMO? It was really hard to give an accurate answer mainly because there were many people attending that meeting and we were before FRELIMO militants. In addition to that, it was known that they had persecuted church goers before. After some minutes of silent and meditation I stood and said openly: I should serve the church while belonging to FRELIMO too. The people that were present there just wondered about my reply. Other people said openly that they wanted to serve only FRELIMO, a practical example of that was of the late Silva Ranchaze Malambane who preferred to serve FRELIMO. I am not sure about his relation with FRELIMO after that meeting but all what I know is that he felt ashamed about the answer that he gave because in Cambine area he was considered as one of the pillar of the United Methodist Church. At the end

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[225] Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, 121.
[226] R. E. Dodge, *O Bispo Revolucionário: O homem que em África viu Deus a trabalhar*, Califórnia: William Carey Library, (1986), 281-303.

of the meeting they wrote down the names of the participants as well as their answers but nothing happened[227].

On the light of Laura's declaration it is seen that people of different faiths were being persecuted because of their faith. Consequently, they were also obliged to renounce their faith and to make things more difficult. It was decreed on 24 July 1975 that all church properties were to be nationalised[228]. Therefore, all church properties were nationalised and Baur makes this issue of nationalisation very clear by saying that all educational and health facilities were nationalised and religious instruction replaced by political indoctrination. The Schools that had church names were obliged to change and carry new names with political meaning. For example, the Key School (named after the Methodist missionary who had donated the fund to build the school) that belonged to the United Methodist Church was called "*Cambine Poder Popular* Secondary School". The term "*poder popular*" meant power of people. Seminaries, novitiates and catechist schools were closed and many missionary residences confiscated and reverted to the party and state institutions including the armed forces[229]. According to Ferreira, the major reasons invoked by FRELIMO to close churches were: First, it was linked to educational centres; second, it was near the production areas; and last it was performing its activities in the communal villages. Then if the situation was to continue with the churches building new mission schools, hospitals and new chapels, in a very short period the area where people were supposed to live would be occupied by church business projects and people would not have enough space to stay and run their productive projects. Consequently this vocation of the church was restricted and the building of new chapels was prohibited[230]. Furthermore, there was a "secularisation of the official calendar, which implied the removal of all Christian holidays, e.g. Christmas and Good Friday".[231] In addition to that, the bank accounts of dioceses, missions, church institutions and missionaries were frozen; publishing and the distribution of religious literature was also curtailed; internally the government also restricted the enrolment of students at seminaries and it refused to send theology students abroad affirming that it meant that that Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique was still marked by an external philosophical doctrine which would alienate or undermine the

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[227] Laura David, (Cambine, 8 October 2011) interview.
[228] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 7.
[229] J. Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, (1994), 439.
[230] Ferreira, *Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique*, 204.
[231] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 8.

national unity that was being developed by FRELIMO[232]. Moreover, the Radio Pax station at Beira which belonged to the Roman Catholic Church was closed[233]. FRELIMO's policy on religion affected all religious groups, Christian and non-Christian. On Guebuza's circular issued after independence against churches stated the following:

> Churches as a whole were banners of imperialism, against whom it is necessary to start an organised popular combat. The circular warned Mozambicans to be on guard against the enemy who is acting through foreign and several Mozambican missionaries and evangelists. People must be told that to attend those denominations or to spread the word of missionaries is like working against Mozambique and the serving imperialist powers resort to any method to achieve their goals[234].

As far as the researcher is concerned, this situation of church refusal in Mozambique led to the church losing strong members. For instance, Helgesson estimated that the United Methodist Church in Mozambique lost more than 40% of its membership[235]. The demographics of the baptism of adults, young people and children changed drastically as the majority of church members changed their loyalty completely denouncing the church leadership and to some extent this rejection opened ways for corruption within the church. The church also lost control of its projects as well as the inability for planning new projects that were supposed to be implemented in the country. The church lacked the communication system that existed before with people, especially the young generation, and the church saw itself discredited before its people. Furthermore, the lack of communication with the young generation which lasted for about seven years of a fractured relationship between the state and the church has reflected badly until the present moment. Nowadays, Mozambique is characterised by a high level of crime (murder, robbery, and uncontrolled abortion, drug consumption, sexual and physical violence, and corruption to mention a few). In addition to that, adult and young people are involved in the consumption of beer; with couples there is no longer the respect there was previously. With this explanation the researcher is not saying that the behaviour mentioned above did not happen before independence. It gained impetus when the state started criticising the church and traditional religion, whereas previously people grew to maturity when being taught by the missionaries, national pastors or

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[232] Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, 121.
[233] C. Jone, *Press and Democratic Transition in Mozambique 1990-2000*, Johannesburg:_____, 42. (no further details available).
[234] Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, 121.
[235] Helgesson, *Church, State and People*, 8.

reading from the Bible. The doctrine of some churches was that the practice of this kind of behaviour was a sin, and people did not want to fall under this burden. In addition to that, the traditional leaders used to play a very crucial role in shaping people's behaviour but with the introduction of FRELIMO ideology these skills were lost. On the role of traditional religions, Chingono made in clear saying that "traditional religion often constituted a very important force in society. They exercised a strong influence on the educational, medical, cultural, economic, social and political spheres"[236]. The researcher is of the view that this happened because the government was strongly against the church forgetting that it had a very crucial social role to play in society. However, the persecution of the church in Mozambique helped to reveal the committed members within different churches. Church leaders like the Anglican Bishop Dinis Salomão Sengulane and his United Methodist colleagues Bishops Escrivão Zunguze and Almeida Penicela were very important during the time of critical relations between the church and state since they kept inspiring people to stand firm in the storm of teachings critical of the church that (these teachings) were perpetrated by FRELIMO.

3.5   1982: The relationship between Church and State in Mozambique changes

In 1982 it was noticeable that the hostile relationship between the church and state started to change. The first stance taken by the government was to call together different religions operating in the country for a deliberation. This position was taken as a result of a long period of discussion and analysis within the government itself in order to find out clear reasons for being against the church. Eventually, it was realised that there was a need for reconciliation and change within the prevailing situation mainly because the Mozambican government had discovered that the accusations thrown against traditional, Christian religions and Muslims were not true as it is declared by Hall and Young who stressed that:

> The government abandoned much of its marxisant truculence towards organised religion in the wake of a meeting with the church leaders in December 1982, where demands were voiced for the restoration of church buildings, and the right to train religious personnel and to import or produce religious material. In 1983, as requested by almost all the religious delegations to the meetings, a

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[236] M. F. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development*, England: Avebury Ashgate Publisher, (1996), 163.

Department of Religious Affairs was created in the Ministry of Justice, removing such matters from the hands of militants. Further small symbolic concessions were made such as reinstating Christmas Day as 'Family Day'[237].

Consequently, the government reconciled with its considered enemies. However, it is not sufficient to say that the relationship between the church and state changed from bad to good without analysing the factors that contributed to this change.

Rossouw and Macamo argue that "the first factor that forced the government to change its relationship with the church was the vital role that the churches were playing in Mozambican society"[238]. This turning point was the only way found by the government to recognise the important role played by the church in Mozambique, in different areas it became clear that the state could not afford to continue seeing the church as an enemy. The intention here is not to deny the cruelties perpetrated by the Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique. It is well known that the Catholic Church had caused many problems in Mozambique since, it was used by the Portuguese government to oppress the Mozambican people in different ways like forced work, the imprisonment of innocent people who sometimes ended up being assassinated. The church was used by the Portuguese to deprive the Mozambicans of their dignity. By this, the researcher is saying they could not use their own local languages and they were obliged to be *assimilados*. This whole situation culminated in slavery just to mention a few examples. This situation does not apply to every member of the Roman Catholic Church; there were also adherents of this church that did not agree with all the negative attitudes taken by this church. For example, father Jaime Pedro Gonçalves actually retired Archbishop of Sofala and father Alexandre dos Santos who is currently Archbishop of Maputo are practical examples of the Roman Catholic Church leaders that challenged the colonial domination[239].

Protestants and Muslims were pioneers in the process of awakening Mozambican people showing them the situation they went through under colonialism. For instance, on the one hand the objective of the Portuguese when they came to Africa was to

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[237] Hall & Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 156.
[238] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 539.
[239] D. Sengulane and J.P. Gonçalves, *A Calling for Peace: Christian Leaders and the Quest for Reconciliation in Mozambique*, London: Conciliation Resources Publisher, (1998), 28.

civilise people and fight against Muslims[240]. On the other hand, the work of evangelisation of Protestants was very difficult because of the persecution from the Roman Catholic Church, (see pages 69-70). On this note, it is true that none of the two religious confessions were supporting the Raman Catholic Church project of denying the dignity of Mozambicans. The first positive role played by the two faiths was the fact that they "ministered and taught the population in their local tongues and thus showed respect for the dignity, originality, and creativity of these cultures"[241]. Some of the first personalities that opposed the colonial government were Protestant. They are Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane and Zedequias Manganhela respectively[242].

The second factor was the involvement of different churches in the area of social services[243]. In a society that was being suffocated by civil war, the population was suffering because of starvation and malnutrition with high numbers of death especially children and women not only because of famine but people who were injured during the fighting between FRELIMO soldiers and RENAMO. The Roman Catholic Church, Protestants and Muslims became involved in providing social services which included food donations for people who were suffering because of hunger caused by drought, flood, poor health care and lack of education. In addition, Christian organisations like CCM and Caritas used their overseas friendships to gather either groceries or funds to purchase food for people. In the area of health care, involvement of churches was noticeable through the work of hospitals in caring for sick and injured people. In Inhambane province there are Chicuque and Cambine hospitals (of the United Methodist Church), in Gaza province there is the Chicumbane hospital, in Maputo there is Chamanculo hospital (of the Presbyterian Church) that were involved in treating people. Large amounts of medicine were sent from America and Switzerland for the hospitals in Mozambique. On top of that, these churches were employing medical doctors from different countries in the world in order to bring answers to the demands of the situation in the country by that time. Different churches in Mozambique own

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[240] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 540.

[241] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 540.

[242] Zedequias Manganhela was a Presbyterian Church pastor who was killed by the security police of the colonial government because he was suspected of raising funds for FRELIMO and of collaborating with the FRELIMO resistant forces.

[243] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 541.

orphanages caring for homeless children e.g. Carolyn Belshe[244] and houses caring for old people. In the area of education, the churches played a substantial role through building schools and providing scholarships for people to study locally as well as abroad. These activities were rendered by the churches because the government was no longer capable of doing this because a high percentage of funds donated to the country were used for war and consequently there was a crisis in Mozambique.

A third factor that enforced the state not to continue with bad relations with the church in Mozambique related to the fact that the churches could help the government to relieve the economic crisis in the country. This was possible because most of the churches were in the position of channelling funds through their contact with international Christian organisations which enabled them always to assist in addressing the economic crisis of the nation.

The fourth factor that forced the government to improve relations with the church was the fact that churches had better infrastructures in the rural areas. Here are some examples: the United Methodist Church had the Cambine Mission in Inhambane, the Presbyterian Church had the Chicumbana centre in Gaza and Ricatla in Maputo, the Anglican Church had the Maciene Mission the United Congregational Church had the Balaza in Inhambane province just to mention few examples. These places were respected even by RENAMO whereas it is highlighted by Vines and Wilson who say: "In its operational zones RENAMO rigorously promoted an image of religious respect. In its looting and destruction of the towns and villages it occupied, it always left church buildings untouched"[245]. Consequently, there are only few cases of attacks reported on these places. In Ricatla for instance RENAMO's soldiers used to pass through the roads surrounding the Mission without attacking. There is only one reported case of an attack at Ricatla Mission, and Cambine was also attacked once on 1 September 1987. In that attack on the Methodist Mission 28 people were murdered, hospital, power

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[244] Carolyn Belshe orphanage was created by an American of the same name while working at Chicuque hospital in Inhambane province as an answer to children that were left homeless because their parents were killed during the civil war in Mozambique. With the end of the war in 1992, the orphanage kept the children that were there already and continued receiving new children that had lost their parents because of HIV/AIDS and children abandoned by their mothers on the streets. At the orphanage children receive all kinds of care varying from giving them shelter, feeding, and medical assistance and taking them to school. Talking about school, children at the orphanage are enrolled in different schools from primary to university levels. This helps them in preparing their economic and social development as well as the development of the country.

[245] Vines and Wilson, *Churches and the Peace Process*, 134.

station, dam and houses destroyed, teachers and nurses were taken away[246]. Ricatla was once attacked and some students were also kidnapped. Since the government was the most targeted by the RENAMO belligerents they could not move easily in to the rural areas and the only way they had was to take advantage of the respect and honoured church to its full intent. Therefore, the only option that the state had "was to make use of the church's infrastructure when it wished to communicate or supply social services to the population in the rural areas".[247]

The fifth factor contributing to the recovery of the relationship between the church and state was the calamitous situation of the Mozambican economy. Because of the civil war the economy of the country had collapsed significantly; people were producing almost nothing for their survival because they spent their time running from one place to another seeking safe places to stay (at least not to be attacked by the rebels) even though the social conditions of those places were very poor and this situation was worsened by drought. On this note, the government had no other option than seeking good relations with the church because of its political ideas for producing food which was propagated soon after independence was a very different political reality. Therefore, the church became one of the consultants for the government in order to change the scenario of the suffering people. Consequently, the Mozambican government started appreciating all kinds of contributions the church could make in solving political and economic crises faced by the state[248].

The sixth factor was the war waged by RENAMO against the government. The war was gradually gaining control over the whole country, bringing both political and military strife; consequently there was a need for the government to find ways of stopping that situation in the country. Rossouw and Macamo highlight that:

> In order to reach solutions, government was forced to seek the cooperation of all the people and all the different groups in the country since it was impossible for any one group to bring a unilateral end to the war. The outcome of the deliberation that took place at the end of 1982 was the reinstatement of Christmas as a public holiday as well as highly improved relations between the state and the churches. Another result was the creation of the department for Religious Affairs which was responsible for relations between church and state[249].

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[246] D. Knight, *Mozambique Caught in the Trap*, London: Chirstian Aid (1988), 36.
[247] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 542.
[248] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 542.
[249] Rossouw and Macamo, Jr. *Church-State Relationship in Mozambique*, 542-543.

Jone stressed that the peak of the change of relations between church and state in Mozambique was the visit paid by the Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano to Pope John Paul II at the Vatican in May 1987. The conversation between the two brought a new image of the church to Chissano and his counterpart. After his visit the relations between church and state started to normalise and consequently the religious leaders were given the responsibility of bringing RENAMO and FRELIMO together for conversation in order to stop war in Mozambique[250].

3.6   Evaluating the current relation between Church and State

Since the relationship between church and state was discussed from both perspectives (negative and positive), it is time now to evaluate the current situation of this relationship. The majority of people have affirmed positively that presently the two are in good relations, taking into consideration the fact that the state recognises the role that different churches and Muslims play in Mozambique. This role was observed even before independence, and it was observed mainly in the areas of education, health and crop production. The good relations mentioned above between church and state were mostly recognised when the church was in the forefront of the pacification project of Mozambique which was tried by different heads of state for many years but without success and yet the church managed to bring peace in the country.

It seems that nowadays the Mozambican government recognises the existence of God. In addition to that, it seems that the government recognises that human beings were created by God and He reigns everywhere. The most important thing that can be seen in Mozambique now is that government leaders in their speeches seek to help people to understand the existence of God, the importance of having churches as well as to give freedom to citizens to worship God. However, the researcher is of the view that the Mozambican government still needs to work harder in order to improve this relationship. If the government recognises the existence of God and knows that the majority of Christians gather to worship God on a Saturday or Sunday , why is it that the top leaders of the government still jeopardise the holy days by booking some public

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[250] C. Jone, Press and Democratic, 52.

meeting and speeches? Why is it that the government schools do not have some Christian subjects taught from primary to university level? These questions and others show clearly that scholars still have a lot to investigate whenever talking about the relationship between church and state in Mozambique since there is still a lot to be done to improve this relationship. Concerning the holy days, it is clear that the government needs to make use of the days when people are mostly availabe. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that the government should use for instance from Monday to Thursday to hold ralies since this will clearly show that the government is recognising the importance of churches in the country.

It was said in this chapter that one of the root causes of rejection of the church in Mozambique was the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was working hand in hand with the Portuguese public administration in disseminating Portuguese values throughout Mozambique. There are still leaders in Mozambique who see the Roman Catholic Church as the only church to be respected maybe because it was the first to come to Mozambique. Some of the top leaders of the Mozambican government seem to give more importance and give material support to the Roman Catholic Fathers and not to pastors of the Protestant denominations. For example, in 1999 when FRELIMO was campaigning for elections in Niassa province, the governor of that province at that time bought a car and offered it to father Miquéias whereas none of the pastors belonging to Protestant churches in the same area had this opportunity. The political significance of this division between Catholic, Protestants and other denominations might lead people to think FRELIMO had adopted the previous system, where the Roman Catholic Church was the only one Christian denomination that was respected by the Portuguese and other denominations were not important. However, it was simply too important for one's identity to be either Catholic, Protestant or other.

3.7   Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that after independence the relations between church and state were not good at all. The negative relationship between the church and state started to be problematic quite early with the founding of FRELIMO. The negative relationship observed between the church and state at the beginning had its roots in the religious

experience of the leaders of FRELIMO, basically those with a positive experience were motivated while others with negative experiences lived and accumulated wrath that culminated in a negative attitude towards the church. On the other hand, the relation between the church and state was a consequence of nationalist ideologies that aimed to maintain and extend the hegemony of the state. Therefore, there was a competition between the church and state in disseminating their own programs. Automatically the party viewed the churches as the enemy. In addition to that, the tension between the church and state in Mozambique was caused by the existence of only one political party 'FRELIMO' where the same people who were party members were also members of the state, automatically the decisions from the party had a huge influence on those of the state.

The most important thing that was highlighted was the fact that the negative attitude towards the church did not remain forever, this means that around 1982 the church and the state started working together and respect each other although there is a need for more intensive research to find out if the current relationship is true or if there is something behind it.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IN MOZAMBIQUE

4.1   Introduction

For about nineteen years Mozambique experienced a one party system which was FRELIMO, the only party governing the whole country without an opposition. Consequently, FRELIMO as the only ruling party was never challenged. On the one hand this situation created the wrath of some people who felt excluded from the ruling party and on other hand those people who went to operation and production camps were also unhappy with the situation. These people needed to challenge the situation in order to change the scenario and the only way they considered was the formation of their own political parties but the system at that moment was not favourable for that. As a consequence of their frustration people sought other options which led to a civil war in Mozambique which ended only with the GPA signed in Rome in 1992.

The 1990 constitution established a democratic state, ruled by law, in which the state and the government functions were no longer merged with the structures of the ruling party, and public institutions were to follow the rules and the regulations of political neutrality, impartiality and professionalism in exercising public functions. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the democratisation process in Mozambique, and discuss the role played by the church and state (cooperative contribution) towards Mozambican democracy looking at challenges, gains and limits. This chapter will also focus on finding the link between democracy and development in Mozambique.

4.2   A brief overview of an African Democracy perspective

Democracy: "The word democracy comes from the Greek *Demos* 'the people' and *Kratein* 'to rule', and signifies "rule by the people". The origin of democracy is Athens

and its direct democracy, where all citizens took an active part in decision-making through general assemblies or direct elections"[251].

Shivji commenting on a debate which happened in Harare in 1991 identifies three perspectives of African Democracy: Liberal democracy, statistic democracy and populist democracy[252]. Liberal democracy imparts that democracy presupposes the existence of three types of rights, political, economic and social: the right to participate in the political process; to enjoy a fair distribution of resources; and to be free from oppression[253]. On one hand this argument demonstrates that the participation of the people in democracy through this perspective is also tied to having the freedom to participate in the enjoyment of those material benefits that accompany economic development. On the other hand, Jotia on his article entitled "Liberal Democracy: An African Perspective", observes that liberalism is associated with the doctrine that within the state, individuals should be free to pursue their socio-economic and political preferences[254]. One major problem of liberal democracy is that of being surrounded by a lot of diverse and divergent opinions among its participants. Consequently, for this perspective the government comes out through discussion characterised by the exchange of ideas which can be direct or indirectly produced by public opinion and this constitutes the basis for political action. Regarding liberal democracy leaders are elected through free and fair elections which nurture and appreciate political pluralism which is often reflected by having multiple political bodies or parties.

Lundin adds that in a country where liberal democracy operates it can be noticeable that there is an existence of the functioning of the state institutions and there is also a clear separation of power whereby the public sector provides social services and legal aid to the citizens while the state provides security to individuals and the community.

The statistic perspective of democracy is mostly interested with the developmental issues within the country. According to Lundin this perspective does not reject the classic bases of democracy; it is also concerned with the citizens and the community's

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[251] I. S. Jenset, *Democratisation as Development aid in Mozambique: which role does education for citizenship play?* (2005), 43.
[252] I. B. Lundin, *Participação Política do Cidadão numa Sociedade em Mudança: desafio das abstenções nas eleições de 2008 e de 2009 em Moçambique*, Maputo: CIEDIMA (2012), 18.
[253] A. L. Jotia, *Liberal Democracy: An African Perspective*, 621.
[254] Jotia, *Liberal Democracy…*622.

well-being, this is the reason why its slogan is "democracy is a development instrument"[255]. According to Lundi the third democratic perspective is called populist perspective which constitutes an opposition for the first two perspectives (liberal and statistic). This emphasises that the struggle and the mass movement is coming from the grassroots (bottom to top), and it values mass participation in the government process.

4.3   Democracy in the Mozambican context

> FRELIMO had captured the colonial state, and now it faced the more difficult task of creating a nation. To a certain extent, all underdeveloped countries experienced similar uncertainties at independence. Illiteracy, poverty, unfamiliarity with democratic processes, racial and ethnic cleavages, and the threat of an autonomous bureaucracy have plagued all newly independent countries of the Third World[256].

This was the situation Mozambique came across after independence. The implementation of changes was necessary to show that the country had come to a new reality even though it meant not an easy task since people were divided into groups, mainly two. One of these groups was constituted by the (*assimilados*) the majority of whom were against independence since to them independence meant losing good positions that they had achieved under the colonial administration and now they had to be led by the black people. But for the majority of Mozambicans, who were not part of the *assimilados*, independence meant a moment of celebration. People were celebrating because independence meant to them being free from colonial oppression. However, many steps were taken in order to change that situation (from the colonial government to the Mozambican government).

4.3.1   One-party regime

The democratic atmosphere of Mozambique can be discussed in terms of its evolution. There are about three periods representing the development of politics in this country. More importantly, "each of the periods is characterised by new forms of state-society relations, innovation in politics and the economy, as well as progress and regress in

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[255] Lundin, *Participação Política do Cidadão numa Sociedade em Mudança*, 18.
[256] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 109-110.

some development aspects"[257]. The first period starts from the formation of the FRELIMO party in 1962 in Dar-es-Salaam under the leadership of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. The second period begins from 1970 through to 1986 with Samora Moisés Machel in the top position. The third period is from 1986 up to 2004 under the leadership of Joaquim Alberto Chissano. Each of these periods had its own specific characteristic. For instance, Mondlane was a democratic man who can be compared with a republican president in America whose ambition was that politics be developed in a positive manner. With his death, the challenging issue was to find somebody with the same characteristics of those of Mondlane who would continue with his ideology.

The replacement of Mondlane was a dilemma because within the FRELIMO party there were different influences (socialist and pro-capitalist) and the plan of these forces was to turn Mozambique into a neo-colonial country despite its independence so that their ideologies would continue dominating the country. It was within this context that Samora Moisés Machel a simple military commandant came to the forefront as the person that could lead the destiny of the party after Mondlane's death. His nomination was influenced by Marcelino dos Santos a socialist within the party and of course Machel was to respect and obey the governing system of the person who suggested him as the leader. In this context, FRELIMO became a socialist party and consequently socialist policy was introduced and led the governing of Mozambique. It was in this perspective that the democratic centralism was constructed in the country following the system that the new leader had chosen. According to Hall and Young democratic centralism meant the subordination of the lower to higher state bodies as well as the subordination of any state body to a higher state body and to the assembly at this level, this last principle was also called "double subordination"[258].

With democratic centralism governing, people were given the chance to bring their ideas for discussion at the grassroots level and some important suggestions were conceived. After the discussion the same ideas were taken to the political bureau which in turn had the responsibility of selecting the ideas that came from the people. These issues were brought back to the people for its accomplishment but at this level every person was supposed to obey since it came from a higher body and in a case of neglect

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[257] P. Molutsi, *Botswana: The Path to Democracy and Development*, London: Lynne Rienner Publisher (2004), 164.
[258] Hall &Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 72.

there were sanctions or punishment. In other words, the same ideas that came from the people now were coming from the government as laws to be obeyed. It was in this framework that in 1978 there was a flood of legislation dealing with the Council of Ministers, provincial and local government and judicial system to regulate and maintain discipline of the people, public service and in addition attack liberalism[259].

In order to understand the Mozambican political system it is compulsory to understand FRELIMO since its formation in Dar-es-Salaam as an intellectual party; this can be clearly seen from the beginning to the present. For instance, at the beginning it emphasised the study of the country's history, social structure and economic development as a guarantee for the introduction of new policies[260]. The first stage taken by the party was the class struggle against Portuguese domination and mass organisations (OMM, OJM, OTM, ONP, and ONJ) were created as a vehicle to reach as many people as possible. According to Jone "These organisations worked closely allied with the authorities and their leaders were appointed by the party. They constituted a kind of extension of the party machinery into society"[261]. However, for the implementation of a one-party system in Mozambique, FRELIMO saw the necessity of changing some of its rules. Without undermining the mass organisations, the party started working with organisations outside of the party structure and through this situation FRELIMO became a vanguard party and by doing so power was gathered within the party and the state apparatus. This dilemma contributed towards the change of the politics in Mozambique as it is argued:

> Whereas previously the party had often been prepared for lengthy popular debates on important issues before decisions were reached, after 1975 these popular democratic procedures tended to be circumvented. Party members gradually changed their role from dynamising, motivating and creating political consciousness in a newly liberated people, to issuing orders and carrying centrally decided party dictates to the provinces[262].

While this change was happening one more thing that contributed to accelerate the creation of the new policy and the reorganisation of the FRELIMO party was the fact that soon after independence the Portuguese were removed and this meant a break-down of the Mozambican administration. Automatically, every post left by the Portuguese had to be filled by party members that were faithful within the party. From that

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[259] Hall &Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 72.
[260] Jenset, *Democratization*, 22.
[261] Jone, *Press and Democratic*, 38.
[262] Jenset, *Democratization*, 22.

moment some party members were occupying vacant places, there was a clear division between the party and the common people. In this situation the policy was no longer based on people's reality but on theory, this being one of the characteristic of a one-party democracy that lacked contact with people. Hall and Young stresses that there are two principal issues that need to be highlighted (the influence of Marxism and the idea of social change) which contributed to the formation of a party-state, they argued that "the Leninist tradition, at least as understood by FRELIMO, provides a clear language of state construction, offering solutions to the problems of the structure and operation of a modernising state and the relations between that state, the party and people"[263]. The main purpose of FRELIMO adopting Marxism-Leninist philosophy was the vanguardism and revolution which was understood as a discipline. With these two principles FRELIMO sought to become a vanguard party with internal practices (the state, society and construction of a new order) being regulated by democratic centralism and this was formalised at the Third Party Congress held in 1977. According to Isaacman and Isaacman the Third Party Congress addressed the following questions:

> In whose interest should Mozambique be governed? What role should FRELIMO play? What should the relationship between the party and the state be?[264].

It was agreed that Mozambique had to be governed from the interest of workers and peasants and this constituted the political base of the people's democratic power. FRELIMO should lead, organise, orient and educate the masses for the destruction of capitalism and the construction of socialism. Concerning the relation between the party and state, the congress stated that the role of the party was to assume control over the state[265]. The idea of the unification of Mozambique which culminated in the creation of a one-party system of governing and all the decisions that were made with the Third Congress stamped the hegemony of FRELIMO. Therefore, the members of the party felt themselves in a position of controlling everything happening in the country; they had the responsibility of bringing decisions to be enforced by the workers and peasants. It has been seen that even after the introduction of the multi-party democratic system, FRELIMO tried by all means to be always in the forefront with its decisions. That to some extent the state has to accept the decisions though there are challenges because of

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[263] Hall & Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 69.
[264] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 121.
[265] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 121-122.

the presence of opposition parties and the separation of power between FRELIMO as a party and the state, they still have to work for the benefit of the people.

4.3.2 Multi-party regime

By their very nature, from the beginning, Mozambicans had in their mind the adoption and implementation of multi-party democracy. It is clearly shown from the formation of the three organisations (UDENAMO, MANU and UNAMI) which was amalgamated during the formation of FRELIMO with the assertion that these organisations were dividing Mozambicans. Perhaps the ruling group suspected that if the three organisations were to be accepted it could represent the acceptance of a foreign type of ruling opposed to self-rule, considering that some of the people that started these organisations were outside Mozambique. However, the introduction of the multi-party democracy that is actually celebrated was in 1990 with the approval and publishing of the new Mozambican constitution allowing the creation and validation of the opposition parties. The multi-party system was introduced automatically and was also fulfilled by the first multi-party election held in 1994[266].

The 1990 constitution is very significant in the history of Mozambique because it brought a lot of changes that had not happened in the fifteen years of independence. This country and this constitution demonstrated that Mozambicans were really becoming more mature politically by accepting changes. For instance, it was through this constitution that the name of Mozambique was changed from People's Republic of Mozambique to Republic of Mozambique; also agreed for the introduction of two different elections (one directed towards electing the president and members to parliament and other one for the election of the local institutions in their territories). The same constitution abolished the capital penalty for the second time (the first abolishment was in 1975 soon after independence but with no effect) which is still effective up to this moment. These are just few examples of the issues that were highlighted by the 1990 constitution[267]. Apart from the 1990 constitution, the GPA signed in Roma in October 1992 by the Government of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and

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[266] Vines and Wilson, *Churches and the Peace Process*, 140.
[267] H. Abrahamsson and A, Nilsson, *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition*, London: Zed Books Publisher, (1995), 166-67.

RENAMO constituted a significant jump in the history of Mozambican democracy. It did not only bring peace to the country but it also allowed changes to the constitution including the freedom to establish political parties and the introduction of elections as the only mechanism for achieving political power[268].

With these political reforms, the organisational structure of FRELIMO adapted towards a greater distinction between its own structures and the state. However, the party still benefits, even today, from its close ties with state bodies, and the fact that it has never left power since Mozambique became independent. This contributes negatively since the members of FRELIMO think no one from the opposition parties has the capacity to lead the destiny of this country. This can be clearly understood through some of the interpretation from top leaders of the ruling party especially during the electoral campaign. It is normal in Mozambique to hear some people saying that we have to recover the municipality from the hand of the opposition party. It is mentioned in newspapers which say: The ruling party (FRELIMO) is equipping its members in Beira with motorbikes, cameras and other facilities when preparing for the 2013 local elections with the objective of recovering that municipality from the hand of the *Movimento Democrático de Moçambique*-Mozambican Democratic Movement (MDM) party[269]. This quotation raises many questions in the mind of researcher. If the secretary of Beira is talking about recovering that area, where is the democracy for these people? There is no way of talking about democracy while there are only people from one party governing; the residents of Beira and the majority of Mozambicans are not interested in seeing one party dominating. Rather they wish to see things improving and moving well, like what is happening in Beira at present, this did not happen while Mayor from the ruling party was there.

With the introduction of democracy, Mozambique was characterised by the arising of many political parties who contested in different elections. From 1990 to 2009 (period representing the introduction of democracy in Mozambique) four general elections were held, all won by FRELIMO for the president. Some other parties gained some seats in parliament but the FRELIMO party has always had the highest representation in parliament (see appendix E). Moreover, three municipalities and one provincial

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[268] A. Nuvunga, *Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique: Strengths, Weaknesses and Challenges*, Johannesburg: EISA, (2005), 1.
[269] Jornal Noticias, 8 September, 2012, number 28590, 6.

election were also held. This situation was a little bit different from the municipality since from the moment this election was introduced there are municipalities that were won by the opposition parties like: Beira, Angoche, and Nacala just to mention a few. This was not appreciated by the ruling party judging by some of the words uttered from some individuals. In the first democratic elections held in 1994 ten political parties and two independents contested for the presidential position. For the legislative or parliamentary election there were fourteen parties that contested[270]. This election was very important because it marked a positive step towards democracy in Mozambique. According to Lundin two factors have to be considered whenever discussing the proliferation of political parties in Mozambique namely: the socio-cultural (an historic factor) and socio-politic-economic factors[271] and the important issue is the fact that these factors complement each other.

4.3.2.1 Socio-cultural factor

When discussing this factor, it is always important to highlight that in Mozambique there about 41 ethnics groups (see appendix F). Some of these ethnic groups are very large and others are small but with much influence. Their differences in terms of structure, language, religion, space that they occupy (littoral, interior, rural and urban) has contributed significantly to the formation of different parties in Mozambique. Moreover, the historical situation of Mozambique before independence was characterised by the domination of people by the companies that were given permission by the Portuguese to explore some areas of the country under their domination. First, the Company of Mozambique (covering places currently called Manica, Sofala and a small part of northern Gaza), Niassa (covered Niassa and Cabo Delgado) and Zambézia

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[270] UNAMO- União Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambique National Union), PT- Partido Trabalhista (Labor Party), FUMO/PMCD- Frente Unida de Moçambique - Partido Moçambicano de Convergência Democrática (Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence Party), FRELIMO- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front), SOL- Partido Social - Liberal e Democrata (Social Liberal Party), PIMO- Partido Independente de Moçambique (Independent Party of Mozambique), RENAMO- Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambican National Resistence), PRD- Partido Renovador Democrático (Democratic Renewal Party), PACODE- Partido do Congresso de Moçambique (Democratic Congress Party), PADEMO- Partido Democrático de Moçambique (Mozambique Democratic Party), PPPM- Partido Progresso do Povo de Moçambique (Mozambique People's Progress Party), PCN- Partido da Convenção Nacional (National Convention Party), UD- União Democrática (Democratic Union) and AP-Aliança Patriótica (Patriotic Alliance).
[271] I. Lundin, *Partidos Políticos: A Leitura da vertente étnico-regional no processo democrático*, Maputo: Inter-África Group (1995), 425.

(covered Zambézia and Tete)[272]. These companies explored the riches of Mozambique and dominated people in different ways when they were given the rights to dominate and explore these areas. There is no doubt that under this domination different cultures were introduced to the people. This may be the reason why when looking at the way these people are living in these areas one can easily notice at cultural difference. During Portuguese domination, black people were divided into different groups where some were peasants, while *assimilados* were public workers executing tasks such as clerk, nurse, and translators. Besides these groups, there were also the most privileged groups like the Indians who were dealers and white people who occupied high positions.

Religion also played a role in the formation of different parties; there were two main religions that dominated the country Islam and Christianity (Catholic and Protestant). For instance, Islam dominated the northern area of Mozambique and has relations with other Islamic countries and automatically their training had a relation to that reality. Regarding Christianity, the Protestants were marked by the protection of local people against colonial domination because they treated everybody the same. This was clearly seen through the education system they offered. This was sought by all means and encouraged the local people to further their studies; this was contrary to the attitude towards its counterpart: the Roman Catholic Church. Catholic education was more exclusive, where some people were able to receive education while others were denied the right of going to school. When the colonial regime came to an end, there were already blacks who had acquired good employment positions, most were promoted by missionaries and became administrators. These people always aspired for leading positions. This unequal treatment in education and commerce might have been some of the reasons that contributed to the proliferation of political parties when Mozambique opened for the introduction of new parties.

4.3.2.2 Socio-political-economic factor

This factor is based on the fact that after independence the ruling party decided to centralise the power with Maputo as the capital of the whole country and automatically

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[272] Hall & Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 3.

the economy of the country was also controlled there. This was motivated by the transformation of Mozambican policy to socialism and none of the people were allowed to work for the individual economy, in other words the model of development that was opted by FRELIMO (socialism) undermined the people that intended to be middle class or bourgeoisie but it was controlled by the government. Consequently, with the introduction a multi-party regime there are many people who control the resources of the country. These are the same people who were marginalised by FRELIMO and dominate the whole political system and are currently the holders of socio-political power. They are the ones sponsoring either some of the existing political parties or founding their own political parties. Some of these people were the stronger supporters of RENAMO.

4.4   The Mozambican multi-party elections

This section seeks to present and analyse the result of the presidential and parliamentary elections in Mozambique. The major objective of this analysis is to seek the pitfalls of the democratic process in Mozambique with more emphasis on the abstentions that were always observed in the elections within the range of analysis that took place in the country.

The tables and pie charts on the appendix E demonstrate the results of the elections in Mozambique since the multi-party democracy system was introduced in the country. The results show that only the 1994 elections had a better participation of people when comparing with the participation of 1999 and 2004 which were characterised by a high number of abstentions. For Mazula the abstentions convey a strong message from the people that their conscience decided either to vote or not to vote[273]. Because of this situation two or more questions should be raised. First, what contributed to the participation of many people at the first election? Second, what are the reasons for the abstentions in the other two elections under discussion? Why FRELIMO always wins the presidential and legislative election in Mozambique?

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[273] B. Mazula, *Voto e Urna de costas voltadas: Abstenção Eleitoral 2004*, Maputo: Imprensa Universitária (2006) ,7.

The excellent participation of people in the first election had various motives, they are mentioned below:

- The parliamentary and presidential elections in October 1994 were the peak and formal end of the peace process in Mozambique,

- The good participation of people in this election was due to the enthusiasm of a change from a one-party to multi-party system and it was also due partly to the encouragement of the electorate,

- The involvement of civil society contributed significantly to the high participation of people at the first election,

- People were afraid they would experience another situation of civil war if they undermined the election,

- People expected significant changes in their social, political and economic lives and,

- The majority of people wanted to have the electoral card as their Identification document (ID) since during the civil war they could not get this document.

Concerning the issue of abstention, Lundin argues that there are several issues that need to be taken in consideration. For example the constant changes of law in the political arena which is related to the matter of analysing the feedback of those changes. It is also important to understand how those changes interfered with the way the common people could participate and consolidate the democracy. Last but not the least, it is also paramount to reflect on how the common people are facing Mozambican democracy[274]. The abstention observed in all the elections especially from the second onward was caused by the following reasons:

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[274] I. B. Lundin, *Participação Política do Cidadão numa Sociedade em Mudanças: desafio das abstenções nas eleições de 2008 e de 2009 em Moçambique*, Maputo: CIEDIMA (2012), 15.

- Inadequate electoral education and involvement by civil society were the main reasons for the low turnout.

- An active abstention, reflects, at least in part, distrust in politicians in general and in local government in particular.

- The government plays with people because during the election campaigns the promises are so many but afterwards they just sit in their offices, forget the people, and only make life difficult.

- The low turnout was due to people's frustration and disappointment. Mozambicans are losing trust in the government's ability to solve their problems and they therefore find that going to the market for business is preferable than walking long distances in order to vote.

- Alcides Mbazima said people are tired of choosing leaders who the following day can only make life difficult by raising taxes – for example, litter that is never collected[275].

- The deteriorating social welfare and living standards of the people in spite of the vote for democracy is gradually undermining the confidence of the people in the new democratic order.

- People are persecuted by police during the electoral processes and definitely they prefer not to go for election than risking themselves under the police hands.

- For the 2004 elections abstention for instance, the fault can in partly be attributed to the *Secretariado Técnico da Adminintração Eleitoral*/Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration (STAE) that delivered incorrectly the voters' rolls. This situation confused a good number of registered voters who ended up not voting.

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[275] Notícias of 22 November 2003.

- Some polling stations agents were illiterate; they could not know how to correctly write the results obtained after counting.

- There were some errors in voters' rolls and several rolls were missing at polling stations and sometimes some of the names of the registered people were missing on the respective rolls. This revealed poor organisation, both for polling and registration and certainly this situation prevented many potential voters.

- The weather also contributed to abstention. For instance, the 2004 election was held in December and normally in Mozambique this is the raining season. Consequently, some polling stations did not open and some opened later and many people were not able to go to the polling station to vote. Furthermore, they persuaded each other to go to their farms to plant crops that would help the family rather than going to vote since the votes changed nothing in their lives.

- Another issue that contributes for the abstentions is the fact that since the introduction of multi-party election in Mozambique only one political party wins the presidential election. This situation demoralise people especially when the results of election come out after a long time that people have been waiting for them. This situation make people to think that the results were rigged and they think that the system is already fixed and none can destroy it even if they go to vote nothing different will come out.

- The educational level of people constitutes another factor for abstention. From 1992 that GPA was signed and Mozambique became into peaceful country a lot of transformation happened within the country especially in the area of education. For instance many universities were introduced and people trained in those universities gain new vision on what is taking place in the country. Therefore, when no practical results are coming out of their vote the literate people with opened eye just decide to stay at home during the election.

About the victory of FRELIMO on the presidential and legislative elections, Mozambicans that understand very well the political issues and those who are not expertise on the area always question the repetitive victory of FRELIMO on

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Mozambican elections since its introduction in 1994. Different interpretations have surfaced in trying to understand this matter. For instance, for the majority that are members of FRELIMO, their interpretations about this victory is that this party is traditionally known by many people as a party that make things happen. In addition to that, FRELIMO constitutes to Mozambicans a historical party and is the reason why people always vote for it because they know its works instead of choosing a new party that might create problems for the country. However, another interpretation that is given for the victory of FRELIMO is related with the *Comissão Nacional de Eleições*-National Electoral Commission (CNE) and STAE bodies that are in forefront of the electoral process. It is said that the two bodies are dominated by people from FRELIMO party even those said to belong to civil society are there to defend the interest of the ruling party. This issue has been always highlighted by opposition parties within the parliament, politicians that are not in this political body even by singular people that seek to understand this scenario. This is aggravated by the fact that in some elections the CNE was not able to announce the result of election according to the time that is stipulated by the law for the effect. A practical example was that of 1999 presidential and legislative elections where the results came out after so many days related to what the electoral law recommends. This situation open space for the people to speculate and saying that it happened this way because RENAMO and its president had won the elections but the CNE was still trying to manipulate the result to benefit FRELIMO and his leader. On this not Manning argues that the questionable behaviour of the CNE a body thoroughly dominated by appointees of the government and the ruling party has put the legitimacy of election results in question[276]. Manning brings evidence saying the following:

> In the run-up to the 2009 elections, the ruling party used its parliamentary majority to revise the election laws in ways that made it harder for opposition parties to compete. It also reworked the composition of the CNE to strengthen ruling-party influence over that body. These changes made possible Frelimo's most significant attempts yet to suppress political competition under the cover of legal institutions[277].

It is because of this situation that RENAMO is always demanding the revision of the electoral law seeking to have an equal numbers of people representing the parties on the parliament within the electoral bodies (CNE and STAE).

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[276] C. Manning, *Mozambique's slide into one-party rule*, _____: The Johns Hopkins University Press (2010), 154.

[277] C. Maning, *Mozambique's slide into one-party rule*, _____: The Johns HopkinsUniversity Press (2010), 154.

4.5 The impact of abstentions

The researcher bears with the words of Lundin when criticising abstention on Mozambican elections by saying that, abstention is serious because it points that something is not in the process[278]. The issue of abstentions has to be taken into consideration either for Mozambique or for those countries[279] that support the elections financially. This is because of the impact that it has for the countries (the givers and the receiver). A lot of money spent on elections comes from donors as well as from local government. Therefore, from this perspective a high number of abstentions from the elections caused by left over ballots which costed a lot of money for production. In the researcher's opinion, there is a lot of money that is spent for nothing which could be used within the countries of the donors and within Mozambique to run useful projects and in the Mozambican context that amount would be better used to build schools and hospitals as well as run sustainable projects for Mozambicans for the development of the country.

This demands that something has to be done (on the electoral law, procedures, habit of respecting and fulfil what is written on law by the electoral organs, the ways of governing or even the way democracy is being understood from the side of the citizens) in order to change the scenario. The revision of electoral law that RENAMO is always demanding to and other aspects on political arena (depoliticisation, professionalism of the electoral organs, parity of members in CNE from parties that are represented on the parliament) are some of the issue that deserve special attention considered in order to avoid problems like the mistrust among the political parties and this of course will continue paving ways for genuine Mozambican democracy. To avoid a high number of abstention on other elections taking place in Mozambique political parties and their members and the electoral organs (STAE and CNE) are called to be more serious on the following issues: The way civic education is conducted, the winners on elections are called to correspond on the solution of the problems of people that had voted them seeking to fulfil what they have promised during the campaign for the election. In

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[278] I. B. Lundi, *Eleições Gerais 2004- Um Eleitorado Ausente*, Maputo: Imprensa Universitária (2006), 101.

[279] Countries like Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and European Union were the supporters of the Mozambican elections in 1999. The total budget was $34,000.00 spent for the elections in the following programs: transport, communication, material, training, civic education, salaries, subsidies, investments (acquisition of vehicles and computers), technical assistance and miscellaneous.

addition to that the winners are to make sure that people feel that they are contributing on the process of constructing Mozambican democracy.

4.6 The correlation between Democracy and Development

Practically it becomes difficult, complex and unclear to see the connection between democracy as a political system and economic development. It is because of this complexity that two concepts emerged, one defending the correlation between democracy and another denying this correlation. Let us now analyse the two theories. Molutsi conveys an idea that helps to see to what extent there is a relation between the two when arguing that:

> First, the nondemocratic regimes tended to lack the capacity to sustain economic growth…one-party states in Africa, showed this weakness in the late 1980s. Second, nondemocratic regimes have failed to create an economic base relatively autonomous from the state. This has resulted in high levels of dependency on the state by all economic actors. Third, in contrast to their basic ideological premise, these regimes have generally failed to achieve the goal of equitable distribution of income, and this has been a major factor in their undoing[280].

This quote shows clearly the situation that nondemocratic countries went through before the introduction of a multi-party democracy in those countries and Mozambique in particular were in the same position. In Mozambique for instance, before the introduction of a multi-party democracy all economic sectors depended on the state to run their business then development was almost non-existent or was retarded. It was in this context of trying to bring the link between democracy and development that Adejumobi said that the democratic aspiration of the African people should not be only confined to the arena of political democracy (of elections, and granting of civil and political rights), but it should involve the demand for economic empowerment, better living standards, and adequate social welfare. Indeed, for the majority of people, democracy is meaningful only when it delivers socio-economic goods[281]. This is conditioned by different values like freedom of speech, the rule of law, multi-party system and elections, the protection of human rights and separation of power which creates an institutional context and processes for economic development to take place.

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[280] Molutsi, *Botswana*, 159.

[281] S. Adejumobi, *Between Democracy and Development in Africa: What are the Missing Links?* , Cape Town:_____ (2000), 2. (no further details available).

In addition to that, these values facilitate economic empowerment, provide a stable investment climate, and ensure rapid mobilisation of national energies and resources for economic development[282].

Those against the correlation between democracy and development argue that creating a symmetrical linkage between democracy and development is to overburden democracy[283]. They defend the following:

> Democracy is conceived to be a worthy political project in itself and should not be forcibly associated with economic development. The political context and rights which democracy provides are ends in themselves, which make for human happiness in society. The rights to free speech, association etc., are quite crucial to man and may not necessarily lead to material betterment[284].

In the opinion of the researcher without undermining the missing links between democracy and development (the character of the state, the nature of economic policies pursued, and external pressures on the economy either in terms of the debt problem or marginalising pressures of globalisation on trade and investment by less developing countries), there is of course a correlation between democracy and development. Analysing the context of Mozambique before and after the introduction of a multi-party democratic system, it can be seen that there are links between democracy and development. Mazula a Mozambican scholar defends the link between democracy and development by saying the following:

> The economic performance of the country after the first general and multiparty elections of 1994 redoubled that hope. A country that registered an inflation rate of 54 percent in the beginning of 1995 reduced the inflation rate to single digits, 5.8 percent, in 1997. The per capita gross domestic product at current prices increased from U.S. $93.90 in 1996 to U.S. $126.90 in 1997. With the economy growing at 11 percent between 1994 and 1998 and commensurate human development index rating, it was concluded that the economic development of Mozambique was showing "a positive trend"[285].

The quotation above shows clearly that the multi-party democracy introduced in Mozambique has contributed significantly to the development of the nation in different ways as follows. First, during the civil war that ravaged the goods of different people in Mozambique and left them with the wrath of recovering the time that passed while

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[282] Adejumobi, *Between Democracy*, 4-5.
[283] Adejumobi, *Between Democracy*, 5.
[284] Adejumobi, *Between Democracy*, 5.
[285] B. Mazula, *Mozambique: The Challenge of Democratization*, London: Lynne Rienner Publisher (2004), 186.

doing nothing. Consequently, with the end of this war and the first multi-party elections held in 1994 citizens participated actively in the reconstruction of the country. People that were displaced at local and international level started to come back to Mozambique to reconstruct their houses and got engaged in producing a variety of crops for consumption and commerce achieved within their communities and exchanging with other people. For people with eyes to see, it is evident that the way Mozambique was in terms of conventional building before the introduction of a multi-party democracy and now is totally different. Now people are constructing huge houses with conventional material and people are always interested in starting a small business in order to sustain their families. The Mozambican state is also supporting the improvement of life for Mozambicans through a project of lending money to citizens in order to start sustainable projects. The project of Intaka area where the government had started to build houses to be sold to the young generation is very appreciable and it is clear that people will soon see their lives in a better condition. With the relative peace being experienced in Mozambique which was conditioned by democracy being introduced in the country, the government had also managed to increase educational projects where new schools (primary, secondary and university level) are built all over the country. For example, before the introduction of democracy in Mozambique there were only two public universities (Eduardo Mondlane created in 1962 and the Pedagogical University created in 1985) functioning in Maputo. But at this moment these two public universities have their branches in most of the provinces and the total number of universities in Mozambique are more than forty with about one hundred thousand students studying different courses. In addition to that, new private universities and other schools of different levels are being introduced all over the country and this contributes significantly to the development of Mozambique. Still with the link between democracy and development Mazula highlights the following:

> Social stability is best secured when the living forces of society, including religious bodies and traditional authorities, are involved in national development and governance processes[286].

The statement above illustrates that democracy almost had something to do with this positive performance: it activated the participation of the citizens in the reconstruction of the country. The good relation between traditional authorities was observed after the introduction of democracy in the country as well as the trust that Mozambique achieved

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[286] Mazula, *Mozambique*, 190.

with the involvement of the church in the peace agreement had opened ways for the involvement of these social organisations in the process of the development of the country. For instance, the traditional authority contributes significantly advising people to work hard for their own benefit as well as for the development of the country. Moreover, the church also contributes significantly for the development of the country through building schools from primary to university where people of different generations are trained. Some churches in Mozambique have orphanages centres for children where they get educated from primary up to university level and some scholarships are awarded to young people who become the developers of the nation through their contribution of ideas. It is also of great importance to highlight the social services that churches are running which also contributes to the development of the country.

Though the researcher is of the view that there is correlation between democracy and development, it is important to highlight that the government should consider Mozambican population as partner for country development in order to avoid some situations that are happening in the country. For instance, it is noticeable that with the introduction of different megaprojects in the country such as "*Rio Tinto* and *Vale Moçambique*" exploring coal in Tete province (central area of Mozambique) an unhappy situation occurs within the country. It refers to the people that are manifesting because they have been taken off from their lands and given a little money as compensation for the piece of land that was given to the companies. Some of these people had lost their shrines and familiar cemetery which are considered by Africans as holy place. From the moment they finish the amount that were given they manifest again and this end up disturbing the working situation. From this perspective the researcher is of the view that the Mozambican government has to avoid deciding about those spaces without involving the population and before the space are given to the companies people had to understand very well all about the importance of the project for their lives and the development of the country. In addition to that, people need to feel that they are being benefited through these projects. If the government does not take it seriously the country will end up loosing the partners that are still planning to come to Mozambique for future projects.

4.7 Challenges or Obstacles for Mozambican Peace and Democracy

An analysis of the country's projections for reconstruction and democratisation of the state must look not only at the effects of civil war on the economy and infrastructure but also the cultural factors are important since they can also affect either positively or negatively the functioning of society. The issue of cultural factors constitutes one of challenge or obstacle of Mozambican democracy. It is known in Mozambique that ethnic and linguist diversity is a reality since there are 41 tribes with their respective languages. This situation can on the one hand serve as a catalyst while on the other hand can constrain democracy. This was felt a long time ago when FRELIMO was formed. The formation of the three organisations that gave birth to FRELIMO respected the ethnic linguistic scenario. In addition to that, the formation of the first opposition party (RENAMO) in Mozambique was also influenced by the same situation, the reason why up to this moment the influence of this party is mostly notorious in the Centre and Northern areas of the country.

This situation influences the whole democratic process in Mozambique. For instance, during the election period the issue of ethnic and linguistic diversity creates a barrier to some extent since some of the people before they vote are interested in knowing the tribe that the candidate belongs to, and then he/she votes for the person of his/her tribe. To some extent it seems like people are not interested in the manifesto of the candidate but seem more interested in having somebody from their tribe governing.

The culture of impunity (absence of punishment) constitutes one of the biggest challenges for Mozambican peace and democracy. Jacques argued the following about impunity:

> A culture of impunity points to something wrong with the system as a whole, with its rules and with its codes of behaviour. In such a culture, the problem is not simply one of deviant acts by certain individuals. The legal system itself is systematically co-opted, and impunity becomes a "normal" attribute of power. Certain people consider themselves to be above the law, above morality, unaccountable to anyone for any of their actions, no matter how serious[287].

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[287] G. Jacques, *Beyond Impunity: An Ecumenical Approach to Truth, Justice and Reconciliation*, Geneva: WCC Publications (2000), 3.

This is mostly observed in a situation of crime, the practical examples of this was the case of "Carlos Cardoso[288], António Siba-Siba Macuacua[289], and the event in Montepuez in 2000[290] just to mention a few, cases such as these have disgraced the good image of the country. It took time to have this case under the judicial court and it was clear that the reason for this was the fact that some of the people involved in that crime were related to people of the ruling party. The men involved in the Cardoso murder were only taken for trial two years later as a result of pressure from Cardoso's widow.

It is obvious that after a long time of socialism implemented by FRELIMO under the leadership of Samora Moisés Machel and the time that RENAMO was autonomous in the bush some challenges were to be faced by the two political parties mainly and other small parties or their leadership. These challenges are the consequence of the introduction of multi-party democracy in Mozambique.

4.7.1 Challenges faced by FRELIMO

The elections held from 1994 to 2009 came as force to this party to separate the party from the state though there is still a resistance from both party and state.

First, with the introduction of multi-party democracy with the constitution of 1990, FRELIMO was induced to try to broaden the party base mainly for Muslims and traditional authority. These two groups had been officially excluded from the party and persecuted together with Christians. To some extent the situation weakened the party ideological identity and consequently corruption and crime surfaced within the party itself as well as in the entire country as it is argued by Manning.

> Over the years, a weakened emphasis on ideology has facilitated the spread of corruption within the party, and has hurt the party's reputation in the eyes of its more ideologically inclined militants. With the creep of corruption, the party has lost some of the things that made it distinctive in the eyes of Mozambican

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[288] He was an investigative journalist residing in Maputo city. He was murdered on November 22, 2000.
[289] An Economist appointed chairman of Crisis of Austral Bank currently called Barclays Bank. He was murdered on August 11, 2001.
[290] The case happened in Montepuez- Cabo Delgado province, there was a clash between police and Renamo demonstration on November 9, 2000 in which 21 people died on the spot, and the subsequent deaths by asphyxiation of at least 83 people in a grotesquely overcrowded police cell.

citizens, whether party supporters or not…but in the days of Samora there was no corruption, and there wasn't the crime you see today[291].

Second, the introduction of multi-party democracy had broken the party's charisma, taboos on criticism of elite. FRELIMO and some of its leaders are always criticised by the ways they are performing democracy and about other aspects that are observed in the country like corruption and ethnic discrimination. On ethnic discrimination, the researcher would like to bring two examples illustrating this scenario *Savana* newspaper highlighted that (an open letter to the FRELIMO leadership from 58 Nampula based members, claiming that party leaders in Maputo were seeking to repress the Macua people in favour of southern leadership. They charged the ruling party with neglecting Nampula's social and economic development "Savana, 3 March 1995"). During the 1999 election campaign in Chokwe district which is found in Gaza province in Southern area of Mozambique the provincial leaders belonging to FRELIMO party tried to block the road so that Dhlakama could not perform his campaign[292].

4.7.2 Challenges faced by RENAMO

The first challenge that this party came across was to make sure that the US$17 million funds donated by the International Community is used really for the transformation of RENAMO from guerrilla organisation to political party.

The second and serious challenge face by RENAMO with the introduction of multi-party democracy in Mozambique was the fact that in its history RENAMO recruited illiterate people as the member of the party during the war. However, now the time has come for the party to occupy different positions created by the peace commissions and parliament. The only solution for this challenge was the following: RENAMO was obliged to bring in a large number of new post-war recruits to represent the party in these new institutions. After the first Mozambican elections in 1994 most of the parliamentary positions, for example, were occupied by the newcomers in the party. Only eighteen of RENAMO's 112 members of parliament had been 'in the bush'. Most of these new people were unfamiliar to the 'bush' members of RENAMO, who

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[291] C, Manning, *Competition and Accommodation in Post-Conflict Democracy: The Case of Mozambique*, London: Routledge (2001), 159.
[292] Notícias, 27 October 1999; Savana, 29 October 1999.

suspected them of using the party only to gain potentially lucrative political positions[293]. Therefore, one of the biggest challenges was regarding parliamentary work since the party lacked staff with higher education.

This situation contributed significantly for party internal problems since the loyal people to RENAMO that deserved the luxuries conditions were not getting it because they could not get into parliament. On the researcher's opinion this is the point that still creating a lot of problems for RENAMO leadership. After the first elections these challenges faced by this political party were not well realised because this party still had the funds donated by the International Community and probably some of this money was used to give to some of these people. From the moment these funds came to end most of the problems of the party surfaced the reason why the ex-RENAMO guerrilla are always revolting in the headquarters of the party with people demanding payment of money. The researcher experienced this situation in Nampula city which is in Northern area of Mozambique when he went for data collection. In addition to that, the researcher is of the view that the lack of money is contributing for the scenario happening with the top leadership of RENAMO (Afonso Dhlakama) who moved from Maputo (leaving his palace that he gained after GPA) to Nampula and later on from Nampula to Satungira-Gorongoza district where is currently living might be a way of saying that he is associated for the suffering that the majority of his militants are coming across. Gentili add that Dhlakama is protesting against the "occupation" of power by FRELIMO, claiming that the GPA was never really respected and therefore that it should be renegotiated[294]. As form of responding Dhlakama demand there is a negotiation round that started on 20 May 2013 evolving delegation from the government and another from RENAMO. Different of what happened during the first negotiation that led to the GPA, this time there are not people working as regional, international observers. It is true that observers were demanded by RENAMO but the government did not accept the idea. However, as far as the researcher is concerned the presence of the observers was of extreme important since they were to work as mediator even if they were local coming from the civil society.

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[293] C, Manning, *Competition and Accommodation in Post-Conflict Democracy: The Case of Mozambique*, London: Routledge (2001), 162.
[294] A. M. Gentili, *Lessons Learned from the Mozambican Peace Process*, 14
http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iaiwp1304.pdf (accessed on 24 June 2013).

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4.7.3 **Corruption**

According to Ongong'a this is one of the most serious pervasive problems of democracy[295]. It can be defined as the misuse of power or position for personal gain or it is simply an abuse of public trust. Corruption occurs in both the public and private sectors. The following are examples of some attitudes that can be considered as corruption: Bribery, favouritism, nepotism, absenteeism in the workplace, price-fixing, electoral fraud, tender and procurement irregularities just to mention a few. Kpundeh suggests some causes of corruption: Centralisation of power, lack of ethical leadership, morality, accountability, and transparency, greed, excessive or over-centralised economic and political power and inefficiency[296]. Generally, corruption derives commonly from the lack of accountability[297] of public and private officers. The consequences of corruption are the following: it intimidates people, undermines government and threatens development and the economy of a country. It depletes a nation's wealth by diverting scarce public resources from fundamental infrastructure projects such as schools, hospitals, roads, public and private sector, or the supply of power and water to rural areas, thus increasing poverty and inequality. For instance, in Mozambique we have seen situations of food for aid being diverted for personal purposes, school material that is to be given to students freely being sold, and material for campaigning during the election that appears at the market being sold, medicine that was supposed to be sold in hospital pharmacy's at low prices being sold in the free market (with a high price and putting in danger thousands of lives) or taken to private pharmacies that belong to nurses and medical doctors connected to some hospitals, this is of course corruption. Thus, corruption is an obstacle to democracy and the rule of law since accountable political leadership cannot develop in an atmosphere of corruption. Now the question is how could corruption be reduced? The researcher here opted for the term "reduced" because it is on his mind that there is no way of eliminating corruption totally. There are many cases of corruption reported in countries well organised and developed, so there is no room to seek its elimination in Mozambique but to reduce it.

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[295] J. J. Ongong's, *Challenges Toward Democratization in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers (1999), 19.
[296] S. J. Kpundeh, *Corruption and Corruption Control*, London: Lynne Reiner Publishers (2004), 123.
[297] Accountability involves answerability, the obligation of public officers to inform about and to explain what they are doing, and enforcement, the capacity of accounting agencies to impose sanctions on power builders who have violated their public duties.

Some might answer the question by saying that it can be reduced through raising salaries. Yes, the writer agrees with this point but this is not sufficient on its own, because raising salaries might only reduce bribery. People like Rose-Ackerman are of the opinion that the reform against corruption must include different incentives like pensions and other retirement benefits might discourage civil and private servants from accepting payoffs[298].

The idea of incentives is supported but in the context of Mozambique it cannot work properly because even to pay normal wages the country depends mainly on international aid. On this note, there is a need for taking advantage of local resources to generate income for the country. Mozambique has reserves of gas, paraffin being discovered in the northern area of Mozambique and there is a lot of gold and other minerals in some areas of the country. Mozambique has many different types of fish and prawns. The problem faced in Mozambique is about the way these resources are being explored. Talking about gas for example, it is taken from Mozambique (Vilankulo area) to South Africa for its transformation (costing a lot of money) into a useable product then it comes back to Mozambique and sold at high price that the majority of Mozambicans cannot even afford. The Mozambican government should think seriously about it and start thinking about transforming gas locally because the cost would be low and the product would benefit people in the country.

This trait of corruption caused the Mozambican government to think seriously of ways of responding to this challenge. The first positive option the Mozambican government introduced was anticorruption reforms like the creation of anticorruption agencies. These are places where people should go to complain whenever they come across this situation and of course people involved in acts of corruption must be prosecuted at court to respond to their acts. Therefore, in order to fulfil this there is a need for an organised judicial system in the country which will deal correctly and legally with the problem and pronounce accurate verdicts. This demands that the focus has to be the problem that was committed without considering who the person involved in the problem is. A good example demonstrated by the Mozambican judicial was the case of a Minister of Home Affairs by the name Almerinho Manhenje who had stolen a lot of money from

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[298] Kpundeh, *Corruption*, 126.

the government during his term office. When it was discovered that he was guilty of the missing funds and he was taken to the court to answer for his acts.

Second, the government had started a program where people who had witnessed situations of corruption could phone (using *linha verde*- green line which is phone number already posted in different sectors) to report this problem. However, Kpundeh argues that the anticorruption reforms do not respond satisfactorily to this challenge but the government attitude can be sustained with a wide range of stakeholders like Civil Society, NGOs, private sector, as well as the International Community[299].

The researcher agrees with the position of the scholar but in his opinion, one more issue that enhances corruption in the country is the lack of local law dominion, less interest in reading different information posted in public sectors and illiteracy of people living in rural areas. Following are two vivid examples that the researcher came across. In 1998 my wife and I were blessed by God with the birth of a baby, and according to Mozambican law the registration of a baby before completing three months is totally free. Then my wife and I went to the public office to register the baby and the civil servant that assisted us charged us a certain amount which we paid. Immediately after paying I asked the person who assisted us the following question. Was the law stressing that the registration of the baby before the first three months of life is free abolished? The reply was no! Then I requested the same person to give us back our money and she refused saying that it was not easy since she had already registered that amount on their daily registration. Immediately I asked permission to talk with the chief and after a heated discussion we finally got a refund.

Another scenario happened in 2012, my daughter and I went to *Direcção da Identificação Civil*-Civil Identification Directorate (DIC) to issue my daughter's ID, we followed all the procedures then I paid the amount that was due according to the lady that assisted us. During the whole process my daughter was busy reading information posted inside starting amounts to be paid according to age and she had discovered that I had paid more than I was supposed to pay. I talked then to the person that had assisted us about the matter and she reimbursed the money. This is the situation that people coming from the rural areas and those with no time to read the information come across

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[299] Kpundeh, *Corruption*, 122.

and the civil servant in many of the departments take that as source of unjust funds for themselves.

These two examples assist the argument that there is a need for the involvement of church, Civil Society, NGOs and the private sector with civic education for people especially at the grassroots level. Informing them of this challenge as well as explaining to them all the procedures that are necessary and informing them that they are free to complain about whatever has gone wrong while being assisted. People are corrupt because of the lack of applied law and the general public is afraid of challenging public officers. People have to know that it is their right to complain whenever the service is unsatisfactory. The church as an agent of social transformation cannot be out of this fight against this problem affecting Mozambicans. Church goers and its leaders have to follow the example of Jeremiah who was concerned with the situation of Jerusalem in its state of misery, a situation that was conditioned by the leaders. On behalf of the marginalised and the downtrodden he rebuked leaders of his time, denouncing corrupt and evil practices (Jr 6:7-11; 2 Tm 4:2). So, Mozambican church members have to rebuke leaders and any other people that are involved in situation that marginalise people of this country using the bible as the main instrument. This can be done through oral utterance and written words that provide message that motivate people and challenge the status quo. This transformation should be that envisages the restoration of new society with a new order of justice and new relationships (Eph 2: 15; Rv 21:1-7).

4.7.4   HIV/AIDS

This HIV/AIDS pandemic is having a negative effect on the life expectation of Mozambicans. In addition to that, it also affects significantly the development plans of the country as well as of the Southern Africa region where many people are being affected and infected[300]. Children are infected; people involved in different activities for the development of the country are also infected as well as students in different educational institutions (Primary, Secondary and University). This dilemma constitutes a greater challenge for Mozambican democracy. The first attitude that should be taken

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[300] L. Diamond, *Promoting Real Reform in Africa*, London: Lynne Reiner Publishers (2004), 266.

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by the government is to teach people about the way this disease transmits from one person to another. In most cases, people (especially) in the rural areas think that the only way HIV passes from one person to another is through sexual intercourse. Other ways such as the use of the same needle to vaccinate more than one person by traditional healers is another way to transmit this disease. At hospitals when syringes are not disinfected and reused can transmit the Acquired Immune Deficieny Syndrome (AIDS) virus from one person to another.

The researcher is of the opinion that people need to think about all the ways that this disease can be transmitted. People need to be educated that this epidemic is a reality and its spread is very fast because there are people who think this disease is not yet a reality. I was really shocked when travelling by bus, I overhead people discussing the situation of HIV/AIDS and arguing that the disease constitutes only a government initiative to force people to reduce sexual activity and they even use an abbreviation standing for AIDS which in Portuguese is SIDA (*sistema da diminuição de amantes*-lover's reduction system). This illustrates the dilemma that is apparent here in Mozambique concerning this pandemic.

One more issue that needs to be considered by the government is related to the way the broadcasting sectors and people generally maintain secrecy surrounding the death of people because of HIV/AIDS. In most cases it is only announced that the death was caused by a prolonged sickness while the real cause of death was this pandemic. In the researcher's opinion, the broadcasting sector when it comes to obituary information should let people know that the person died because of AIDS. Families that lose loved ones because of this disease should be more open about the cause of death particularly to other family members. This attitude will definitely contribute to spreading information and openness about the disease.

4.7.5   Environmental Crisis

Concerning environmental issues, the Constitution of Mozambique says clearly in Articles 90 and 117 the following:

Art 90˚:

1. Every citizen has the right to live in a balanced environment and they must protect it.

2. The state and local government, in collaboration with the associations of environment defence, adopt policies for environmental defence and reasonable use of all natural resources that exist. [301]

Art 117˚:

1. The state promotes initiatives to guarantee the ecological balance, conservation and preservation of the environment aiming at the improvement of citizens' life.

2. With the aim of guaranteeing the right of environment seeking a sustainable development, the state adopted policies aiming the following:

a) Prevent and control pollution and erosion,

b) Integrate the environmental objectives in sectarian policies,

c) Promote the integration of environmental values in policies and educational programs,

d) Guarantee a reasonable use of natural resources with the safe-guard of renovation capacity, of ecological stability and the right of the future generations and,

e) Promote territorial ordination seeking the correct allocation of activities for a socio-economic balanced development[302].

Basically this is how the Mozambican government intends to work concerning the environment. Therefore, taking into consideration to what is happening currently, it constitutes a challenging issue deserving special attention from the government and population in this democratic era where people think they are free to do whatever they want even if it puts their lives and lives of animals and plants in danger. According to Samson K, "some of the indicators of the imminent environmental crisis include

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[301] Art 90. 1. Todo o cidadão tem o direito de viver num ambiente equilibrado e o dever de o defender.
2. O Estado e as autarquias locais, com a colaboração das associações de defesa do ambiente, adoptam políticas de defesa do ambiente e velam pela utilização racional de todos os recursos naturais.
[302] Art 117. 1. O Estado promove iniciativas para garantir o equilíbrio ecológico e a conservação e preservação do ambiente visando a melhoria da qualidade de vida dos cidadãos.
2. Com o fim de garantir o direito ao ambiente no quadro de um desenvolvimento sustentável, o Estado adopta políticas visando:
a) prevenir e controlar a poluição e a erosão;
b) integrar os objectivos ambientais nas políticas sectoriais;
c) promover a integração dos valores do ambiente nas políticas e programas educacionais;
d) garantir o aproveitamento racional dos recursos naturais com salvaguarda da sua capacidade de renovação, da estabilidade ecológica e dos direitos das gerações vindouras,
e) promover o ordenamento do território com vista a uma correcta localização das actividades e a um desenvolvimento sócio-económico equilibrado.

poverty, pollution, rapid population growth and mushrooming of crowded slums"[303]. In addition to that, as far as the researcher is concerned, whenever talking about environment issues like: development of green zones, basic sanitation and planning should deserve also a special attention.

4.7.5.1 Poverty

According to Mazula the figures presented by the government by 2004 revealed that about 69.4% of the Mozambican population lived below the poverty line[304]. Taking into consideration this situation, people have two choices (taking care of the environment and remaining poor or destroying the environment to get the minimum they need to survive). In the researchers opinion the majority of people would choose the second option, that of destroying the environment. This makes them poor managers of the environment and the cause of their option is a poverty that is devastating and in turn causes them to ignore environmental conservation. Now, the question is: how are these people destroying the environment?

For people to survive they have to cut down trees which on the one hand is used for the construction of shelter and on the another hand trees are used to prepare charcoal for cooking or to be sold in town, cities and villages where the sellers get money to purchase food, clothing, stationary and other materials that may be needed. The purchasers are those people without the capacity to purchase an electric or gas stove. This shows clearly that the majority of people participate in the destruction of the environment. When the land that is being used for farming it is overused this also contributes to its destruction. The government also contributes to the destruction of the environment by allowing people to cut trees for wood in an uncontrolled way without replacing trees. In Mozambique, particularly in the Central and Northern area of the country, there are different companies exploring the wood trees for suitable timber to export to Asia and other continents. The most challenging issue is that the quantity of trees that are being cut down is higher than any replacing programme to replace them.

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[303] G. Samson K, *Environmental Crisis: A Challenge to the Church in Africa*, Eldoret: CUECA Press (2011), 310.
[304] Mazula, *The Challenges of Peace and Democracy*, 25.

The destruction of the environment causes different consequences such soil erosion, forest devastation and desertification[305]. The devastation of the forest also brings problems for animal habitats which are hunted for different purposes for instance to supply meat and materials (ivory, horns and skins) to be used within the country for different textiles or even to export.

4.7.5.2 Pollution

This negative impact on the environment is the reality of Mozambique. Industrialisation and mining are some examples of how the environment is polluted in this country. An example in Mozambique is an aluminium smelter called Mozal. As we all know, a lot has been covered up just for business purposes. However, a smelter built up in the suburbs of Maputo (or built somewhere where a concentration of people lives) is an inhumane decision. The pollution that is caused by Beluluane site directly affects those people that are living nearby and even further afield. People who live in the neighbourhood are the first victims and see themselves and their children being "slaughtered" though at a slow pace. This aluminium plant is still a huge environmental prejudice. People die; animals and plants die on the natural landscape. Since a lot of its waste is drained off into the Matola River, all living beings in that river are also doomed. This is a good example of how industry pollutes the environment. A Beer Company in Maputo called "*Cerveja de Mozambique*" is located in the middle of the city and a bad smell can be detected when passing near the water being polluted by the company. Besides these two there are many other industries that are too many to mention in this discussion that contribute to the environmental crisis. Samson argues that "the obnoxious smell is also a big menace not only for the people living around the industry but also for visitors. Residents have also suffered from skin rashes, coughs, persistent headaches and breathing difficulties among other health problems[306]. In addition to that, animals are also affected by pollution.

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[305] Samson K, *Environmental Crisis*, 311.
[306] Samson K, *Environmental Crisis*, 312.

4.7.5.3 Rapid population growth

It has been reported that the world population is projected to grow by 3.7 billion by the year 2030. The highest growth of population will be in developing countries, mostly in Africa. There is no doubt that this will certainly affect negatively the environment in Africa generally and Mozambique included. The reason for this is that large population growth and environmental degradation are always intertwined.

Population growth in Africa and in Mozambique is related to the way many African cultures interpret having many children conceived as richness. Besides that, many children are the consequence of polygamy which is also part of African culture. Related to this, if a couple does not bear children it means that in that family there is lack of companionship. Another religious factor contributing to the high number of children is related to the way fertility on the Bible is interpreted as a blessing from God. For instance, the Bible says: "So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them, and God said to them, be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have domination over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth" (Genesis 1: 27-28). For the religious who understand these verses literally (mostly poor and illiterate people) it becomes very difficult to convince them to adopt family planning in order to reduce the number of children. A high number of children in a family also has its consequences like difficulties in housing and feeding them as well as for poor sanitation especially in urban areas. Another consequence is the increasing number of children.

Population explosion in the rural area contributes to the growth of slums in many towns since numerous people especially the youngsters' flock into urban centres in search of jobs within Mozambique and bordering countries (South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania). Consequently in the peripheral areas of Mozambican towns' it becomes very difficult to demarcate plots and open roads; sometimes when the municipality tries demarcation it results in violence from the residents due to a lot of injustice perpetrated by municipality officers. After explaining about what happens to the environment the question that surfaces is: what the government, traditional authority and church should do in order to change or improve

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the scenario? This question will be responded in the section discussing about the contribution of the State, traditional authority and Church towards Mozambican democracy.

4.7.5.4 Basic sanitation

Basic sanitation constitutes a big challenge for the whole of Mozambique which deserves special attention of both government and population. This subject includes issues like dumpster, stowage, pumping, supplying of pure water which are examples that affect basic sanitation in Mozambique. In every corner of Mozambique rubbish is found in the middle of towns and cities causing a foul smells and with thousands of people collecting bottles, plastic boxes that are to be recycled putting at risk their lives. A practical example is that of Maputo city in Hulene township where the main dumpster is found. Stowage and pumping stations that carry water are badly deteriorated and this is the reason why in different sites of some cities and towns in Mozambique there is a bad smell. In addition to that, it contributes to the acceleration of flooding during the rainy season. For example, in downtown Maputo the constant floods that happen most often are caused by blocked stowage units and drains. The issue of pure water in Mozambique is a challenging one especially in the rural areas. In the regions where there are rivers people collect water from those rivers even though this is not potable. Those people need to be taught about boiling and other systems of purifying water before drinking or using it. The very difficult situation concerning water supply is related to those areas where there are no rivers nearby and people have to walk for more that 10 km just to get 20 litres of water and this has to be done before or after working in the fields where they produce their food. In April 2013 the researcher accompanied some United Methodist Church volunteers from the United States of America (this took place because of a partnership with the Mozambican Untited Methodist Church which helps people with digging wells) visited the Barane area located in Morrumbene district in Inhambane province and people affirmed that they have to walk 10 km to fetch water.

As far as the researcher is concerned, it seems as if this issue is not seriously discussed by the local government which is supposed to report to the state government. Some evidence for this assumption includes the following: the government always reports a

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high number of wells that have been dug in some areas but when investigating the real situation it can be found that some of those wells are out of order. The sad situation is that sometimes the cost to repair some of the problems demands very little money that can even be paid by the population if they have a good local government to do the necessary lobbying for the repairs.

So far the researcher had discussed what he would consider as socio-economic challenges. Therefore, there is a need to analyse the challenges in the political scene. According to the tables presenting the results for the three elections (1994, 1999, 2004), the numbers demonstrate that only the first election had better participation from people than the other three which were characterised by higher absenteeism. One interesting issue that can be seen is the distrust among the former belligerents and now main political parties, FRELIMO and RENAMO which remains high. Not only that, the same mistrust is also observed within RENAMO which was considered as the main opposition party. Because of the distrust within the party itself this has resulted in the creation of new parties led by people who were considered to be important figures within RENAMO. A practical example of that was the creation of *Partido para a Paz, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*-Party for Peace, Development and Democracy. (PDD) and MDM. Meanwhile, because of the situation within RENAMO, FRELIMO has greatly increased its dominance of the political arena, automatically increasing its political hegemony. In the future, the multi-party democracy risks becoming little more than the coexistence of a strong political party with several weak opposition parties with the country's democracy becoming highly dependent on the degree of FRELIMO's internal democracy. Furthermore, popular participation in formal political processes is declining: there is a worrisome trend towards ever lower voter turnout at general elections.

4.8   The contribution of the State towards Mozambican Democracy

Before analysing the contribution of the state towards Mozambican democracy it is paramount to stress that for the purpose of this thesis state refers to "a politically

organised community with a clearly defined territorial boundaries and government"[307]. In addition to that, the state as a government "is a representative of God's sovereignty, righteousness and justice on earth. It therefore means that the state in dealing with her citizens must do so under God's sovereignty, righteousness and justice"[308].

"The state should be one of the models of organising an overall public- a community in which the members of groups will find, experimentally, a harmony between their objectives"[309]. Wittrock adds that the state is always faced with two broad political projects, namely that of reconstituting identity and a culture in terms of nationhood; the state has to work on politically emancipating or integrating the new working class of industrial society as well as the people at grassroots[310].

The contribution of the state towards Mozambican democracy can only be seen through analysing the development of the political history of the country. It is recognised that the political regime which previously was called Mozambican revolution started reflecting about its activities and philosophy which was called Marxist philosophy, as well as to reflect about the national and international consequences of this philosophy. With independence and the nationalism of the country, Mozambique entered into the international community which also had a role to play. One of the aspects that marked this period was the fact that the late president Samora Moisés Machel gained influence and a reputation at an international level. This situation contributed and opened ways for reflection on Mozambican philosophy, its applicability and the consequences at national and international level. The first stage of the reflection, which is considered very important by religious people, was when president Machel invited a meeting involving personalities from the government and religious institutions (Roman Catholic Church, CCM and Muslim Community). At that meeting different challenging issues facing Mozambican religions were discussed concerning the new revolutionary regime in the country. The discussion came to the satisfactory conclusion that religious institutions in Mozambique, although differ from previously, had an important role to play in the new Mozambique. This conclusion for every Mozambican came as a

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[307] Y. Turaki, *Tribal Gods of Africa: Ethnicity, Racism, Tribalism, and the Gospel of Christ*, Nairobi: Ethics, Peace and Justice Commission of the Association of Evangelicals in Africa (1997), 152.
[308] Y. Turaki, *Tribal Gods of Africa*, 152.
[309] G. Parry, *Making Democrats: Education and Democracy*, London: Routledge Publisher (1994), 57.
[310] B. Wittrock, *Rise and Development of the Modern State: Democracy in Context*, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International Publisher (1988), 116.

surprise considering that from independence up to that moment there was as declared opposition between the two (the state and religion). From that moment onward the religious institutions had a role to play especially in the area of moral and patriotic education of the citizens. It shows clearly the regime started to think afresh about the relation between the church and religion in Mozambique, not only at national level but also at international level. The consequence of that reflection was the initiative of revising the Constitution of Mozambique which happened in 1990 and a lot of changes in the constitution came as a surprise for many people in Mozambique. With the new constitution democracy was officially established in Mozambique, not only centralised democracy but a multi-party democracy. It was from this perspective that the Mozambican state through the new constitution recognised Mozambique as a pluralist society. At the same time the new constitution was published negotiation for peace was also starting in Mozambique. It was in July, 1990 when negotiation for peace started in the country. During the negotiation for peace the issue of a multi-party democracy was discussed significantly and the GPA established a multi-party system in Mozambique which recognises the liberty of citizens. On this note, either the new constitution or the GPA agreed that the multi-party democracy was to be introduced in Mozambique.

4.9 The contribution of the Traditional authorities

Likewise with religion the traditional authority was also placed in the same situation of being contrary to the spirit of creating a new man that constituted the major plan of FRELIMO soon after independence as it is argued by Kyed and Buur.

> The ambiguous nature of the relationship between traditional leaders and postcolonial status has been a recurring theme in Sub-Saharan Africa since the achievement of independence. This is due in part to colonial system of governance, which through a combination of direct and indirect forms of rule, incorporated traditional leaders as an extension of colonial regimes in order to extract human and natural resources and curb organised resistance[311].

Consequently, traditional authorities were practically criticised too. The strategy applied by FRELIMO to fight traditional authority was the creation of *grupos*

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[311] H. M. Kyed and L. Buur, *Introduction: Traditional Authority and Democratization in Africa*, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (2007), 1.

dinamizadores- 'dynamising groups'[312] limiting their role only to cultural and spiritual activities. This tentative of diminishing the traditional authority power was only observed within FRELIMO's plan but for the local community they continued playing a significant role. Probably the acceptance of the traditional authority in the community had contributed to FRELIMO's change of mind in order to gain people. It was in this context that the 1990 constitution observed the re-introduction of traditional leadership into the country's legal structure what Kyed and Buur call the "top-down"[313] resurgence of the traditional authority even though it was not yet formal. Up to this stage the question was what would be their role in the second republic (the democratic republic which started with the peace agreement signed in 1992). However, gradually some activities were being attributed as note below.

> During the late 1990s, a series of laws consolidated the approval of traditional leadership, particularly legislation on access to, and administration and management of natural resources which began to delineate the role of traditional authorities. The 1992 National Land Policy already recognized the role of traditional authorities in resettling displaced people in the period following the end of the civil war. The 1997 Land Law then recognised the role of traditional authorities and prioritised their participation in consultation with communities before the attribution of land-use titles. The 1999 Forestry and Wild Life Law recognized and valued the role of traditional authorities by allowing their participation in managing natural resources through local management councils. The 1997 Law on Local Authorities also deals with the question of traditional leaders, giving the minister responsible for local state administration the task of coordinating policies towards the traditional authorities, and stating that the local bodies may consult the opinion of the traditional authorities should they deem this necessary[314].

It was only in the 2004 constitution that the traditional authority was given formal recognition in Mozambique it is said "the State recognises and values traditional authority legitimated by the population and according to customary law" (art. 118).[315] The Decree no. 15/2000 defines some of the mechanisms for the relationship between the government and the community authorities[316], among which traditional authorities are explicitly included. This article meant a lot politically because it opened a new

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[312] They were established in 1974, following the announcement of President Samora Machel. They were elected by people and their main tasks were the following: apply the directives of FRELIMO and of the Transitional Government and to exercise vigilance against sabotage by agents of colonial reaction.
[313] H. M. Kyed and L. Buur, *Introduction*, 3.
[314] _____, *Mozambique: Democracy and Political Participation*, London: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (2009), 150-151. (no further details available).
[315] Constitution of Mozambique.
[316] Includes the people who exercise a certain form of authority over a particular community or social group, such as traditional chiefs, neighbourhood or village secretaries or other leaders legitimised by their respective communities or social group (art. 105, Decree no. 11/2005).

situation in Mozambique whereby the *régulos* (traditional authority) started to be recognised by the state. In addition to that, the new system was important since it allowed citizens historically linked to FRELIMO and hostile to the concept of traditional leadership to share the local political field with traditional authorities on an equal basis[317].

The climax of the traditional authority recognition came when the state granted formally to these leaders the state regalia, which contains the national flag, an emblem of the republic a sign reading *autoridade comunitária*- community authority (see appendix G) and the equal subsidy paid to both traditional authority and the community. Looking very carefully at the above mentioned point it is noticed that the formal recognition of traditional authority has been commonly promoted in the name of the decentralisation process within a wider context of political liberalisation or transition to liberal democracy. However, the partisan history of these bodies (community authority)[318] and their control by FRELIMO members are seen as obstacles to citizen participation in voter process in cases where the population of a particular place mostly supports the opposition parties.

At this point the target of the community authority was to reach the scattered population. In practice, there are five major areas where the intervention of traditional authority has had a direct impact:

1. The administration and management of land and other natural resources, including solving the disputes that arise from this area. The traditional authorities grant land use rights by applying local customary laws and practices, as recognised in the Land Law. When the land rights should be acquired from the state, the traditional authorities and other community authorities are consulted as to whether the land is free and has no occupant, and it is up to them to mediate or decide on the form of partnership between the former occupier or the community and the new applicant. They also intervene in the management of local forestry through their participation in the Natural Resource

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[317] _____, *Mozambique: Democracy and Political Participation*, 151. (no further details available).

[318] This term includes traditional leaders, secretaries of suburban neighbourhoods or villages and other legitimate leaders.

Participatory Management Councils which operate at district level; other actors in the councils are the government, private business and NGOs.

2. In mobilising local citizens for major national campaigns and social movements, such as those linked to the fight against HIV/AIDS, the performance of children in education, vaccination campaigns, mitigating the effects of drought or floods, as well as peace and public safety efforts.

3. In mobilising local citizens to participate in national and local development efforts and the fight against poverty, particularly through their participation in decentralised district planning and budgeting in those places where this process has already begun.

4. In mobilising local citizens for involvement in elections, including voter registration, although in this area one should note the trend of political parties to try to use them for their own purposes in the struggle for power.

5. In the administration of traditional justice and, in a broader context, of non-formal justice[319]. In summary it can be said that the traditional authority play a particularly important role in land management, citizen mobilisation for various national campaigns and elections, and in administering customary law.

4.10   The contribution of the church towards Mozambican Democracy

The church has the spiritual and moral resources to contribute towards Mozambican democracy and of course it has to be awakened to its spiritual and moral responsibility otherwise its presence in society would be meaningless. De Gruchy when seeking to bring the contribution of the church for nation building and democracy highlighted the following:

> Democracy implies the acceptance of religious pluralism and tolerance at the very least, but it also requires that people of different faiths learn to co-operate in bringing about the just democratic transformation of society[320].

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[319] _____, *Mozambique: Democracy and Political Participation*, Johannesburg: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (2009), 152. (no further details available).
[320] J. W. De Gruchy, *Christianity and Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press (1995), 185.

The quote above makes it clear that there is no way of separating democracy and the church; the two have to work together for the benefit of society and this constitutes the major project of democracy. The involvement of the church in a situation that constrains society was observed before democracy was introduced. It was the church (Protestants) that worked hard at fighting illiteracy in different countries in Africa. Then the church cooperated significantly in the process of liberating countries that went through colonial domination and Mozambique was a particular example. The crucial question to be considered is: how the church should continue contributing in this democratic era? The writer found the ideas of two different scholars when analysing this matter very crucial. The first one is De Gruchy who wrote the following:

> The primary contribution of the churches to democratisation has undoubtedly been their ability to mediate between warring factions, and facilitate national reconciliation and reconstruction… churches are in a unique position to influence political developments, providing social cohesion at a time of national fragmentation and gathering international support in the struggle for justice and democracy. But even more, they are in daily touch with people, they often have a larger and more committed membership than political parties and, in many instances, their understanding of the situation on the ground is better than of the politicians…it is at local community level that the church is often strongest and able to make the greatest difference in democratic transformation[321].

The second one is Mande who discussed the role played by the church in Uganda which can also contribute significantly to the context of Mozambique. He argued the following: First, the church contributed views to be incorporated in the new national constitution. Second, they carried out civic education prior to the constituent Assembly, presidential, and parliamentary elections; and third, they monitored all the above mentioned elections at every polling station throughout the country[322].

For those who accompany the political development in Mozambique would agree with these writers. It was the church in Mozambique that managed to bring the parties that were fighting (FRELIMO and RENAMO) to the table of negotiation which resulted in a peace agreement (see from 48-54 of this thesis). It is true that the church in Mozambique did a lot to restore peace in the country but there are still many issues devastating the country that need to be addressed not only by the church but with the collaboration of different sectors. Let me start by saying that whenever there are some

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[321] De Gruchy, *Christianity and Democracy*, 187.
[322] W. M. Mande, *The Role of the Churches in the Political Reconstruction of Uganda in the 1990s*, Nairobi: AACC Publisher (1997), 180.

problems related to political issues some church leaders, professors, analysts, jurists always comment about what matters for the people. In other words it can be said that these people are famous for their involvement in politics not as makers of politics but critics of what happens in the country. Some have written many books and articles concerning Mozambican democracy but never about environmental issues. The involvement of the church in the struggle against environmental degradation seems very insignificant. On this issue Samson argues that:

> The Church has to understand that, she is part and parcel of the existence of the environment. In view of this, environmental crises are part of Church's problems and so she must be part of the solutions to what happens within and without. Given the existing grave destruction, the Church is tasked with urgently redressing this anomaly with the seriousness it deserves[323].

Samson K goes on saying that:

> The clergy are the better placed to influence millions of people in various platforms such as Sunday Masses, seminars, synodal meetings and plenary assemblies. For example, cleaning their surroundings, drinking safe water, disposing off waste materials like garbage properly and even keeping their bodies clean[324].

The writer agrees totally with the points mentioned by Samson. To add, he is of the view that the Mozambican churches have to negotiate with different radio stations (public and private) as well as televisions channels in order to include in their program space to challenge people about environmental protection. For those churches that own radio stations and televisions companies (Catholic Church, Universal Church and Trans-World radio) have to introduce this program. It is also important to include in church journals, articles, bulletins, pamphlets issues concerning the protection of the environment since it will raise awareness for people about the importance of protecting the environment. The church also has to teach its people about good manners for protecting the environment.

In the area of corruption, Mande is of the view that the creation of anticorruption agencies does not suffice, he argues that another way that the church could assist the government to fight this enemy could be:

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[323] Samson K, *Environmental Crisis*, 327.
[324] Samson K, *Environmental Crisis*, 329.

> The creation of ethics committees which could be used by departmental personnel in making ethical decisions and also monitoring to ensure that unethical activities are kept to the minimum in public departments[325].

The researcher is of the view that in Mozambique the creation of ethical committees has to be a matter of urgency not only for the purpose of fighting corruption, but the same committees could work with civil servants instructing them on good manners when assisting people in different departments. The current scenario is very poor and it ends up disturbing Mozambican democracy. In addition to that, people visiting these departments need to be instructed on the way to approach civil servants in public offices. Both civil servants and the public who are assisted need to be trained in the issue of wearing decent clothes. This point falls under the responsibility of civic education.

4.11   Education and Democracy

As it is known education occupies a crucial position in the life of people. It is education that produces great thinkers who developed relevant theories in different situations. It is education that teaches people good manners in doing things. In summary, education is an eye opener for people. The development of democracy needs to give due importance to education, Parry stresses that, "At every era of the development of government, thinkers have pointed to the need for an appropriate form of political education which will induct new rulers into the arts of government"[326].

The traditional role of education has been that of transmitting to new generations a continuing image of the community and it promotes cohesion and continuity. A system of education begins with infancy and continues throughout life. When dealing with education and democracy there are two main aspects that need to be highlighted. First, education requires a particular personality that through its curriculum and method of instruction is expected to provide. Second, in the case of democracy, it is the whole population which has to acquire the appropriate democratic personality. This involves not only teaching literacy and numeracy but it is a matter acquiring a set of political

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[325] Mande, *The Role of the Churches*, 186.
[326] G. Parry, *Making Democrats*, 47.

attitudes[327]. This means that the nature of democracy must be congruent with the schooling that citizens receive in order to open space for people to continue discovering more about democracy. Parry supports this idea stressing that:

> Democratisation thus required inculcation into democratic practice. Those outside the constitution could never learn how to be democratic by observing those inside. They had to exercise the vote, take part in local government… or perform such citizen obligations as jury service[328].

4.11.1 Civic Education for Democracy

According to Chepkwony civic education "constitutes one of the most important foundations of democracy"[329]. Since the church is regarded as the chief custodian of moral and religious principles it has to be involved in civic education with different aspects demanding this attitude. Mande describes civic education as one that "creates awareness among the citizens of a country of their rights and duties"[330]. Moreover, civic education can also help citizens within a country (young and adults) with good behaviour. Considering the mentioned meaning of civic education, the Mozambican government is challenged to take this program seriously. For instance the 2004 general election highlights some of the constrains that were faced during the election as follows: insufficient civic education agents…, refusal of some community leaders to permit contact between the population and civil education agents…, the recruitment of candidates without academic qualifications required by law[331].

4.12   Gains and Limitations for the State

The introduction of a multi-party democracy in Mozambique was a great gain not only for the state but for Mozambican citizens too. First, this allowed the end of humiliation for the candidate which was the situation when it was still a one party regime, especially in local elections. For instance before the introduction of a multi-party election the

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[327] G. Parry, *Making Democrats*, 48.
[328] G. Parry, *Making Democrats*, 54.
[329] A. K. A. Chepkwony, *Religion and Democracy in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton Publisher (1999), 104.
[330] Mande, *The Role of the Churches*, 190.
[331] A. Gregório (at. al), *General Elections 2004,* 34.

candidates nomination was done in public calling them up front and giving time for the public to comment about negative aspects of the candidate, the common question that was used was: "does anyone have anything to say against this person?"[332]. Second, the introduction of the multi-party democracy was a gain in the sense that Mozambicans came to know that they also had the right to choose the people governing their country. Third, for the members of FRELIMO the multi-party democracy helped them to know that there are other people that can challenge them.

Concerning the limitations, the increased number of inhabitants and a larger geographical area constitutes the first challenge to democracy in Mozambique. Mozambique is 799,390 sq. km with more than twenty million people and it's still in development with a lack of resources (communication, financial, education, health etc) but with a fast growing population. This situation makes difficult the fulfilment of the demands of a multi-party democracy. In a country like Mozambique there is a need for the financial dependence of the central government on external agencies as well as international finance and bilateral cooperation. In addition to that, it is also essential for Mozambican democracy that local government should not be totally dependent on central government. To some extent the government has failed to fulfil their promise to the citizens because money applied for projects has come from outside of the country and if the donors fail to understand the importance, many of the projects will not happen.

4.13   Gains and Limitations of the church involvement in democratisation process

An accurate analysis of the role played by the church in the democratisation process of Mozambique shows that the church had gains and limitations. The first gain was the rehabilitation of religion in a country that attempted to eliminate this relationship. As from independence through to 1982, the relationship between the state and religion was difficult but with the involvement of the churches in the peace process suddenly the relationship changed positively. Second, the consolidation of Christian unity constitutes another gain. This was observed through the joined action of the churches during peace

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[332] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 129.

negotiations which opened the way for the GPA signed in 1992. For the achievement of peace in Mozambique different churches came together and spoke with one voice about the introduction of democracy. Third, the recognition of the importance of the churches in the socio-political transformation of human communities constitutes another gain. For example, it has been common to hear politicians from different parties stressing the importance of the church socially and politically. In the social arena the church continues to cooperate with the government in the area of education, medicine and development as Benvinda Levi stressed, "in Mozambique the church is a partner to the state in the materialisation of its strategic plans"[333].

Turning to the limitations, it is observed that the first limitation is the lack of involvement of the laity in the democratic process of the country. The role of the laity in the democratisation process of Mozambique is still very limited and it is mainly the involvement of leaders from a few churches. The second limitation of the church in democratisation process is the lack of witness by Christians. It is still noticeable that some Christians are distinguished by their tribalism. For instance, we still have in Mozambique Christians that prefer a candidate just because he or she is from the same tribe as themselves. Third, it is notorious the absence of an institution framework guaranteeing the continuity of the churches' action. A practical example of that is what the CCM had carried out. In some provinces the CCM runs democratic projects based on donations from different donors NGOs and from the moment the funds are finished the project also ends. The involvement of the Mozambican church in democratisation process is still very limited. The church speaks through written or oral statements which few people can get access; there is a need to expand or distribute statements as well as explaining to people about the necessity of participating in the democratisation process of the country.

4.14 Conclusion

To conclude, the participation of the church in politics seems to be difficult for the majority of church leaders as well as for the laity. However, it is still depends on the

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[333] Benvinda Levi is the minister of Justice who pronounced these words while appointing the new National director of religious affairs in Mozambique (news hour on 13 de December de 2010).

role of some pastor or Bishop from different churches, these people can be charismatic or politically mature. Bishops like Dom Jaime Pedro Gonçalves the retired Archbishop of the Diocese of Beira, Bishop Dinis Salomão Sengulane of the Anglican Church, and Bishop João Somane Machado of the United Methodist Church are some examples of leaders that have dedicated their lives to participating in the political life of Mozambique. Besides that, it is paramount to highlight the role played by the CCM which has different projects seeking to enforce democracy in the country, e.g. the project run in different provinces in the area of good governance seeking to awaken people about accountability and transparency. For instance, Bishop Sengulane runs a programme entitled Preparing People for Peace (PPP) which grew out of ecumenical prayers for peace. This programme sought to prepare people for peace and democracy since it was necessary during the process of transition from the civil war to peace and the introduction of democracy in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROLE PLAYED BY CHURCH AND STATE IN THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE, 1975-2004: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 What is the role played by the state in the multi-party democracy in Mozambique?

Before answering this question, it is very important to highlight that the state is composed of three elements namely: The territory, people and political power. Therefore, when discussing democracy we are dealing with political power. Furthermore, it means discussing issues that seek to eliminate the previous system of governance which took place in Mozambique. It refers to a one-party system introduced by FRELIMO soon after independence. The political history of Mozambique stresses that as from 1990 the multi-party democracy was introduced to the country and it is centred in freedom for the people to create new political parties guided by their own principles provided that these principles respect the social, economic, religious and cultural state of the people.

To be able to answer this question demands that a brief analysis is formulated of the political history of Mozambique. It is recognised that the political regime which was previously called Mozambican revolution started reflecting on its activities, philosophy (called Marxist philosophy) and the applicability of this philosophy as well as reflecting on the national and international consequences of the same philosophy. With independence and the nationalism of Mozambique, the country entered the arena of the international community which also had a role to play. One of the aspects that marked this period was the fact that the late president Samora Moisés Machel gained influence and a reputation at an international level. The crucial stage of this reflection which is considered very important from a religious perspective was the initiative taken by president Machel in convening a meeting involving personalities from the government, ruling party and religious institutions (Roman Catholic Church, CCM and Muslim Community). At that meeting different challenging issues relating to relations between the state and religion were discussed, similarly the issue of the new revolutionary

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regime introduced to the country after independence was also discussed. The discussion came to the satisfactory conclusion that the religious institutions in Mozambique changed from previously where they had virtually no role and now had an important role to play in the development of the country. This conclusion came as surprise for every Mozambican considering that from independence to that moment there was a declared antagonism between the two (state and religion). However, from that moment onwards the religious institutions started to play their role openly especially in the area of moral and patriotic education of Mozambican citizens.

The issues that related to the civil war that ravaged Mozambican territory were also considered. The discussion concentrated on essential causes of the war and tried to find ways of bringing the fighters together in order to reflect about the war. A practical result of that dialogue was the initiative of revising the Mozambique constitution which took place in 1990 and there were a lot of changes that again surprised people in the new constitution e.g. the opening of space for the creation of new political parties in the country which was previously unheard of.

With the new constitution and the general peace agreement signed in Rome, the government established a multi-party democracy in the country. It was from this perspective that the Mozambican state through the new constitution recognised Mozambique as a pluralist society. At the same time as the new constitution became public and was published, the negotiation for peace was also underway, and that was in July 1990.

A major role that the state has to play in any country is to guarantee the social well-being of its citizens. Therefore, the Mozambican state is also working in order to fulfil this role through improving and creating new social infrastructures in the country. This refers to hospitals, schools, roads, transport, water sanitation, judiciary system, revision of laws whenever necessary just to mention a few.

Since Mozambique had been governed by many different historical and democratic traditions, with the introduction of a multi-party democracy, the first step taken by the state was to transmit and prepare people to understand what a multi-party democracy meant. This was followed by the process of spreading the new laws supporting the new

system of governance adopted in the country and this process is continuous. In so doing, people would understand about democratisation process. This is clearly shown because government officials whenever they have the opportunity to visit different places in the country take the opportunity to advise people to participate in all projects related to democracy especially in the electoral process. In so doing, the state is trying to encourage Mozambicans to participate in the process of edification of democracy in the country. The state is working on the orientation of its citizens to the new form of governing as well as in planning projects for cultural, social, economic and political development of its people as well as the state.

5.2 What characterises contemporary Mozambican Democracy? Anything to criticise?

Considering that Mozambican democracy is still very young in a situation whereby people were used to a one party democracy, confusion is noticeable amongst political parties especially with the ruling party. They tend to mix activities that belong to the party itself and those that are specifically for the state.

Another characteristic of the Mozambican democracy is the fact that the top leaders of different parties and their followers fall into the mistake of promising what they can't deliver and this makes Mozambican democracy very weak since people no longer trust the words of political parties.

With the peace agreement in Mozambique, people opened a new page in the country, that of a multi-party democracy and the government is trying to put this new system into practice. Regardless of the issues concerning the training of people in democracy which was dealt in question number one, elections are also another component that reveals the implementation of a multi-party democracy in Mozambique. Since the introduction of a multi-party democracy in the country four presidential and legislative elections took place (1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009). In addition to that, municipal elections also took place in Mozambique (1998, 2003 and 2008).

Therefore, this study dwells on elections held from 1994 through 2004. Other elections would be touched when it is necessary. In the opinion of the researcher, elections are always understood as the major stamp which prepares every person even those at grassroots to understand that there is something new being implemented in Mozambique. Consequently, elections should be used as a positive tool for spreading democracy.

Before the above mentioned elections were held, the first important stage of a multi-party democracy was the creation of new political parties in the country under different Mozambican leadership. This was really positive when taking into consideration what was predicated by the constitution related to a multi-party democracy. Another positive step taken by the state was the creation of democratic institutions in Mozambique such as CNE and STAE. With the first election held the parliament assembly which is represented in two forms: national deputies from the general election and provincial deputies that were elected at provincial elections appeared. In addition to that, there was the introduction of municipality elections where the Mayors are elected by members of the local authority. Later on there was the introduction of a provincial assembly that constitutes another form of implementing a multi-party democracy in Mozambique and through these elections people participate in the administration of the country. All of the democratic institutions mentioned above are very important for the consolidation of Mozambican democracy through different activities performed by these institutions.

Although a multi-party democracy has been introduced, there are still many issues that deserve criticism from members of the different parties in Mozambique as well as from people that are not members of any political party. Issues such as state departments labelled with different parties; lack of transparency in the electoral process; the use of mineral resources for the benefit of a few people, are some of the examples of the negative issues that people claim are practiced in the country which ends up removing the merit of our democracy in Mozambique.

Regarding the issue of state departments labelling themselves with different parties, it is clear that there are sectors that belong to the state and not to any party, here the researcher refers as examples to the police, judiciary system and different ministries that

exist in country. The problem is that to some extent they are used for the benefit of one party and sometimes are even used to promote the ruling party when they should be working for all Mozambican citizens. This demonstrates a clear lack of separation of power between the state and ruling party. Some of those belonging to the ruling party who were elected to serve in the name of the state still deliver speeches that demonstrate that they still work for the interest of the party, forgetting that they were elected to work for Mozambicans.

A deep analyses of Mozambican democracy illustrates that there is still a lot to be achieved especially when it is related to practical democracy, there are many faults that still needs to be corrected so that Mozambique can enjoy a true democracy. For instance, the written democracy is acceptable to some extent but the way it is implemented is not acceptable as the following examples illustrate.

When it comes to the mass media there is a lot of censorship especially for public mass media and this constitutes the continuation of what was created from the previous system of governance. It is still controlled by the ruling party consequently the information that is broadcasted by this mass media has to deal mostly with activities related to the ruling party. Programs that are related to the opposition parties are given a very short space if they are to present. However, private mass media such as Soicos Television (STV) shows images of both positive and negative events happening in the country and broadcasts news equally without distinction between the ruling and opposition parties. Thus, the majority of Mozambican's who want a balanced view of what is happening in the country prefer to tune to STV for news. In addition to that, people who are facing issues such as land problems, dustbins near houses and thieves that are set free illegally for instance prefer to report to this television station because they are sure the issue will be broadcast and to some extent it pressurises the institutions related to these areas for some solutions. This is supported by Father Francisco Chimoio the Maputo Roman Catholic Church Archbishop who highlighted that public mass media is not impartial and gives more time for programs related to the ruling party and less time to opposition parties. This is different from the private mass media which creates equilibrium for every political party[334].

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[334] F. Chimoio, *Participação e avaliação das eleições Moçambicanas*, Maputo: Imprensa Universitária (2006), 312.

Due to the separation of power, a new problem has arisen, for instance, if persons belong to the opposition party they are seen as an enemy of the ruling party and a common expression is "*as pessoas são da esquerda*" which means the persons belong to the left or, "*são infiltrados*" which means they are an infiltrator. In many cases the promotion to a position of leadership at the work place is made according to which party that person belongs to, if a person belongs to the opposition side they will never be promoted despite their skills. If somebody is promoted to a position of leadership without their being clarity of the party that he/she belongs to, from the moment that there is a suspicion that they belong to the opposition, he/she is in at risk of losing the position. The researcher would like to share a practical example related to the affirmation of the above that happened in Lichinga during the census for 1999 elections.

In Mozambique prior to the elections there is an actualisation of the voters through a census. To this end, the STAE indicated the team of people for registration to be fixed at Paulo Samuel Kankhomba Secondary School and this happened without informing the headmaster of that school. The headmaster using his authority did not receive the group at that school. From that moment tension arose which culminated in the discharge of the headmaster since he was suspected of belonging to the opposition party. He was automatically considered the enemy of the people, in other words he belonged to the left. That situation raised many questions for the researcher like: Was the STAE used by the ruling party to challenge that headmaster in order to fulfil its intent? Is it wrong to have somebody from the opposition party leading a public institution in Mozambique? Why is it that leaders from the opposition party are persecuted in Mozambique? For the researcher, democracy means unity in diversity.

The political persecution that happens in Mozambique rubs off the value of democracy and on the one hand causes people to be afraid of joining other political parties from the ruling party and on the another hand causes people to be enrolled as members of two different parties (one being the ruling party as a guarantee of employment and other benefits and the other the party which is of his/her choice). Automatically these people will hold two different membership cards, the red card (see appendix H) to be displayed for matters of employment since this is considered the basic instrument to be used in Mozambique if somebody is to be employed in areas like STAE, CNE and other and other card for the political party they truly belong to. In the researcher's view this

situation sometimes deludes the ruling party into thinking that it has many supporters in some areas while there are really few. This situation happened in Quelimane city during the municipality election of 2012 where the civil servants presented themselves as members of the ruling party and participated in campaigning programs positively walking around the city with many cars, carrying FRELIMO flags and banners yet the result of the election confirmed that the majority of those (civil servants) did not vote for FRELIMO candidate and the opposition party won the election and their candidate was Dr. Manuel de Araújo of MDM.

When analysing the situation in Mozambique it seems like the ruling party is opposed to the forming of new political parties despite what is written in the constitution. This can be observed from some of the speeches given by some top leaders that belong to the ruling party. It is normal to hear from these politicians that they want to rescue the municipalities that were won by the opposition[335]. As far as the researcher is concerned, if the country is experiencing participatory democracy, the ruling party should be happy seeing another party governing some of the municipalities and be able to support them. In addition to that, since Mozambique is a multi-party democracy country it would be good if the elected president from the ruling party was able to appoint some ministers from the opposition party according to their skills. A good example was taken by Dr. Manuel de Araújo (of MDM) a Mayor of Quelimane elected in 2012. After winning elections he accepted people from other political parties like FRELIMO, RENAMO to be part of the workers for the municipality under his leadership.

Another critical issue in Mozambican democracy is related to the type of speeches coming from the Mozambican political parties. For instance it is common to hear some top leaders of the Mozambican state saying that FRELIMO has done this and that or even to auto proclaim as the better people and better party. In addition to that, leaders of RENAMO are also calling themselves the father of democracy. The researcher considers this as negative since people in the state are now working for the interest of all Mozambican's and being state leaders they represent all Mozambicans including those that belong to the opposition. This kind of pronunciation makes the smaller political parties feel excluded in the Mozambican democracy. But if Mozambique is to

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[335] Notícias newspaper, 8 September, 2012, 6.

experience democracy, the members of political parties have to learn to respect each other's opinion knowing that every party is aspiring for pure democracy in Mozambique.

Leaders of the ruling and opposition parties take advantage of the electoral process to accumulate money through the campaign and use it for their personal purpose (buying huge cars, building houses and furnishing them) this is the reason why if it is not election time only two or three parties can be heard in Mozambique but from the moment new elections are being prepared for, many other parties surface only to get money, automatically the elections are considered as a source of income and none of the top leaders of the popular parties have any comment to make, this is related to the culture of impunity.

Another critical issue is observed in parliament; the way it performs does not give dignity to the democracy of the country. The insulting speeches coming from the mouths of deputies, some of their interventions reminding people about the civil war, all of that negative behaviour can be watched on TV throughout the country and this is considered very negative behaviour that needs to be changed. However, we thank God because compared to the way it was carried out soon after the first election in the current situation there is an improvement. Maybe this is a result of criticism coming from the general public as well as from some civil society organisations (Human Rights League and *Associação de Parlamentares Europeus para África*-European Parlimentarians with Africa (AWEPA) that appear to be advocating for genuine democracy in Mozambique. Therefore, these are not tasks only for these organisations but every Mozambican despite which political parties has this as their task.

The ruling party proclaims itself as the only one working for the development of the country while it is observed that we are now living a multi-party democracy, the question now is: how do these issues affect Mozambican democracy? Moreover, the political parties that are unable to get into parliament are excluded and their ideas are never considered since they do not have a platform to share them. In the opinion of the researcher, it was because of this situation that during the second presidential and legislative elections in 1999 RENAMO decided to form a coalition in order to put FRELIMO down or encourage more political parties to participate in Mozambican

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democracy. However, this coalition did not last since the leadership of RENAMO did not want to give a platform to the new generation of leaders to express their ideas and consequently a dissolution of the coalition occurred. After that, even within RENAMO some of the leaders felt that there was no space for them to share their ideas and people like Raúl Domingos and Davis Simango were kicked out. As a consequence these people founded other political parties (*Partido para a Paz, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*- Party for Peace, Development and Democracy (PDD) by Raúl Domingos and MDM by Davis Simango). Of these two parties, MDM is having a very positive impact and it now occupies two municipalities Beira, Quelimane. In these three cities there is accelerated improvement which contradicts the idea that only the current ruling party can develop Mozambique.

The situation of RENAMO mentioned above contributes significantly to RENAMO losing members and raises questions like these: Why is that the leader of RENAMO does not give space for other people to express their ideas towards change within the party? Why is it that the leader of RENAMO does not want to share power with others? To what extent does RENAMO call itself the father of democracy while there is no democracy within that party itself?

Lack of transparency in the electoral process; the experience of the country shows that elections are held in Mozambique and the regulations for how this process has to be carried out are well written and these regulations highlights that elections have to be free, transparent and just. In addition to this, when it is time for elections, the structures that deals with this program which are CNE and STAE issue pamphlets and announcements advising people of the free, transparent and just elections. But according to practical experience, each election in the country ends up with a hard discussion involving political parties and citizens about the way that election took place, and the discussion shows clearly that some people that voted were not happy with the way the whole process happened. So, concerning this issue some people stress that there is no freedom in the way the process is carried out and it is also stressed that when a certain political party is in the forefront there is always a tendency of saying that it has to control everything and this takes us to the following principle: 'no one would prepare an election to lose' which means it has to make sure that it always wins. So if this is the reason, automatically it is contradictory to democracy since if it is an election one has to

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win and the other to lose independent of its position. On the other hand if in Mozambique the parties were to stick to the above principle it will be the same party that wins elections since it will always remain in the leading position. This is one of the ways in which the fragile part of Mozambican elections can be seen. With this the writer is not saying that Mozambique is not prepared for free, transparent and just elections since this country has a conscience, the institutions (CNE and STAE) and political parties to contest the elections. The question is: Why are the Mozambican elections not curried out correctly? The ways in which this question can be answered varies according to the people who are in a position to argue when evaluating this scenario and this constitutes one of the critical issues regarding Mozambican democracy. In the opinion of the researcher, the irregularities that have been observed at the elections and the discussion at the end of each election would contribute to the demand coming from different political parties and some individuals requesting for a revision of the electoral law. We thank God because finally the discussion of this issue by parliament was started in 2012, let us hope it will bring positive solutions to some of the issues raised by political parties as well as by the citizens of Mozambique. Some of proposals for solutions have been suggested by political parties such as the creation of a private CNE and STAE which will take them out of the control of the state. It has been suggested they have been corrupted because they are administered by the ruling party. If that is the case the new electoral law might be very objective taking into consideration all the criticisms coming from the political parties and citizens.

Another critical situation observed in Mozambican democracy is the exclusion of some political parties and its candidates to contest in past elections. It had been observed during the election of 1994, 1999 and 2009 that some parties were not accepted to campaign for the election in some of the provinces of Mozambique and this came as surprise for many people in the country. At this point, the researcher is not arguing that every party should be accepted because there are laws to be considered for the creation of parties. Sometimes the way the exclusion happens raises many questions for people such as what surprisingly happened with MDM in 2009 when this party was excluded from participating in the election in some provinces like Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Tete, Manica, Zambézia and Gaza. The argument that was used for refusing this party was that it did not submit the documents that would allow it to contest. However, the provincial delegate of MDM in Tete Mr. Celestino Bento said that the position taken by

the STAE had something to do with the manipulation of this electoral institution by the ruling party since it knew that this party had many supporters on those areas so that if it had contested would win many more votes than the ruling party.

The length of time for deputies serving parliament constitutes another critical issue; some of them have been there since the 1994 election and now in 2013 have already been nineteen years as deputies. This situation might not be considered bad at all since their presence for that long might be because of the trust that they have within their political parties. However, in the opinion of the researcher the Mozambican parliament would be democratic, participative and productive if there was space for new people to participate because it would assist in bringing new ideas and a new vision to be discussed by parliament. It is really boring seeing people whom to some extent can be considered the owners of parliament.

If Mozambican democracy was to follow the way the electoral law is written, Mozambique maybe would be one more country in Africa with free, transparent and just elections following the example of Ghana and Cape Verde who are recognised as pilots in Africa for running free, transparent and just elections since they overcame their problems with elections. In these countries the opposition parties can also win the election and come to the top position and when the term ends every party is ready either to win or lose the election which is different from Mozambique whereby before the election is over parties auto-proclaim as the winner over against the other parties.

5.3 Mozambican Democracy (elections) is characterised by abstention. What message are people conveying through this attitude?

The Mozambican democratic elections are really characterised by abstention and the percentage numbers are increasing at every election. Take for example the first elections held in 1994 the crisis was observed and the largest opposition party (RENAMO) raised a problem and then refused to accept the result of the election allegedly because the process was rigged. Since then at the completion of any electoral process there has been a problem related with the election result. This is really a predicament because there is a lot of money that has been expended.

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Another common occurrence in the Mozambican elections is abstention based on the way this is understood by each political party. The party that wins the election now knows those who did not vote and they are not interested in them since they do not know which candidate to vote for if they had gone to the polling stations. In this case, it is better for those who did not vote to remain out of the process and only those on the side of the wining party are to vote. On this note the winning party will always favour abstention since it brings an advantage to the winning political party. On the other hand, from the perspective of the losers those who did not vote could have voted for them and they feel they had lost the opportunity of a lead position; consequently any election that did not bring results favouring them was rigged. So the criticism of abstention depends on the way each party interprets the phenomenon. However, any criticism of abstention or any other quandary facing elections is very important because it helps people to understand that their vote is very important. Furthermore, it shows that in democracy it is very important to consider the issue of abstention in the electoral process especially when abstention was caused by a situation of hindrance by somebody who thinks they have power to prohibit people to vote. For instance, in some situations abstention is caused by the negligence of STAE with an objective behind it. The Following are examples that support the idea of the negligence of STAE. For example, in some of the elections in Mozambique when people went to the polling stations to vote they could not find their register and sometimes they were told that it was taken to another place far from the residence of the voter. In this case the challenge was to know where exactly the register was and the next challenge was the distance that those people had to walk to reach the other place where it was thought the register was. Therefore, when people face this situation they feel angry and the result is to give up on the electoral process. For the next election they would think the situation will be like the previous, especially because in Mozambique a high number of the voters are illiterate and think things cannot change.

Abstention can also be explained through cultural, political, social and economic dimensions. First, in a cultural dimension, in African tradition people are born and taught to obey only one chief of the area and it is known that if this chief passes away the oldest child will be the successor and no election is needed. Therefore, this situation can contribute to the absence of people in the election because these people do not see

the importance of changing the leadership of the country every five years. This group would probably prefer to have elections when the president has died.

Second, political dimension, is related to the candidates that are indicated by the political parties to contest for elections. They campaign presenting their plan to be implemented in case of victory and to some point it seems like there is hypocrisy between the promises and the reality since after winning the winner does a little of what they had promised. Consequently, people lose trust with a political candidate. So those who do not go to vote they understand that every election is another moment of lying to the people in Mozambique.

Third, social dimension, according to the code of deontology and ethics some of the political leaders had socially lost credibility because of their conduct and character. People think that these leaders are not going to make any difference or change even voting for them they will not represent the nation.

Fourth, economic dimension, the majority of people in Mozambique do not find any economic equilibrium as a result of their vote. When these people voted they thought that at least basic conditions of life were going to be created but the reality is different, those on top are the ones having a better life and the voter still remains in the same situation of harsh suffering. For instance, before independence every Mozambican supported the liberation war and the majority of people in the country supported FRELIMO except for a few people who had a vision of democracy. Mozambicans were unanimous about building a new country where everyone would have the same right and opportunity. However, after, independence things did not change the way people were expecting. There was a shortage, persecution of some Mozambicans, and people went to live together in some specific areas (communal villages) where they were obliged to live; people did not have freedom of speech and circulation in the places where they were living. These and other issues that are not mentioned left the Mozambican frustrated. With the introduction of elections in 1994 Mozambican's hoped that some changes would happen but this is not what is observed. Automatically it was impressed that elections in Mozambique were just a show and it was known beforehand that FRELIMO would win and this caused people to lose interest in the elections. The positive aspect was that every Mozambican was to be free to vote and it

could motivate others to go for elections and automatically the percentage of abstention would reduce significantly.

5.4 How to change this scenario?

Some serious research would be recommended into the orientation of the government. The CNE has to work to sensitise people and help them to understand the significance of their civic right of voting for the nation and teach them that the change they want can only happen if they vote seriously otherwise they can never expect change. In order to change the mentioned situation there is also a need for strong political parties that are really interested in implanting multi-party democracy in Mozambique. Everyone involved in the electoral process has to sit together and discuss the issue of abstention and suggest some solutions. All the key people have to be united in order to work towards the elimination of these problems affecting the country. There is also a need to approve laws that will benefit everyone and allow the electorate to use the produced material to express their feelings without any pressure coming from other people. This means that Mozambicans need to have free, transparent and just elections. Civil society is called to participate in this process of making elections truly democratic in Mozambique. Different political parties are also called to be more serious with their promises because the majority of Mozambicans are tired of hearing words during the campaign which never become a reality. This situation calls Mozambicans to join hands and form a solution to this negative impact. First, the voted president by a few people lacks legitimacy. Second, Mozambican's have to consider the vast amount of money that is expended for the logistics of the elections such as preparing ballots, subsidies and transport. As far as the researcher is concerned some of this money was to be used for development projects but it was expended and as a result some people did not go for election.

It is known that many churches in Mozambique lack sustainability then it becomes difficult to fulfil its plan of helping the government to change things that are happening in country because the main line churches for instance are still receiving monetary support from oversees. However, on the level of partnership between church and state in Mozambique, it would be better if the government would support specific community

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related projects carried out by the church with regards to civic education for election. There is no doubt that the church in Mozambique has contact with many people and the voice of pastors is respected. This should be taken as an advantage for training people for democracy.

One challenge at present is related to what the government does to neutralise some of its critics. For example Alberto Khutumula who is currently the speaker of government, before that he was a commentator of *Televisão de Moçambique*- Mozambican Television (TVM) and he was recognised as very critical of many issues that were not being handled properly in Mozambique. A musician by the name Batinho of Inhambane is another example. He used to sing songs criticising the situation of the roads in Inhambane especially the one connecting Inhambane city to Tofo beach which is badly deteriorated then he was taken to work for the Inhambane municipality. With their new positions these people are no longer heard criticising the government.

Those who are involved in civic education have to find new strategies of working in order to convince the electorate about the importance of their vote. This program should be continuous and not be carried out when it is close to election like it is currently. In order to make this a reality the government should have civic education full time workers throughout the country and participating at meetings running workshops to teach and remind people about the importance of voting.

The elected people are called to be absolutely responsible in the activities that were trusted to them by the people who voted for them. This means that they have to convince people with positive changes, transparency, accountability, fighting against corruption, criminality and nepotism just to mention some of the challenges facing Mozambique. For instance, before the introduction of a multi-party democracy in Mozambique there were people that were considered speculators, lazy, and economy saboteurs. These were people that did not perform their duties well and were using government money; the government itself worked tirelessly to identify this kind of person and they were openly condemned. Currently, there are those in top positions that steal money or abuse state money from different public sectors and they make great speeches to the people affirming that one day things will be better. At the end of those

speeches they go back and enjoy the good life, it was because of this that Jeremias Nguenha the late Mozambican musician composed the following song:

> *Va da voce, va da voce*- they eat alone, they eat alone
> *Va sula minomu*- then clean mouth
> *Va hi djondisa ku rila lava vanhu*- and these people teach us to cry
> *A mbuti yi ga laha yi bohilweku kone*- the goat eat where it is tied
> *Hi dlawela aku kala hinga fundangi*- we suffer because we did not get the chance of studying.

To change this scenario everyone wants to feel that on the one hand has benefited from the richness of the country and one the other hand sees that the standard of life is not too different between Mozambicans. Currently in Mozambique the situation is too different; the gap between the rich and poor is very big, this gap is even observed within the social servants with the same level of training. This is the reason why the majority of people in Mozambique are no longer listening to the promises coming from the government. For instance, from 1978-1986 the crisis in Mozambique was so severe that the shops were empty. However, since everyone felt the hardship in body and blood and knew that this was the reality of the country there was no negative comments against the government. If people were to comment now it would be a different story.

From the moment people feel that they are part, not only of the difficulties, but of good life as well then hopefully things will change. The Mozambicans are simple asking for transparency, good governance, inclusiveness, legitimacy (the elected people have to think seriously when they are elected by the people of the nation) from those they have elected and they want to see positive results from elections.

Politicians from ruling and other political parties have to demonstrate maturity through giving the opportunity for positive dialogue without the intent of diverting members from one political party to another. They have to avoid injurious speeches when addressing people either through ralies or when using communication facilities. Some of the political leaders speak eloquently when they are looking for money but from the moment they get it they keep quiet. There should be a desire of seeing Mozambique

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developing an equal distribution of its wealth and this should be the priority of the elected people.

5.5 What are the contributions of the churches towards Mozambican Democracy?

After the independence of Mozambique there was religious persecution (Traditional, Christian and Muslim) by the Mozambican revolution. The Roman Catholic Church, Christian Council of Mozambique and Muslim Community (the last one will not be discussed in this work) resisted several attacks during the revolution and became the expression of Mozambicans in society since by that time there were no organised civil society institutions. The involvement of the churches in democracy has its roots from the policy of some of the churches which are democratic in nature such as (United Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational just mention a few). Because of their democratic nature these churches hold conferences to discuss issues related to their work; they have elections obeying a certain period of governing. From this perspective a very serious question can be raised related to the contribution of churches towards democracy. What can the churches contribute to Mozambican democracy?

Before getting into the discussion of the contribution of the church towards Mozambican democracy, it is important to highlight that the first and foremost role of the church is to make the word of God understood by people. This means that one of the roles of the church is to orientate every person Christian or none Christian. Therefore, taking into consideration that the church is implanted where there are other powers that use the same people that are church goers, it has to play another role that of seeking to understand and help these different movements that involve these people.

Coming to the issue of the involvement of the church in democratic processes, it is crucial to highlight that the democratic process is not led by the church; it is guided by a certain organ which has power and autonomy. Bearing in mind that this organ works with people from different churches, the church has a role to play for these people as well as for none Christian. It has sensitised people to understand the demands of democracy with the purpose of becoming a reality whatever has to be done.

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Consequently when the church discovers that the rules for the implementation of democracy are not correctly followed it has to work in order to convey a message and help those people in the forefront of the system to correct whatever is going wrong and this will help people to participate in all democratic projects.

The majority of people see the church as a place for counselling and education, therefore it can contribute to democracy through education. The church is called to participate in an advisory capacity from the national, provincial, district and local levels where church members are part of these systems and church leaders are in most the cases invited to be part of these meetings. Therefore, this has to be taken as a good opportunity to influence politicians and other participants about the urgency of changing the negative into positive and encourage those in power to assume the responsibility for change. In addition to that, pastors, fathers, laity, catechist in their sermons should be highlighting the corruption and immoral issues that are damaging the country. In this way good politicians and people from the grassroots will hear of what is happening and this will raise the awareness. It is vital for the CNE to work hard in order to help people understand that their vote is very important and for the church to mobilise the mind and morality of people through moral education[336]. Church is in a strong position to help maintain democracy in Mozambique since it preaches the message of peace and this helps people to be involved and create political stability.

When there is something going wrong within the country religious leaders are the first to be called to intervene and facilitate some kind of moral solution. However, the church is not there only to be remembered when there is a crisis but it has to demand from the state, its protagonist. The church has to make known clear facts that need to be considered and they have power for this since the majority of people in Mozambique are church members. However, the sad reality is that in most cases of political corruption and strife the government and the churches, mainly the Pentecostals are working separately. The Pentecostal Churches are more concerned with faith, spirituality and the salvation of human beings and peace while the government's concerns are financial. The church should demand participation in different programmes that are run by the government. It is time for the church to demand

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[336] The level of moral degradation in Mozambique is very high as a consequence of civil war and imitation of other culture dominating African culture. The church is called to rescue the integrity of people and one of the ways of doing so is to make people understand and respect their own cultures.

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parliament to explain to Mozambican's the decisions of each parliamentary section; the church has to work hand in hand with the government.

The question that now arises is what connects the state and church in Mozambique in this multi-party democracy? A simple answer for this question is the sentence: Through religion crime is sin and through justice sin is crime. The connection of state and church is centred on people where by both church and state looks for good forms of maintaining for these people a good life socially, economically, politically and morally.

Religion is what gives human beings a good relationship with God and people, and encourages good citizenship. The church demonstrates its capacity of bringing solutions to the problems of the nation. Religion helps people to reconcile with one another and to consolidate democracy. People that are Christians should practice their Christianity in all spheres of their lives particularly politicians who should demonstrate their Christianity at their work place because of their Christian background.

This does not only seek to reconcile people, it has a social dimension which is one of the reasons why different churches own schools, hospitals, radio and universities and these infrastructure seek to respond to the needs of people. There is a need for cooperation between the church and state, the state should be supporting the church and guaranteeing its security. The state should be using the church to transmit important notices since it has the ears of many people; the state has to use the church to convey information related to elections. The church has to sensitise people to respect the constitution of the republic, respect and obey authority according to Romans 13:1. One thing needs to be highlighted, a true Christian that preaches the word of God and trusts in Him will to some extent cause conflict with the government since the preacher has a prophetic voice. However, in Mozambique we are facing certain problems since some pastors have been silenced because of advantages received from the government such as been given good positions. These pastors are no longer criticising anything that is negative in the country, they are no longer challenging the government when they are being corrupt or immoral and they have become part of the system. In addition to that, there is a tendency of them trying to introduce politics within the church. This is observed through the speeches and preaching of these silenced pastors.

5.6 Should churches be involved in politics? Why?

Before proceeding with the analysis of this question, the researcher found it very important to highlight the involvement of the church in politics. However, the researcher does not mean the church has to be transformed into a political party (which is not admitted even in the Mozambican constitution) and its members to be partisans. On the contrary, he means that the involvement of church members in political projects should be part of its vision. More significantly, the researcher has observed that some members of the church are on the one hand professionally involved in political parties and on the other hand some are involved in institutions that are related to politics representing their churches (for example it is common for religious leaders to be called to represent civil society in meetings discussing political issues), it is in this situation that they need to be careful because they have to promote impartiality.

From the above observation and considering that the church and state are targeted towards people, the church is called upon to intervene in politics and safeguard Christian and human values within society. To say this differently, the church is the voice of the voiceless. In this manner, it has to support the oppressed and apply biblical values to faithful Christians in a contemporary situation. She speaks out against oppression. She actively acts like the conscience of society[337].

90% of the people interviewed for the purpose of this study were of the opinion that the church has to be involved in politics. The respondents belong to churches that support the participation of members in politics. In order to highlight that in participating in politics churches follow biblical teaching, the gospel of John says that Jesus came so that people could have life and have it abundantly (John 10:10b). Can there be abundant life while people are suffering from continued poverty perpetrated by the government? The founder of the Methodist Church John Wesley also said the world is my parish. This statement means it is the responsibility of the church (laity and clergy) to address every situation that threatens human beings in the world (religious, economic, social, political and cultural) or just to say the church has to seek process of re-establishing human dignity. Following are some of the issues that prove that the church does well in participating in politics in Mozambique:

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[337] F. L. Moyo, *Church and Politics: The Case of Livingston Synod*, Malawi: Mambo Press (1995), 121.

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First, different church members of CCM and of the Roman Catholic Church managed to bring peace in Mozambique after a long time of civil war. Second, it was with the involvement of churches that enabled the participation of Afonso Dhlakama the president of RENAMO at the second election in 1999 after negotiating with him since he had decided not to participate because he stressed that the 1994 elections were rigged against him. Third, the involvement of some church members in the voting process for election for the leadership of Mozambique was very positive otherwise many people that belong to churches could not have stood for election. Four, the involvement of church members in the election process contributed a lot to the avoidance of rigging election.

In representation of the voiceless people the Mozambican churches work together with other members of civil society as a 'watchdog' of human rights cautioning the political actors who were endeavouring to abuse power and discriminating against people from the grassroots who are the majority; hence it cannot distance itself from societal concerns and only wait in order to warn and bring criticism at the end. Most significantly, the church participated in the fight against corruption, poverty, regionalism, nepotism and any kind of injustice which are the current challenges for Mozambican democracy. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the church is the salt and light of the earth (Matthew 5:13-16). As salt and light it has to take the responsibility of criticising whoever is trying to make the Mozambican democracy negative, the church has to lead by example so that many people can follow in the process of constructing our nation.

From his findings the researcher observed that 10% of the respondents suggested that the church cannot be involved in politics. The researcher is of the opinion that the position of these interviewees is related to the previous relationship between church and state which was very unfriendly as discussed on page 86 of this thesis that the state had nationalised the properties of the church and imprisoned pastors. In this regard wounds still exist in the mind of people and thus they say that the church should not be involved in politics. Some people probably think this way because of the situation whereby some of the pastors and laity that are involved in politics and got to that position through the church end up being politicians and are now trying to transform the church into a place of politics. In addition to that, there is a lack of knowledge of the church being

involved in negotiations for peace or speaks on behalf of the voiceless this is in fact the involvement of the church in political matters despite it being a holistic church. The involvement of the church in politics should be that of prophetic voice. According to the Dr. R. Williams "to be prophetic is not simply to be negative, critical or just loud. To be prophetic is not making radical noise: in this context it is about trying to identify the truths that lay beyond party squabbles and short term advantage, about trying to identify what it is that lies beyond winning and losing in the secular political game. It is about being politically and civically virtuous and encouraging the Church to be itself: that is, to live differently, to form intelligent prayerful public opinion within its own membership, and then to move into the risks of argument"[338].

The involvement of church in the democratisation process has strengths and weaknesses as it follows:

The church is present in every community no matter how isolated or off the beaten track and therefore the church has access to every corner of Mozambique.

If the ministers are fairly well educated they could take a few minutes each Sunday morning in the pulpit for civic education and once again reaching people in the most isolated of regions.

A serious weakness is from those evangelical churches who believe that politics and religion do not mix! They want to preach the gospel but not to live the gospel for the betterment of all mankind. Consequently for these churches it is bad to see ministers that are members of parliament.

Another weakness is related to those Christians who get involved in politics to the extent of forgetting their role as Christian.

In a real sense there is no way of dissociating church and politics since many politicians are church members. We appreciate the fact that in the Mozambican parliament there

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[338] R. Williams, *Relations between the Church and state today: what is the role of the Christian citizen?* (2011),
http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/2009/relations-between-the-church-and-state-today-what-is-the-role-of-the-christian-citizen (accessed on 13 December 2013).

are two pastors belonging to opposition parties one from RENAMO and another one for MDM, and we hope these pastors are there to represent their parties but not forgetting that they also have God's mission: that of criticising what is wrong.

5.7 To what extent can it be said that church and state are working together for Mozambican democracy?

On his findings the researcher tried to find out from interviews examples of work that demonstrates cooperation between church and state on specific programs for the democratisation process. The researcher found that a majority of the interviewed people mentioned the Roman Catholic Church, the United Methodist Church and the CCM as the Christian organisations that are involved in this process since its introduction.

5.7.1   The Roman Catholic Church

The participation of the Roman Catholic Church in different projects in Mozambique started even before the negotiation for peace in the country. Therefore, after GPA the Christian denomination still contributes to the improvement of life in Mozambique. Talking about the contribution of this church in the democratisation process of Mozambique the researcher argues that it participated from the beginning through to the process of peace negotiation. In addition to that, this is the only church that was notable in publishing letters addressing different issues affecting Mozambique in different areas. Below are some titles of the letters that were published.

A Igreja e a Paz[339]/ The Church and Peace. The focus of this letter was the issue of civil war and it was appealing for dialogue for peace in Mozambican. This letter was published in May 1991.

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[339] J. A. A. De Sousa & F. A. Da Cruz Correia, *500 Anos de Evangelização em Moçambique*, Braga: Paulinas (1998), 206.

Solidários para um Moçambique melhor[340]/ Solidarity for a Better Mozambique. This letter was addressed to Christian communities, political leaders and to men and women of good will to speak about the relation between politics and common good. This letter was published in June 1994.

Promover a Cultura da Vida e da Paz[341]/ Promote the Culture of Life and Peace. With this letter the writers were highlighting vital themes for a true and authentic development of Mozambique. In addition to that, the letter dealt also with issues related to democracy and its practice, education, health, environment, economy and earth law. This letter was published in May 1996.

Votar é contribuir para o bem comum[342]/ Voting Contributes for Common Good. This letter was challenging the Mozambican about the municipal elections that were to be held in 1998 and Christians were to participate. This was published in November 1997.

Construir a Democracia para preserver a Paz[343]/ Building Democracy for Peace Preservation. This letter was written on behalf of the celebration of 20th years of GPA commemorated on 4 October 2012. Its objective was to propose to the Catholic communities to reflect on behalf of twenty years of peace and democracy in Mozambique. This letter was published in August 2012.

According to Monteiro, the pastoral letters are very important because they were used as the manifestation of the prophetic voice, announced the importance of respecting human life. Besides that, the letters were used to criticise war and proposed dialogue as the right way to solve problems[344]. The researcher agrees with Monteiro's thesis but he is of the view that the system of publishing letters was the best contribution by the Roman Catholic Church for the process of democracy in Mozambique since it reached many people and for those who read them, they would get the feelings of the writers. The researcher compares this system with the attitude taken by Martin Luther the reformist who wrote the 95 reforming thesis and fixed them at the gate of Wittenberg

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[340] J. A. A. De Sousa & F. A. Da Cruz Correia, *500 Anos...*, 206.
[341] J. A. A. De Sousa & F. A. Da Cruz Correia, *500 Anos…*, 207.
[342] J. A. A. De Sousa & F. A. Da Cruz Correia, *500 Anos…*, 207.
[343] http://www.missionarios.boanova.pt/noticias/129-nota-pastoral-do-conselho-permanente-da-cem.
[344] E. R. Monteiro, *Observação Eleitoral: Perspectivas das Confissões Religiosas -Igreja Católica*, Maputo: Imprensa Universitária (2006), 336.

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where students and all people had access to them and he also sent the thesis to different friends who spread the information which accelerated reform in Germany and other areas.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church did not end with the publishing of the pastoral letters, it was involved in different other projects such as education for peace emphasising peace from the Old Testament which is שׁאלוֹם(Shalom) which means wellbeing, prosperity, satisfaction, specific relations between people and salvation. This demonstrated the peace that people were to aspire to. This church also runs also programs on pacification and reconciliation, consolidation of peace and education of people in matters of citizenship.

5.7.2   The United Methodist Church (UMC)

The respondents that are members of UMC highlighted that by its nature this church is democratic oriented, not allowing dictatorship in the church. The activities carried out by the UMC are result of discussion then agreement which it sealed through voting. In the UMC working system, soon after voting everyone has to abide by the decision whether they like it or not. Most importantly, the democratic form of working in the UMC is disseminated by members of this denomination in their working place (parliament, governors and ministers) and in different parties that made this great contribution for the democratisation process of the nation.

For instance, the UMC in Mozambique was the first and the only up to the moment that this thesis was written that took the initiative of founding the 'Just Peace Department' which was involved with transformation according to the record of work that was done by this department. It was created in 1996 as a department for conflict resolution and reconciliation with Rev. Alfiado Saete Zunguza appointed as the director. The founder Bishop Jõao Somane Machado got his inspiration when he was involved in the negotiation process for Mozambican peace and realised that there was a need to teach people about the challenges of reconciliation and forgiveness because many people were killed during the civil war. The first task that was taken by this department was the training of clergy, laity of the UMC and other churches on issues related to conflict

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resolution, reconciliation, forgiveness, reintegration and reinsertion. In 1998 the department expanded its activities working not only with church people but also started to deal with conflict resolution in schools and other institutions of higher learning. This program trained mainly teachers and this was the first experience of working with people outside the church.

In 1999 during the UMC Annual Conference it was decided to change the name from department of conflict resolution and reconciliation to the 'Study and Conflict Resolution Centre Just Peace'. The major reason for this change was to make the department more open to non-Christian people and institutions. It was possible from 2000-2001 to start working in partnership with some ministries of Mozambique namely: The Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of State and Administration training police officers, governors, provincial directors, Mayors and district directors. The centre trained all these people in areas of conflict resolution, democracy and good governance which are very important components for democracy. At best, it continues working with the churches. Another program that occupies a very important place is in the area of teaching and sensitising people on HIV/AIDS pandemic. The attitude taken by UMC through Just Peace of using such institutions is also highlighted by Otti who argues that the institutional approach is one of the ways that Christians can use to make the gospel effective in Mozambique in particular and the world at large[345].

5.7.3   The Christian Council of Mozambique

Despite the negotiation for peace that was discussed on page 48 of this thesis, the CCM continues doing a lot on the area of democratisation for the country. The project that marked a considerable contribution from this Christian organisation was TAE which was implemented throughout the whole country under the orientation of the provincial delegates of CCM. This project consisted in collecting guns through engaging with building material, and sewing machines. The collected guns were used to make some objects for familiar use and sometimes used to make some sculpture that are put in museums (see appendix I). Besides this project, the researcher observed through the

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[345] M. Otti, *The Role of the Christian Churches in Democratic Malawi 1994-1999*, Blantyre: CLAIM Publisher (2000), 122.

data collected that there are several activities planned by this organisation seeking to maintain democracy in the country. These activities are basically in the area of health, education, good governance, food security and development projects.

5.7.3.1 Health

One of the challenging issues in Mozambique especially in the rural areas is a concern with the use of improved latrines. People are used to going into the bush surrounding the house for them to release themselves and this causes serious health problems. On this note the CCM in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete and Zambézia provinces initiated a project teaching people to build latrines with local and conventional material and it has been a success in that area. This work is done not only in the family but also in some schools that were previously chosen. Beside this, there is also a project of water sanity where they advocate the necessity of pure water in communities that do not have this. Consequently, new wells have been opened in different places and there has been rehabilitation for people previously unemployed where people have been trained in the good governance project to do the monitoring of the wells and teaching people about the importance of keeping these wells in good condition. HIV, malaria and tuberculosis (TB) are the current diseases creating a high rate of death in Mozambique; this encouraged the churches to work together on a project that can help to reduce death. For HIV they counsel people to go for testing and if they are positive they are again counselled to take ARV's and keep on this treatment as well as teaching them to avoid transmitting the disease to other people. Moreover, for those tested negative, are also counselled to prevent them from contracting this disease. For malaria, people are taught that this disease can be cured provided that the medicines are taken according to the instructions given by the doctor. People are also taught about prevention using mosquito nets. It was in this context that the UMC in Mozambique launched in 2012 a very huge project related to the distribution of mosquito nets in order to help people to prevent contracting this disease. The CCM also launched some years ago a project called 'fighting against malaria' under the leadership of Bishop Dinis Sengulane of the Anglican Church.

5.7.3.2 Education

In Mozambique illiteracy is still a problem especially for adults who did not have the chance to go to school for many reasons: their parents did not see school as an important matter for their children; civil war created a concentration of people in the townships seeking safety and the schools that were there did not manage to accommodate every child; many schools were burned down during the civil war. However, since the government is working to have every child in school by 2015. Christian organisations are also working out programs related to adult education. Tete, Niassa, C. Delgado are the concrete examples of provinces that are running this project. For instance, in Lichinga a woman declared openly that the church is doing a good job, since she did not have the chance to go to school when she was still a child. In 1999 she began school in a centre for adult education opened by the UMC. From that moment she never stopped learning and currently she is in her second year of university in Lichinga. The delegate of CCM in Tete affirmed that since the introduction of the adult education program about 900 people have been trained and these can now gain entry public schools in order to pursue their studies.

5.7.3.3 Good Governance

The good governance project is run by the CCM in Lichinga for example the advisory committee and community leaders are trained in the area of good governance. They are also taught about their rights and capacity for demanding transparency for the funds donated by the government. Regarding transparency, people are also taught to control the way the 7 Million meticais equivalent to $233,333.33 US for the development of the district are distributed and used. The same project includes a school committee. The school committee is taught how to control the money that schools get out of enrolment fees as well as to control books that are to be distributed freely. The gender balance constitutes another priority for good governance. Communities are taught that men and women have the same capacity as it is written in the constitution of Mozambique. Resolution of conflicts constitutes another program that is run by the CCM in some provinces. In Niassa they deal mainly with land conflicts by helping people to know that one way of avoiding this situation is demarcation of the land and to obtain

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documents from the government that helps to show the ownership of the land. In Beira for instance, the CCM runs a project supporting the training of police including their commanders in positive ways of solving some problems that they might face in their work.

5.7.3.4 Food Security

For this project the CCM works with people teaching them that they have to produce different crops since this will help them to improve their diet. In Lichinga for instance they are running a project that deals mainly with relatives of the old people, increasing vitamin, deficient people and those with chronic disease. They have borrowed some money in order to run the project which will generate income in order to feed these people that are suffering. They also train people to produce yellow sweet potato which is full of vitamins so that they also get it in their bodies. In Tete CCM introduced a dam project for the accumulation of water. This dam supplies water for people, animals and is used for agricultural purposes. The researcher visited one site of this project in Changara whereby previously people could not produce crops because of the shortage of water and the fact that the area is full of stones. But with the introduction of a dam things had improved significantly and local people are now able to perform different activities and produce different crops like cabbage, onion, lettuce, tomatoes (see appendix J) this is possible because of the dam. In addition to that, it was also possible to introduce cassava tree[346] (see appendix K) first in Changara and later it was introduced to Mutarara and Chiúta.

The question now is how are these projects important for democracy in Mozambique? To answer this question we need to start from the daily message that the government

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[346] Cassava is a perennial tree with edible leaves and root, which grows in tropical and subtropical areas of the world. Cassava originated from tropical America and was first introduced into Africa in the Congo by the Portuguese around 1558. Today, it is a dietary staple in much of tropical Africa. Young tender cassava leaves are a good source of dietary proteins and vitamin K. Vitamin-K has a potential role in bone mass building by promoting osteotrophic activity in the bones. It also has established role in the treatment of Alzheimer's disease patients by limiting neuronal damage in the brain. The root is the chief source of some important minerals like zinc, magnesium, iron, and manganese for many inhabitants. In addition, it has adequate amounts of potassium which is an important component of cell and body fluids that help regulate heart rate and blood pressure, http://www.nutrition-and-you.com/cassava.html accessed on 11 March 2013.

transmits to the people through radio, television, newspapers and other forms of communication. The government always appeals to the people and civil organisations about the urgency and necessity of working on projects related to community development and fight against poverty. So through the projects mentioned above show that churches are responding to the appeal coming from the government. In addition to that, these projects help the government to reach areas where it cannot reach because of the length of Mozambican territory. Furthermore, if the government runs projects that seek the improvement of people's life the church cannot stay behind on this project.

It constitutes the role of the church of Jesus Christ to contribute also to the improvement of life in society through evangelism. The gospel is not only the word of God or the expression of the will of God but it is also humanism which includes forgiveness, reconciliation, fight (no violence) for justice, seek fraternity with everyone constitutes the mission of the church on earth. So churches are called to preach the gospel through education, health, promotion of human rights and good governance. In doing this the church would be giving a wonderful contribution to the improvement of Mozambican society.

5.7.3.5 Development projects

The CCM also works on issues related with the development of community, seeking to eliminate poverty in Mozambique. Here the term community development should be understood as ways that seek to satisfy the main human necessities like water supply, food, habitation, and clothes. In addition, it means the improvement of the human condition socially, economically, politically and the wellbeing of people in the area of health, education, spiritual wellbeing, dignity and peace[347]. For instance, the researcher discovered that in C. Delgado province CCM had created a forum called *Foruns de Desenvolvimento Comunitário de Montepuez*- Montepuez Community Development Forum (FODECOM). Through this forum different activities are developed such as agriculture, carpentry, locksmith and pottery. People are taught importance to these projects because they can earn a living and buy daily bread. In addition to that, this

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[347] E. R. Monteiro, *Observação Eleitoral*… 332.

forum advocates for the creation of organised associations which facilitates them to get funds from the state that is used to improve their projects.

5.8 How is the relationship between church and state evaluated?

From research it was found that the relationship between church and state still has a journey forward to make it complete. The real situation observed is that the state has discovered that the best potential electorate is within the church and other religions. Therefore, different political leaders are now targeting churches and other religions to gain more votes and convince some of them to be members of their parties including pastors. This is demonstrated by the fact that when it is time for an electoral campaign different political parties go to different churches hunting for votes. This was clearly stated by the Mayor of Chimoio Municipality Mr. Raúl C. M. Adriano, that despite being Christian he affirmed that when he was preparing to contest the elections he visited different churches in that city and at the end of each service he was given time by the father/pastor to say something. This shows clearly that sometimes chapels and mosques are used for the election campaign which in the vision of the researcher is not good since these places were built to honour only one king (God) and this is against the electoral law. In many cases the state remembers the church only when there are problems or a crisis affecting the nation such as drought, floods and famine then the church is called to intervene as a fire brigade to put out the fire. In the opinion of the researcher this is not good; there is a need for continuous work where the state will always seek help from the church and the church will offer help to the state, there is a need for criticism between the two when something is not going correctly. The ground for this relationship is open since the state has commissioned churches and mosques to be represented through their religious leaders (see appendix L). In addition to that, there is the potential of helping each other since the government has invited religious leaders to several of their meetings. Likewise church leaders have also invited members of the state to take part in some religious events. This constitutes a good opportunity to share experiences that will shape society. For instance, if the church is involved in everything that takes places in the nation why is it not represented in parliament?

5.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, throughout this chapter it was observed that the Mozambican multi-party democracy is not being well implemented since it still growing. Consequently, people in the top positions from different political parties are blaming each other for what is happening in Mozambique. As a result people at the grassroots prefer to keep silent and avoid any participation in the electoral program causing a worse situation. It is from this situation that both the state and church are called to play their role for the democratisation process of Mozambique. The state should continue to orient people in this new form of governance that has been introduced in the country and the church has to continue using its prophetic voice as well as running the projects that benefits people. Civic education should be the first priority for both state and church in order to teach people about the importance of participating in government projects. Finally, it was concluded that all Mozambicans are called to join hands to work for the development of the nation despite which political parties or religion they belong to. This should be a result of the combination of efforts of all Mozambican citizens and this will only be possible when the political authority, the government will work to coordinate the energies of all Mozambicans and demonstrate that they have to work for a common good.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research has attempted to bring solutions for the main questions under discussion on the topic concerning the role played by church and state in democratisation process in Mozambique.

In chapter one the researcher laid foundations for the research. It provided a brief description of the problem. It discovered that very few people in Mozambique had written works about the topic of discussion especially when it comes to the study of the role played by the church in the democratisation process of Mozambique.

In chapter two the study discussed the Mozambican background where issues such as Portuguese domination, Portuguese missionary work, liberation war, re-education camps, civil war, and the peace intervention deserved special attention. The study has shown that Portuguese domination occurred in Mozambique because of the diversity and richness of this country which includes rivers, Indian Ocean, animals, gold and ivory. Christianity was used as a strategy in order to mislead people while they were being exploited. A very important factor emerged in this historic study which was the missionary work started in Mozambique by the arrival of Vasco da Gama accompanied by missionaries from different religious orders such as the Dominicans, Jesuits, Franciscans and Augustinians.

The researcher undertook this study to provide scholarly research on Portuguese missionary work that was free from the biases of colonial historiography and attempted to interpret this narrative using post-colonial hermeneutics. It stressed the point that the presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique had both negative and positive impacts. The negative impact consisted of the exploitation and oppression perpetrated by the Portuguese which prejudiced Mozambicans and surely the Portuguese are the ones to be blamed regarding the poverty in Mozambique. For instance, the education that they introduced had a vision of exploiting the country and was not open to a vision of development. At its worst Mozambicans were taught to look down upon their culture. The positive impact is observed in many areas such as the provision of an infrastructure,

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discovering of natural gas in Vilanculo, the construction of the Cahora Basa hydroelectric Dam and the introduction of new crops.

The study discussed the liberation and civil wars. The former involving the Mozambican people and the Portuguese and this led the country into independence, while the later involved Mozambicans themselves as a consequence of misunderstanding in some issues regarding the political system and disagreements on some of the ways the country should be led. One outstanding issue that happened soon after independence was the introduction of re-education camps. The study discussed this program demonstrating its negative results. It was negative because it involved inhumane and humiliating actions and multiple human rights abuses for many Mozambicans. This situation surprised Mozambicans, it was not expected that such atrocities could occur in an independent country and this had a very negative impact since it created hate among Mozambicans. This hatred contributed to the outbreak of the civil war which also had negative effects (cultural, social, economic and political) for the nation. The study showed that the only positive way of solving the differences of ideas between brothers of the same nation is permanent dialogue. One important thing highlighted on this study was the fact that the church even after persecution suffered under the leadership of FRELIMO did not lose hope for its mission of peace building. This was observed even during the liberation war with the involvement of the Zionist and Ethiopian churches seeking to free Mozambique under the yoke of colonialism. During the civil war churches such as Roman Catholic and Protestant churches represented by CCM worked tirelessly seeking peace for the nation.

Chapter three discussed the relationship between church and state in Mozambique focusing mainly on the period after independence. It was observed that there were two different phases of this relationship (one characterised by tense relations and another one with comfortable relations). The research highlighted that despite the difficult period of relations between church and state; there is no way to deny the great contribution the church gave to the nation mainly the Protestants. It was in the Protestant mission schools where young people had their eyes opened and the progressive schooling enabled them to have a vision for independence, this was led by Protestant missionaries. The majority of people that had the idea of fighting for independence were trained in different church schools.

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From these findings it was observed that the relationship between church and state in Mozambique still needed to be sharpened mainly from the side of the state. It is a negative move on the part of the state that they continue to invite people for rallies on days that are recognised and reserved for worship (Saturday, Sunday). At its worst these kinds of rallies are held at the time that people would be attending church services. This attitude needs an in-depth discussion with the state because these people missing church services have lost a great opportunity to improve their relations with brother and sisters and a relationship with the state as well as an opportunity for further suggestions for the preservation of peace and the improvement of democracy in Mozambique.

This study concluded that there is a need to clarify the relationship between church and state. It is imperative to avoid mixing the two identities of church and state since it is very easy to get to a point where supporting Christendom means supporting the political establishment and vice-versa. The study criticised the fact that if somebody does not support the political status quo; it becomes a matter of betraying the Christian faith! It is, however, also not allowed to separate them or to view them in opposition to each other, which would result in no influence from the church towards the state, or in anything that has to do with politics automatically being regarded as bad. Church and state are independent entities, but they are not isolated from one another and may exhort each other to reform.[348]

Chapter four examined an important evolution of Mozambican democracy and it provided the different periods that this evolution came about and demonstrated the role played by the church and state in the democratisation process. It was observed that there are still problems in the Mozambican democracy considering that the space is not yet opened for other parties to govern. According to the results of this research Mozambican democracy is not yet a genuine democracy, more challenges need to be faced and dealt with in order to build this democracy.

This study highlighted that whenever dealing with democracy it is always necessary for the politicians and population to bear in mind that this form of rule is strengthened by

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[348] B.J. Van Der Walt, *The Liberating Message: A Christian Worldview for Africa*, Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 505.

the existence of a critical and responsible opposition, functioning in an environment of political freedom. Sometimes people have a poor understanding of the existence of opposition parties, seeing them as an obstacle to the main political party, and to some extent when some people do not support the main party they are seen as belonging to the "left hand" as it is said here in Mozambique. This would be a strange and untenable situation because it would be talking about multi-party democracy without an opposition which in fact would be a dictatorship. This study highlighted that Mozambicans have to be conscious in situations where some political parties find that some of its members are deserting one party for another and this issue needs serious debate. The principal argument here is that, alongside the democratic failures, deficiencies and dilemmas, there lays another reality: A positive reality of a modest but appreciable degree of improvement in the quality of governance in Mozambique. In short, democratic reforms and political liberalisation have helped to improve the quality of politics in Mozambique; they have helped to make the Mozambican state significantly less autocratic.

It was concluded that Mozambique can only have a genuine democracy process with the support of all segments of society e.g. labour, students, market women, rural dwellers, and other elements. The South African newspaper entitled 'Sowetan' highlight that "a safe democracy is only possible if the citizens of that democracy all share a number of beliefs: in freedom, in tolerance, in human dignity, in taking responsibility for the state of society itself"[349]. This quote has space on evaluating the way Mozambican democracy is being performed currently where by a party that calls itself as the father of democracy has people in the bush killing people and burning vehicles. This take the researcher to highlight that political democracy must be linked to socio-economic development. In addition to that, since election is largely equated with democracy in Africa, elections may be a part of, but not parallel to democracy. Electoral democracy does not constitute a magic baton for economic progress and social transformation, it is the content of democracy and the way it is constituted that has some implications for the development project. The nature and constitution of democracy determines the extent to which people participate concretely in decision making, beyond elections, and how their collective efforts influence their life chances. Democracy in its constitutive elements must give practical expression to an organised and predictable life for the

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[349] Sowetan, 2013, 13.

people, stimulate equity and fairness both in power and resource distribution, and facilitate the empowerment of the people. The twin elements of democracy and development should serve as the key to a prosperous future for Mozambique. A democracy is not conceived only in terms of elections and abstract political rights, but one in which constitutionalism and the rule of law are institutionalised with political, social and economic rights well protected, and in which people have real decision making powers beyond the realm of voting.

It was highlighted in this thesis that education should play a significant role for Mozambican democracy. The reason is that within schools for instance, there are aspiring citizens who have not yet developed the condition of self-determination. Therefore, this study stressed that it would be helpful if schools were to be used in the process of teaching democratic principles so that children attending these schools could grow understanding the governing system taking place in Mozambique.

One more critical issue that came across out of the research was the unjust distribution of Mozambican natural resources. This was found to be a critical area in Mozambique because there are very few people, mainly those in leading positions of the government benefitting from the country's resources of gold, ivory, timber, fish and prawns. This situation happens in different ways: first foreigners are given permission to explore a certain resource while some government people are part of these projects. For example in February 2013 it was reported through STV that the minister of Agriculture was involved in the robbery of specific timber that according to Mozambican law cannot be exported. However, he managed to do so using some Chinese people working on the project of timber in the country. Second, foreigners are allowed to open their own companies for certain resources and exporting the products while the local people cannot gain from these projects. This is very negative because these resources should be first of all for the benefit of local people and generating income for the development of the country. This study highlighted that considering democratic principles, the way natural resources of Mozambique are distributed is contrary to the economic rights of a liberal democracy which recommends a fair distribution of resources. If the resources were to be used fairly the message of absolute poverty that is sung by different leaders of the Mozambique government would be really reduced.

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Chapter five recorded that the state and church are playing its role on the democratisation process of Mozambique. For instance the state works in the process of revising laws, creation of opportunities for civic education as well as orienting people to understand what democracy means. Concerning the issue of revising laws, it is paramount to stress that the government cannot only be interested in the revision of laws that are not put in practice. The government will be wasting money on reviewing laws which will never be important for the nation. Mozambique will only be a democratic country if the politicians in any political party manage to avoid confusion in their political business, and working to be more serious regarding the promises that they deliver for people. This work stressed that the separation of power constitutes another aspect that has to be considered if Mozambican democracy is to be genuine. This means that the state and political parties are to mark a separation line for the activities that are being performed. The mass media needs to work towards, not to benefit one side, but all people despite which political party that they belong to. This study stressed that if democracy in Mozambique is to be legitimate, people have to be free to choose the political party that they want to belong to without persecution. To have the choice to belong to different political parties will strengthen Mozambican democracy. People will truly know that they belong to a certain party and on the same note the political parties will know more or less the approximate number of its followers. Being a member of a certain party need not be a secret as it is happening now with some of the people in Mozambique.

The church has to continue playing its prophetic, educative and supportive roles. Prophetic role because of denouncing injustices and machinery of oppression; educative role through teaching values and the conditions in which any democratic transition should take place and supportive role because of helping to discern the path to be followed and to guide believers and all men and women in their legitimate quest for democracy[350].

The issue of abstention deserved special attention in this study as a criticism of the lack of just, free and transparent elections in Mozambique which is caused sometimes by the involvement of armed police near the polling stations and creating panic for people. In

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[350] A. Okoko-Esseau, *The Christian Churches and Democratisation in the Congo*, Leiden: E. J. Brill Publisher (1995), 155.

this case people decide not to go and vote for the above and many other reasons and so the graph of abstention is always increasing.

In order to resolve or minimise the problems raised by this study the following are some recommendations.

1. There is a need for the leaders of all political parties to be involved in civic education programs in order to teach people that a genuine democracy in Mozambique will only be possible if they give less value to the ethnic and linguist situation and more value to the programs presented by different candidates contesting for election.

2. The Mozambican government should continue emphasising political decentralisation as an important factor in local empowerment. Decentralisation is viewed as an element that provides a sustaining force for political competition at the local level and ensures local accountability and enhances the efficient delivery of local services. Decentralisation at the local level must be accompanied by local democratisation. Democratisation at the local level will involve not only local elections, but also the involvement of local interests, groups and civil associations in the process of local governance.

3. It is known that within the Mozambican parliament some of the deputies are Christians/Muslims from different denominations. Without undermining the parties that they represent, they have to take that as a better opportunity to criticise everything that is going wrong in the country since they know that it is against God's will and they have to take into consideration issues of justice, good governance, accountability and transparency. Being a Christian deputy constitutes a good opportunity to preach the word of God.

4. Since democracy has a connection with the economic development of any country that has opted for this system of governance, this study recommends the following:

a) The state should create an environment where the Mozambican growing economy is reflected in the lives of Mozambican citizens.

b) The state should continue with the expansion of education and health systems. There is a need to find ways of improving the quality of these services which are still poor.

5. It was observed in this study that only some pastors and Bishops are perceived notorious in participating in the political life of the country through their intervention. However, churches are recommended to empower and train laity so that they can understand and take on a political responsibility within the country.

6. Church leaders and Christian organisations are recommended to be more involved in sensitising Mozambican people about the need for their participation in elections and in other democratic programs as their constitutional right.

7. Considering that one of the activities assigned to the traditional authority in the community is to mobilise local citizens for their involvement in elections, including voter registration this study recommend the following:

a) The ruling party is not supposed to monopolise the traditional authority as their workers who can only serve one political party in this era of a multi-party democracy in Mozambique.

b) Political parties are not supposed to use the traditional authority for their own purposes in the struggle for power because they are there to serve the community and not the party.

c) Traditional authority has to continue performing their activities for the citizens without considering the political party people belong to.

8. Analysing the role of the traditional authorities in Mozambican communities it can be seen that it has a complex and diverse history. Their relation with political power has shifted between the extremes of co-opting and marginalisation. Since 2004, the Mozambican government has sought to include them in national governance in a more participatory and collaborative manner. In this process, it is essential that the government does not perpetuate differentiation in the way in which urban and rural communities are governed by using the traditional authorities as a substitute for the elected representatives that exist in the urban centres.

9. This study discussed the possible causes for constrains and abstention when it is time for elections. In order to avoid the repetition of the same mistakes for forth coming elections this study recommends the following:

   a) Civic education should be a continuous program with fulltime working people who will have the responsibility of teaching communities about the importance of voting and participating in democratic programs.

   b) Recognising that community leaders play a crucial role for both the population and for the government, they have to be the first focus for civic education so that they can be the one helping their communities in this important project.

   c) Civic education for democracy should be handled professionally. This means that people that are involved in this project should be those who have some basic training in teaching so that they use teaching methodologies for delivering the information.

   d) Considering that the electorate is composed by people from the rural and urban sectors; it should be compulsory that when it is a civic education period people working for this program teach both rural and urban areas differently from what happens so far. At least for the previous elections civic education programs were more concentrated in urban sects.

e) Education for democracy should be an on-going process and should not be only limited to election and campaign periods as it used to happen. Police as people that work for the protection of people during election need to be trained in matter of electoral law so that they cannot interfere in the process or being used by people for party benefit.

f) As an on-going process, civic education on democracy should be incorporated into the school curriculum from primary school to university.

10. In order to guarantee new ideas within parliament there is a necessity for having a determined time of office for the deputies within the parliament.

Mozambican democracy's mixed record of improvements, setbacks and never-ending challenges are not surprising because Mozambique's transition highlights an instance where external factors were not only crucial for the initiation of democratic transition. Peace process and the subsequent implementation of democratic structures in the run-up to the multi-party elections from October 1994 were shaped by pressure from the international community. After all, one must not forget that democratic arrangements and processes are a perennial work-in-progress: improvements are slow and setbacks do happen. However, this should not mean that Mozambique's democracy could not be in a better state: on the contrary, there are several reforms that could be implemented and, in my opinion, would greatly contribute to the country's democratic processes. More importantly, without care and hard work, the achievements of yesteryear can become scarcer in the future.

Transparent, professional and impartial activities from the electoral bodies CNE and STAE reforms should be consolidated and strengthened knowing that this constitutes a prerequisite of a trustworthy democratic process. To be sure, every Mozambican would also expect more favourable conditions for the establishment of a truly participatory social democracy in the country in the near future. For that, the balance of power between the main political and social actors should be more equal, rules and regulations fairly and transparently applied the rule of law respected, and mechanisms of popular participation transformed into more than consultative processes.

The story of Mozambique tells that before independence forefathers used to cooperate with the coloniser but now things have changed to a situation where people in high position in the government had discovered that the church is the best place to speak about politics, which is the reason why there are many politicians visiting different churches looking for votes. People are not interested on who is governing or in a leadership position; they only want to see changes that will give people safe water, supplies of electricity, schools, hospitals, food and peace.

The church has to walk together with the state for the guarantee of moral, fraternity, union and communion since this constitutes the desire of Jesus that brought peace to the world. The church has to continue working to promote and develop the nation. In other words the church is called to a redefinition of theology which addresses issues that keep people awake all night long. This approach means the shift of from passivity theology to a more participative theology, which builds an intimate relationship between theology and the society.

This study has attempted to bring out the role played by the by church and state on the democratisation process in Mozambique. This study hopefully has given new meaning and offered a new understanding of the democratic events in Mozambique. It raised issues of corruption, abstention, civic education, re-education camps just to mention a few. It has concluded that church and state are playing crucial roles in the democratisation process of Mozambique. In the end, it is up to Mozambicans, even if not always in the conditions of their liking, to make their country a more democratic place to live in.

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Sowetan of 18 February 2013

List of interviewed people

No.	Name	City	Occupation	Organisation	Date
01	Adelino Atisse	Quelimane	Pastor	Evangelical Ministry Christ Mission in Mozambique	03/07/12
02	Moisés Francisco Quissico	Quelimane	Professor	Pedagogical University	03/07/12
03	Fernando Pereira	Quelimane	Professor	Pedagogical University	03/07/12
04	Honório Sumale	Quelimane	Father	Roman Catholic Church	04/07/12
05	Víctor S. Murromua	Quelimane	Father	Anglican Church	04/07/12
06	Rev. Otávio S. Jone	Quelimane	Pastor	UMC	04/07/12
07	Tadeu M. Vintani	Nampula	Politician	FRELIMO	06/07/12
08	Maria L. Laisse	Nampula	Civil servant	Provincial Department of Industry and commerce	06/07/12
09	Luís Massalo	Nampula	Politician	FRELIMO - Youth Director	06/07/12
10	Techla Shadimba	Nampula	Civil servant	Chief of Public Health Promotion	06/07/12
11	Hermenegildo Arnaldo	Nampula	Professor	Industrial and commercial Institute	06/07/12
12	Clementino J. B. Muanahúmo	Pemba	Student	Catholic University	07/07/12
13	António Barreto	Pemba	Politician	PDD	07/07/12
14	Rita Cumbana	Pemba	Teacher	Teacher training Centre	08/07/12
15	Margarida A. Eduardo	Pemba	Nurse	Nurse training Centre	08/07/12
16	Emmerson E. D. Ubisse	Pemba	Provincial delegate	CCM	09/07/12
17	Monteiro Jaime	Pemba	Engineer	Private work	09/07/12
18	Marcelino Paulo	Pemba	Lawyer	Court	09/07/12
19	Aide Anafe	Lichinga	Councillor	Lichinga municipality	12/07/12
20	Vasco Ncole	Lichinga	Lawyer	IPAJ	12/07/12
21	Rosina Nhenga	Lichinga	Psychologist	Social Service Department	13/07/12

22	José Domingos	Lichinga	Provincial delegate	CCM	13/07/12
23	Dinis Uilson	Lichinga	Professor	Pedagogical University	14/07/12
24	Manuel Uique	Lichinga	Agriculture	_____	14/7/12
25	Tiago C. Vilanculo	Tete	Provincial delegate	CCM	16/07/12
26	Eduardo Sinalo	Tete	Pastor	Lutheran Evangelical Church in Mozambique	17/07/12
27	Celestino Bento	Tete	Politician	MDM	17/07/12
28	Paz C. S. Catruza	Tete	Secretary for Mobilisation and Propaganda	FRELIMO	17/07/12
29	Abias Armando	Chimoio	Civil servant	Religious Affairs Department	19/07/12
30	Maiba Wache	Chimoio	Pastor	Full Gospel Evangelical Church of God	19/07/12
31	Anibal J. Antonio	Chimoio	Lawyer	APIE	20/07/12
32	Raúl C. M. Adriano	Chimoio	Politician	Mayor- FRELIMO	20/07/12
33	Felimone A. Zuro	Chimoio	Civil servant	STAE	20/07/12
34	Dom Jaime P. Gonçalves	Beira	Father	Roman Catholic Church	23/07/12
35	Eduardo D. Tivane	Beira	Provincial president	CCM	24/07/12
36	Laura David	Cambine/Inhambane	Laity	UMC	08/10/11
37	Luís Paunde	Massinga/Inhambane	Laity	Roman Catholic Church	29/10/11
38	Nataniel S. J. Manhice	Massinga/Inhambane	Traditional healer	_____	15/01/11
39	Ana Rita G. Sithole	Maputo	Politician	FRELIMO	10/01/13
40	Roberto Chitsonzo	Maputo	Musician & Politician	FRELIMO	10/01/13
41	Pastor James Milando Fausto	Maputo	Pastor & Politician	Assembly of God/ MDM	10/01/13
42	Rev. Xavier N. Guambe	Xai-Xai	Pastor	UMC	15/03/13
43	Rev. Eduardo A. Matsimbe	Xai-Xai	Pastor	UMC	15/03/13
44	Mr. Acácio J. Humbane	Xai-Xai	Politician	FRELIMO	15/03/13
45	Mr.Eusébio Mafande	Xai-Xai	Politician	FRELIMO	15/03/13
46	Mr. Moisés F.	Xai-Xai	Secretary for		

	Nhatsave		Mobilisation and Propaganda	FRELIMO	15/03/13
47	Rev.Nito Armando Joaquim	Cambone/Inhambane	Lecturer	UMC	24/05/13
48	Pastor Filipe A. Hoguane	Cambine/Inhambane	Lecturer	UMC	27/05/13
49	Rev. Aníbal V. Peleve	Maxixw/Inhambane	Provincial President	CCM	27/05/13

Appendixes

Appendix A: A man taken from Maputo to Niassa under operation and production

This is Manuel Uique that was taken from Maputo to Niassa province under the operation and production

Appendix B: Mozambican GPA Protocols

General Peace Agreement for Mozambique

Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique and Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama, President of Renamo, meeting at Rome, under the chairmanship of the Italian Government, in the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Italian Republic, Emílio Colombo, and in the presence of:

H.E. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe;

H.E. Ketumile Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana:

H.E. George Saitoti, Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya;

H.E. Roelof F. Botha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa:

The Hon. John Tembo, Minister in the Office of the President of the Republic of Malawi;

Ambassador Ahmed Haggag, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU:

And of the mediators: Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian Government and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Egidio;

And representatives of the observers: Dr. James O. C. Jonah, Under -Secretary-General for Political Affairs of the United Nations; H.E. Ambassador Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State, for the Government of the United States of America; H.E. Ambassador Philippe Cuvillier for the Government of France: H.E. Dr. José Manuel Durão Barroso, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the Government of Portugal: and H.E. Sir Patrick Fairweather for the Government of the United Kingdom:

At the conclusion of the negotiating process in Rome for the establishment of a lasting peace and effective democracy in Mozambique, accept as binding the following documents which constitute the General Peace Agreement:

1. Protocol I (Basic principles);

2. Protocol II (Criteria and arrangements for the formation and recognition of political parties):

3. Protocol III (Principles of the Electoral Act);

4. Protocol IV (Military questions);

5. Protocol V (Guarantees);

6. Protocol VI (Cease-fire);

7. Protocol VII (Donors' Conference).

They also accept as integral parts of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique the following documents:
(a) The Joint Communiqué of 10 July 1990;

(b) The Agreement of 1 December 1990;

(c) The Declaration of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique and Renamo on guiding principles for humanitarian assistance, signed in Rome on 16 July 1992;

(d) The Joint Declaration signed in Rome on 7 August 1992.

The President of the Republic of Mozambique and the President of Renamo undertake to do everything within their power for the achievement of genuine national reconciliation.

The above-mentioned Protocols have been duly initialled and signed by the respective heads of delegation and by the mediators. The present General Peace Agreement shall enter into force immediately upon its signature.

Joaquim Alberto Chissano
President of the Republic of Mozambique

Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama
President of Renamo

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Signed at Rome on 4 October 1992.

Protocol I: Basic principles

On 18 October 1991, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, and Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the External Relations Department, and composed of Vicente Zacarias Ululu, Chief of the Information Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Deputy Chief of the Political Affairs Department and João Francisco Almirante, member of the President's cabinet, meeting at Rome in the context of the peace talks, in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Government of the Italian Republic and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Edigio,

Determined to secure the higher interests of the Mozambican people, reaffirm that dialogue and collaboration are the indispensable means of achieving a lasting peace in the country.
Accordingly:

1. The Government undertakes to refrain from taking any action that is contrary to the provisions of the Protocols to be concluded and from adopting laws or measures or applying existing laws which may be inconsistent with those Protocols.

2. Renamo, for its part, undertakes, beginning on the date of entry into force of the cease- fire, to refrain from armed combat and instead to conduct its political struggle in conformity with the laws in force, within the framework of the existing State institutions and in accordance with the conditions and guarantees established in the General Peace Agreement.

3. The two parties commit themselves to concluding as soon as possible a General Peace Agreement, containing Protocols on each of the items of the agenda adopted on 28 May 1991 and to take the necessary steps to that end. In that connection, the Government shall endeavour not to hamper international travel by representatives of Renamo and external contacts of Renamo in connection with the peace negotiations. Contacts within the country between Renamo and the mediators or the members of the Joint Verification Commission shall likewise be permitted for the same purpose. Specific arrangements for such contacts shall be made on a case-by-case basis in response to requests by the mediators to the Government.

4. The Protocols to be concluded in the course of these negotiations shall form an integral part of the General Peace Agreement and shall enter into force on the date of signature of the Agreement, with the exception of paragraph 3 of this Protocol, which shall enter into force immediately.

5. The parties agree on the principle of establishing a commission to supervise and monitor compliance with the General Peace Agreement. The commission shall be composed of representatives of the Government, Renamo, the United Nations and other organisations or Governments to be agreed upon between the parties.

For the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Done at Sant' Edigio, Rome, on 18 October 1991.

Protocol II : Criteria and arrangements for the formation and recognition of political parties

On 13 November 1991, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, and Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the External Relations Department, and composed of Vicente Zacarias Ululu, Chief of the Information Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Deputy Chief of the Political Affairs Department and, João Francisco Almirante, member of the President's cabinet, meeting in Rome in the context of the peace talks, in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Government of the Italian Republic and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Edigio, took up item 1 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991, concerning "Criteria and arrangements for the formation and recognition of political parties".

At the conclusion of their talks, the parties agreed on the necessity of guaranteeing the workings of a multi-party democracy in which the parties would freely co-operate in shaping and expressing the will of the people and in promoting democratic participation by the citizens in the Government of the country.

In this connection, and bearing in mind the provisions of Protocol I on "Basic principles", the parties have agreed on the following principles:

1. The nature of political parties

(a) Political parties shall be independent, voluntary and free associations of citizens, national in scope, whose primary purpose shall be to give democratic expression to the will of the people and to provide for democratic participation in the exercise of political power in accordance with the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens and on the basis of electoral processes at all levels of State organisation.

(b) Associations whose primary purpose is to promote local or sectarian interests or the exclusive interests of a given social group or class of citizens shall be different from political parties and may not enjoy the status provided for by law for such parties.

(c) The Political Parties Act shall determine the conditions for the acquisition of the status of juridical person by political parties.

(d) Political parties shall be granted specific privileges, which shall be guaranteed by law.

(e) For the operation and full development of a multi-party democracy based on respect for and guarantees of basic rights and freedoms and based on pluralism of democratic political expression and organisation under which political power belongs exclusively to the people and is exercised in accordance with principles of representative and pluralistic democracy, the parties must have fundamentally democratic principles by which they must abide in practice and in their political activities.

2. General principles

In their formation, structure and operations, political parties shall observe and apply the following general principles with the aim of controlling their actions:

(a) They must pursue democratic purposes;

(b) They must pursue national and patriotic interests;

(c) The political objectives pursued must be non-regional, non-tribal, non-separatist, non-racial, non-ethnic and non-religious;

 (d) The members of political parties must be citizens of Mozambique;

 (e) The parties must have a democratic structure and the bodies must be transparent;

 (f) The parties must accept democratic methods for the pursuit of their aims;

 (g) Joining a political party must be a voluntary act reflecting the freedom of citizens to associate with others who share the same political outlook.

3. The rights of parties

The purpose of the Political Parties Act shall be to protect the freedom of action and operation of political parties, with the exception of those which espouse anti-democratic, totalitarian or violent aims, or which conduct their activities in a manner contrary to law.

Parties shall enjoy the following rights:

(a) Equal rights and duties before the law;

(b) Every Party shall have the right freely and publicly to propound its policies;

(c) Specific guarantees shall be provided with respect to access to the mass media, sources of public funding and public facilities, in accordance with the principle of non-discrimination and on the basis of criteria of representativeness to be specified in the Electoral Act;

(d) Exemption from taxes and fees as provided for by law;

(e) No citizen shall be persecuted or discriminated against because of membership in a political party or political opinion;

(f) Other aspects specific to individual political parties shall be determined in their respective statutes or regulations, which must conform to the law. Public notice shall be given of such statutes or regulations.

4. Duties of parties

Political parties shall fulfil the following requirements:

(a) They shall be identified by name, acronym and symbol. The use of names, acronyms or symbols which may be considered offensive by the inhabitants or which incite violence and may have divisive connotations based on race, region, tribe, gender or religion shall be prohibited;

(b) They shall not call into question the country's territorial integrity and national unity;

(c) They must establish their organs and organise their internal structure on the basis of the principle of democratic election and responsibility of all individuals holding party office;

(d) They must ensure that their statutes and programmes are approved by a majority of their members or by assemblies representing those members;

(e) With regards to their internal organisation, Parties must fully respect the principle of free adherence of their members, who may not be compelled to join or remain in a party against their will;

(f) They must be registered and disclose annually their accounts and sources of funding.

5. Registration

(a) The purpose of registration is to certify that the founding and existence of parties is in accordance with the applicable legal principles and, consequently, to confer on parties the status of juridical person;

(b) For the purposes of registration, each Party must have collected at least 2,000 signatures;

(c) Responsibility for registering parties shall rest with the Government;

(d) The Commission provided for in paragraph 5 of Protocol I on basic principles shall consider and settle any disputes which may arise in connection with the registration of parties. For that purpose the Government shall make available to the Commission the documents required by law.

6. Implementation

(a) The Parties agree that, immediately following the signature of the General Peace Agreement, Renamo shall commence its activities as a political party, with the privileges provided for by law; it shall, however, be required to submit at a later date the documents required by law for registration;

(b) Pursuing the method of dialogue, collaboration and regular consultation, the parties agree to establish, in connection with the discussion of item 5 of the Agreed Agenda, the timetable of activities necessary for the proper implementation of this Protocol.

In witness whereof, the Parties have decided to sign this Protocol.

For the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza
For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Done at Sant' Edigio, Rome, on 13 November 1991.

Protocol III

On 12 March 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, and Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the Organisation Department, and composed of Vicente Zacarias Ululu, Chief of the Information Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Deputy Chief of the Organisation Department, and Virgílio Namalue, Director of the Information Department, meeting in Rome in the context of the peace talks, in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Government of the Italian Republic and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Edigio, took up the item of the agenda signed on 28 May 1991 concerning the Electoral Law and agreed as follows:

This Protocol sets forth the general principles which should guide the drafting of the Electoral Act and any possible amendments to the laws in connection with the conduct of the electoral process.

The Electoral Act shall be drafted by the Government, in consultation with Renamo and all other political parties.

I. Freedom of the press and access to the media

(a) All citizens shall enjoy the right of freedom of the press and freedom of information. These freedoms shall encompass, specifically, the right to establish and operate newspapers and other publications, radio and television broadcasting stations and other forms of written or sound communication, such as posters, leaflets and other media. These rights shall not be abridged by censorship;

(b) Administrative and tax regulations shall in no case be used to hamper or prevent the exercise of this right on political grounds;

(c) Freedom of the press shall also include freedom of expression and creation for journalists and the protection of their independence and professional secrecy;

(d) The Government-controlled mass media shall enjoy editorial independence and shall guarantee, in accordance with the specific regulations envisaged in section V.3.b.1 of this Protocol, the right of all parties to access without political discrimination. Provision should be made in such regulations for access by all parties free of charge;

(e) Advertisements which conform to the prevailing commercial practice may not be refused on political grounds;

(f) The mass media may not discriminate against or refuse on political grounds any party or its candidates the exercise of the right of reply or the publication of corrections or retractions. Access to the courts shall be guaranteed in cases of defamation, slander, libel and other press offences.

II. Freedom of association, expression and political activity

(a) All citizens shall have the right to freedom of expression, association, assembly, demonstration and political activity. Administrative and tax regulations shall in no case be used to prevent or hamper the exercise of these rights for political reasons. These rights shall not extend to the activities of unlawful private paramilitary groups or groups which promote violence in any form or terrorism, racism or separatism;

(b) Freedom of association, expression and political activity shall encompass access, without discrimination, to the use of public places and facilities. Such use shall be conditional on submission of an application to the competent administrative authorities, who must give a decision within 48 hours after the submission of the application. Applications may be rejected only for reasons of public order or for organisational considerations.

III. Liberty of movement and freedom of residence

All citizens shall have the right to move about throughout the country without having to obtain administrative authorisation.

All citizens have the right to choose to reside anywhere in the national territory and to leave or return to the country.

IV. Return of Mozambican refugees and displaced persons and their social reintegration

(a) The parties undertake to co-operate in the repatriation and reintegration of Mozambican refugees and displaced persons in the national territory and the social integration of war-disabled;

(b) Without prejudice to the liberty of movement of citizens, the Government shall draw up a draft agreement with Renamo to organise the necessary assistance for refugees and displaced persons, preferably in their original places of residence. The parties agree to seek the involvement of the competent United Nations agencies in the drawing up and implementation of this plan. The International Red Cross and other organisations to be agreed upon shall be invited to participate in the implementation of the plan;

(c) Mozambican refugees and displaced persons shall not forfeit any of the rights and freedoms of citizens for having left their original places of residence;

(d) Mozambican refugees and displaced persons shall be registered and included in the electoral rolls together with other citizens in their places of residence;

(e) Mozambican refugees and displaced persons shall be guaranteed restitution of property owned by them which is still in existence and the right to take legal action to secure the return of such property from individuals in possession of it.

V. Electoral procedures: system of democratic, impartial and pluralistic voting

1. General Principles

(a) The Electoral Act shall establish an electoral system which is consonant with the principles of the direct, equal, secret and personal ballot;

(b) Elections to the Assembly of the Republic and for President of the Republic shall be held simultaneously;

(c) The elections shall take place within one year after the date of the signing of the General Peace Agreement. This period may be extended if it is determined that circumstances exist which preclude its observance.

2. The right to vote

(a) Mozambican citizens 18 years of age and over shall have the right to vote, with the exception of individuals suffering from certified mental incapacity or insanity;

(b) As envisaged by item 4 (a) of the Agreed Agenda, Mozambican citizens who are detained or have been sentenced to a prison term for a criminal offense under ordinary law shall not have the right to vote until they complete their sentence. In any event, this restriction shall not apply to individuals belonging to the Parties in respect of acts committed in the course of military operations;

(c) Exercise of the right to vote shall be conditional on registration in the electoral rolls;

(d) With the aim of promoting the broadest possible participation in the elections, the parties agree to encourage all Mozambican citizens 18 years of age and over to register and to exercise their right to vote.

3. National elections commission

(a) For the purpose of organising and conducting the electoral process, the Government shall set up a National Elections Commission, composed of individuals whose professional and personal qualities afford guarantees of balance, objectivity and independence vis-à-vis all political parties. One third of the members to be appointed to the Commission shall be nominated by Renamo;

(b) The Commission shall have the following functions:

1. To draw up, in consultation with the political parties, regulations governing election campaigning, regulations on the distribution of broadcast air time and regulations on the utilisation of public and private places and facilities during the election campaign;

2. To oversee the compilation of electoral rolls, the legal filing of candidacies, the public announcement of candidacies and checking and recording the election results;

3. To monitor the electoral process and ensure compliance with the laws;

4. To ensure equality of treatment for citizens in all acts relating to the elections;

5. To receive, consider and settle complaints with respect to the validity of the elections;

6. To ensure equal opportunity and treatment for the different candidates;

7. To review the election accounts;

8. To draw up and have published in the national gazette (Boletim da Republica) the lists of the results of the final vote tally.

4. Voting Assemblies

(a) At each polling place there shall be a Voting Assembly composed of:

- All citizens who are to exercise their right to vote at the given polling place;

- Representative of the various candidates and parties.

(b) Each Voting Assembly shall be presided over by a Ballot Board composed of a Chairman, a vice-chairman-cum-secretary and tellers who shall oversee the electoral operations;

(c) The members of the Ballot Board shall be appointed from among the voters belonging to the Voting Assembly in question, with the agreement of the representatives of the various candidates;

(d) The ballot boards shall be responsible for monitoring all electoral operations and transmitting the results to the National Elections Commission;

(e) Delegates of the candidates or parties in the Voting Assembly shall have the right:

1. To monitor all electoral operations;

2. To examine the rolls compiled or utilised by the Board;

3. To be heard and to receive clarification with respect to all matters relating to the conduct of the Assembly;

4. To submit complaints;

5. To occupy the places closest to the Assembly Board;

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6. To initial and sign the official records of the Assembly and to monitor all acts related to the electoral operation.

(f) Any complaints shall be included in the official records and transmitted to the National Elections Commission.

5. Election to the Assembly of the Republic

(a) The country's provinces shall constitute electoral districts. The National Elections Commission shall decide on the apportionment of seats to each electoral district on the basis of population;

(b) The Electoral Act shall provide for an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation for election to the Assembly;

(c) Parties which intend to stand jointly for elections to the Assembly must submit lists under a single emblem;

(d) Once the election campaign has begun, the combining of electoral lists for the purpose of pooling votes shall not be permitted;

(e) Citizens 18 years of age and over shall be eligible to stand for election to the Assembly of the Republic. The parties agree, however, on the desirability of raising the minimum age to 25 for the forthcoming elections as a transitional measure;

(f) A minimum percentage of votes cast nationwide shall be established, below which competing political parties may not have a seat in the Assembly. This percentage shall be agreed in consultation with all political parties in the country and shall not be less than 5 per cent or more than 20 per cent;

(g) Representatives of the parties in each electoral district shall be elected in the order in which they appear on the lists.

6. Election of the President of the Republic

(a) The President of the Republic shall be elected by an absolute majority of ballots cast. If no candidate obtains an absolute majority, a second ballot shall be held restricted to the two candidates who have received the highest number of votes;

(b) The second ballot shall take place within one to three weeks after the announcement of the results of the first ballot. Having regard to organisational considerations, the date of the ballot shall be indicated before the commencement of the election campaign;

(c) Individuals 35 years of age and over who are citizens and registered voters shall be eligible to stand for election for the office of President of the Republic;

(d) Candidacies for President of the Republic must have the support of at least 10,000 signatures of Mozambican citizens 18 years of age and over who are currently registered voters.

7. Financing and facilities

(a) The National Elections Commission shall guarantee the distribution to all parties competing in the elections, without discrimination, of subsidies and logistic support for the election campaign apportioned on the basis of the number of each party's candidates and under the supervision of all parties competing in the elections;

(b) The Government undertakes to assist in obtaining facilities and means so that Renamo may secure the accommodation and transport and communications facilities it needs to carry out its political activities in all the provincial capitals, and in other locations to the extent that the available resources so permit;

(c) For these purposes the Government shall seek support from the international community and, in particular, from Italy.

VI. Guarantees for the electoral process and role of international observers

(a) Supervision and monitoring of the implementation of this Protocol shall be guaranteed by the Commission envisaged in Protocol I on basic principles;

(b) With a view to ensuring the highest degree of impartiality in the electoral process, the parties agree to invite as observers the United Nations, OAU and other organisations, as well as appropriate private individuals from abroad as may be agreed between the Government and Renamo. The observers shall perform their function from the commencement of the electoral campaign to the time when the Government takes office;

(c) With the aim of expediting the peace process, the parties also agree on the necessity of seeking technical and material assistance from the United Nations and OAU following the signature of the General Peace Agreement;

(d) The Government shall address formal requests to the United Nations and OAU in pursuance of the provisions of this section.

In witness whereof, the parties have decided to sign this Protocol.

For the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Done at Rome, on 12 March 1992.

Protocol IV

On 4 October 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Mariano de Araujo Matsinha, Minister without Portfolio, Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, Lieutenant General Tobías Dai, Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the Republic, Brigadier Aleixo Malunga, Colonel Fideles De Sousa, Major Justino Nrepo, Major Eduardo Lauchande, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the Organisation Department, and composed of José De Castro, Chief of the External Relations Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Chief of the Information Department, José Augusto Xavier, Director-General of the Internal Administration Department, Major-General Herminio Morais, Colonel Fernando Canivete, Lieutenant-Colonel Arone Julai, Lieutenant António Domingos, meeting at Rome in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian Government and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Edigio, and the observers of the United Nations and the Governments of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and Portugal, took up item 3 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991, entitled "Military questions", and agreed as follows:

A. Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force

i. General principles

1. The Mozambican Defence Force (FADM) shall be formed for service throughout the national territory.

2. The FADM:

(a) Has as its general purpose the defence and safeguarding of the country's sovereignty, independence and territory. During the period between the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office, the FADM may, under the FADM High Command, act in co-operation with the Police Command to protect civilian inhabitants against crime and violence of all kinds. Additional functions of the FADM shall be to provide assistance in crisis or emergency situations arising in the country as a result of natural disasters and to provide support for reconstruction and development efforts;

(b) Shall be non-partisan, career, professionally trained, and competent: it shall be made up exclusively of Mozambican citizens who are volunteers and are drawn from the forces of both Parties. It shall serve the country with professionalism and respect the democratic order and the rule of law. The composition of the FADM should preclude all forms of racial or ethnic discrimination or discrimination based on language or religious affiliation.

3. The process of forming the FADM shall begin after the entry into force of the ceasefire immediately following the inauguration of the Commission provided for in Protocol I of 18 October 1991, to be called the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC).

This process shall be completed prior to the commencement of the election campaign.

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4. The process of forming the FADM shall be conducted simultaneously with the concentration, disarmament and integration into civilian life of the personnel demobilised in stages as a result of the cease-fire. The Government and Renamo shall be responsible for contributing units drawn from the existing forces of each side; this process shall proceed until the new units of the FADM have been formed, with all existing units being demobilised when the FADM has reached full strength.

5. The neutrality of the FADM during the period between the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office shall be guaranteed by the Parties through the Commission referred to in section I.iii.l.a of this Protocol.

6. By the time of the elections, only the FADM shall exist and shall have the structure agreed upon between the Parties; no other forces may remain in existence. All elements of the existing armed forces of the two Parties which are not incorporated into the FADM shall be demobilised during the period envisaged in section VI.i.3 of this Protocol.

ii. Personnel

1. The Parties agree that the troop strength of the FADM up until the time when the new Government takes office shall be as follows:

(a) Army: 24,000
(b) Air Force: 4,000
(c) Navy: 2,000

2. The personnel of the FADM in each of the service branches shall be provided by the FAM and the forces of Renamo, each side contributing 50 per cent.

iii. FADM command structures

1. The parties agree to establish a Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force (CCFADM) on the following basis:

(a) CCFADM shall have specific responsibility for overseeing the process of forming the FADM and shall operate under the authority of CSC;

(b) CCFADM is the body responsible for the formation of the FADM until the time when the new Government takes office. FADM shall be headed by a High Command (CS), which shall be subordinate to CCFADM. After the new Government takes office, the FADM shall be placed under the authority of the new Ministry of Defence or any other body which the new Government may establish;

(c) CCFADM shall be composed of representatives of the FAM and the Renamo forces as members, who shall be assisted by representatives of the countries selected by the Parties to advise in the process of forming the FADM. CCFADM shall be inaugurated on the date of the entry into force of the cease-fire (E-Day);

(d) CCFADM shall draw up directives on the phasing of the establishment of the FADM structures and shall propose to CSC:

- The rules governing the FADM;

- The budget to be provided for the FADM until the new Government takes office;

- The criteria for selection and the selection of FAM personnel and Renamo forces for the formation of the FADM;

- The names of the commanding officers of the main commands.

2. FADM High Command

(a) The general mission of CS shall be to act on the directives issued by CCFADM, taking into account the establishment of the FADM structures and support for the FADM;

(b) Until the new Government takes office, the command of FADM shall be exercised by two general officers of equal rank, appointed by each of the Parties. Decisions of the command shall be valid only when signed by these two general officers;

(c) The FADM command structure shall be strictly non-political and shall receive directives and orders only through the appropriate chain of command;

(d) The FADM shall have a single logistic service for all three branches. To that end, a Logistic and Infrastructure Command shall be established under the authority of the FADM High Command;

(e) Appointments to the FADM High Command and the commands of the three branches of the FADM and the Logistics Command shall be proposed by CCFADM and approved by CSC;

(f) Until the new Government takes office, the FADM High Command shall be assisted by the General Staff, with departments headed by general officers or senior officers proposed by CCFADM and approved by CSC.

3. Command of the Army, Air Force and Navy and the Logistics Command:

The FADM High Command shall have authority over the Commands of the three service branches (Army, Air Force and Navy) and the Logistics Command, which shall be organised as follows:

(a) Army Command

1. The structure of the Army Command shall encompass the military regions under the direct authority of the Army Commander, whose functions are to be determined but which may include the organisation and preparation of forces, training, justice, discipline and logistic support to assigned forces.

2. Each military region shall have a commanding officer holding the rank of general, who shall be assisted by a deputy commander.

3. The headquarters of the military regions shall be proposed by the Commander of the Army and approved by CS.

(b) Air Force Command

The Air Force shall be formed having regard to the training and skills of the personnel of the existing Air Force and the existing Renamo forces, in accordance with the provisions of the directives issued by CCFADM;

(c) Navy Command

The Navy shall be formed having regard to the training and skills of the personnel of the existing Navy and the Renamo forces, in accordance with the provisions of the directives issued by CCFADM;

(d) Logistics and Infrastructure Command

1. A Logistics and Infrastructure Command shall be set up under the direct authority of the FADM High Command.

2. The Logistics and Infrastructure Command shall have the overall mission of planning and providing administrative and logistic support for the FADM (Army, Air Force and Navy) and ensuring delivery of such support through the FADM General Services. It shall, in particular, be responsible for production and procurement logistics.

3. The Logistics and Infrastructure Command shall be headed by a general, assisted by a deputy commander and a general staff which shall, initially, include the following sections:

- Infrastructure;

- General services;

- Equipment;

- Finance.

4. The Logistics and Infrastructure Command shall have authority over such support units as may be assigned to it.

iv. Timetable for the process

(a) The formation of the FADM shall commence with the appointment of the following:

- CCFADM, prior to the entry in force of the cease-fire (E-Day);
- The FADM High Command on E-Day + 1;

- The commanders of the three service branches and the logistics command;

- The commanders of the military regions;

- The unit commanders.

(b) General staff shall be organised immediately following the appointment of each command;

(c) The system of administrative and logistics support shall be organised taking into account the new size of the FADM, in accordance with the principle of utilising or transforming existing structures on the basis of the plans of the FADM High Command, as approved by CCFADM.

v. Technical assistance of foreign countries

The parties shall inform the mediators within 7 (seven) days after the signing of the cease-fire Protocol the countries which are to be invited to provide assistance in the process of forming the FADM.

II. Withdrawal of foreign troops from Mozambican territory

1. The withdrawal of foreign troops from Mozambican territory shall be initiated following the entry into force of the cease-fire (E-Day).

The Government of the Republic of Mozambique undertakes to negotiate the complete withdrawal of foreign forces and contingents from Mozambican territory with the Governments of the countries concerned.

The modalities and time-frame for the withdrawal shall not contravene any provision of the Cease-fire Agreement or the General Peace Agreement.

2. The Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall submit to CSC the deadlines and plans for implementation of the withdrawal, specifying the exact numbers of troops present in Mozambican territory and their location.

3. The complete withdrawal of foreign forces and contingents from Mozambican territory shall be monitored and verified by the Cease-fire Commission (CCF) referred to in paragraph VI.(i).2 of this Protocol. CCF shall inform CSC of the conclusion of the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from the national territory.

4. In accordance with its mandate CSC, through CCF, will, following the withdrawal of the foreign troops, assume immediate responsibility for verifying and ensuring security of strategic and trading routes, adopting the measures it deems necessary for the purpose.

III. Activities of private and irregular armed groups

1. Except as provided in paragraph 3 below, paramilitary, private and irregular armed groups active on the day of the beginning of the cease-fire shall be disbanded and prohibited from forming new groups of the same kind.
2. CCF shall monitor and verify the disbanding of the private and irregular armed groups and shall collect their weapons and ammunition. CSC shall decide the final disposition of the weapons and ammunition collected.

3. CSC may as a temporary measure organise the continued existence of security organisations for the purpose of ensuring the security of specified public or private infrastructures during the period between the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office.

4. These security organisations may be authorised to use weapons in the discharge of their duties. The activities of these organisations shall be monitored by CCF.

IV. Functioning of the National Service for People's Security

1. The parties agree that it is essential that the State information service should continue to function during the period between the beginning of cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office, in order to ensure that the strategic information required by the State is made available and for the purpose of protecting the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Mozambique.

2. For the purposes indicated above, the Parties agree that the State Information and Security Service (SISE) established by Act No. 20/91 of 23 August 1991 shall continue to perform its functions under the direct authority of the President of the Republic of Mozambique and subject to the following principles:

3. SISE shall:

(a) perform its duties and functions strictly in accordance with the spirit and the letter of internationally recognised democratic principles;

(b) respect the civil and political rights of citizens, as well as the internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(c) be guided in the performance of its functions by the interests of the State and the common welfare, in a manner free from any partisan or ideological considerations or regard for social standing and from any other form of discrimination;

(d) act at all times and in all respects in conformity with the terms and spirit of the General Peace Agreement.

4. SISE shall be composed, at all levels of service, of citizens selected on the basis of criteria that are in conformity with the principles specified above.

5. (a) The measures taken by SISE, as well as all actions of its agents, shall at all times be governed by the law in force in the Republic of Mozambique and by the principles agreed upon in the General Peace Agreement;

(b) The activities and prerogatives of SISE shall be confined to the production of information required by the President of the Republic, within the limits authorised by the juridical order and in strict respect for the principles of the State ruled by law and for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The information thus obtained may in no case be used to limit the exercise of the democratic rights of citizens or to favour any political party;

(c) In no case may police functions be assigned to SISE.

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6. The Director-General and Deputy Director-General of SISE shall be appointed by the President of the Republic of Mozambique.

7. (a) For purposes of verifying that the actions of SISE do not violate the legal order or result in violation of the political rights of citizens, a National Information Commission (COMINFO) shall be established;

(b) COMINFO shall be composed of 21 members whose professional and personal qualities and past record afford guarantees of balance, effectiveness and independence vis-à-vis all political parties;

(c) COMINFO shall be established by the President of the Republic of Mozambique within 15 days following the entry into force of the General Peace Agreement and shall be composed of six citizens nominated by Renamo, six nominated by the Government, and nine selected as a result of consultations to be held by the President of the Republic with the political forces in the country from among citizens meeting the requirements specified in subparagraph (b);

(d) COMINFO shall have full powers to investigate any matter relating to the activity of SISE that is held to be contrary to the legal order and to the principles specified in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 5. A request for investigation may be rejected only by a two – thirds majority of its membership;

(e) COMINFO shall provide CSC with the reports and clarifications called for by the latter Commission;

COMINFO shall inform the competent State authorities of any irregularities detected, in order that they may take the appropriate police or disciplinary measures.

V. Depoliticisation and restructuring of the police forces

1. During the period between the beginning of the cease-fire and the assumption of power by the new Government, the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM) shall continue to perform its functions under the responsibility of the Government.

2. The Police of the Republic of Mozambique shall:

(a) perform its duties and functions strictly in accordance with the spirit and the letter of internationally recognised democratic principles;

(b) respect the civil and political rights of citizens, as well as internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms;
(c) be guided in the performance of its functions by the interests of the State and common welfare, in a manner free from any partisan or ideological consideration or regard for social standing and from any other form of discrimination;

(d) act at all times in conformity with the terms and spirit of the General Peace Agreement;

(e) act at all times with impartiality and independence vis-à-vis all political parties.

3. The PRM shall be composed of citizens selected on the basis of criteria that are in conformity with the principles specified above.

4. The basic tasks of the PRM shall be:

(a) to ensure respect for and defence of the law;

(b) to maintain public order and tranquillity and to prevent and suppress crime;

(c) to guarantee the existence of a climate of social stability and harmony.

5. (a) The measures taken by the PRM, as well as all actions of its agents, shall at all times be governed by the law and the legislative provisions in force in the Republic of Mozambique and by the principles agreed upon in the General Peace Agreement;

(b) The activities and prerogatives of the PRM shall be exercised within the limits authorised by the juridical order, but with strict respect for the principles of the State ruled by law and for human rights and fundamental freedoms. These activities may not be directed towards limiting the exercise of the democratic rights of citizens or favouring any political party.

6. The Commander and Deputy Commander of the PRM shall be appointed by the President of the Republic of Mozambique.

7. (a) For purposes of verifying that the actions of the PRM do not violate the legal order or result in violation of the political rights of citizens, a National Police Affairs Commission (COMPOL) shall be established;

(b) COMPOL shall be composed of 21 members whose professional and personal qualities and past record afford guarantees of balance, effectiveness and independence vis-à-vis all political parties;

(c) COMPOL shall be established by the President of the Republic of Mozambique within 15 days following the entry into force of the General Peace Agreement and shall be composed of six citizens nominated by Renamo, six nominated by the Government, and nine selected as a result of consultations to be held by the President of the Republic with the political forces in the country from among citizens meeting the requirements specified in subparagraph (b);

(d) COMPOL shall have full powers to investigate any matter relating to the activity of PRM that is held to be contrary to the legal order and to the principles specified in paragraphs 1, 2, 4 and 5. On being apprised of a matter, the Commission shall conduct a preliminary internal analysis in order to determine whether it falls within the sphere of police activities. The Commission shall decide to proceed with the investigation if more than half of its members so agree;

(e) COMPOL shall submit systematic reports on its activities to CSC;

(f) COMPOL shall inform the competent State authorities of any irregularities detected, in order that they may take the appropriate judicial or disciplinary measures.

VI. Economic and social reintegration of demobilised soldiers

(i) Demobilisation

1. Demobilisation of the FAM and the forces of Renamo mean the process whereby, at the decision of the respective Parties, soldiers who on E-Day were members of those forces revert for all purposes to the status of civilians.

2. Cease-fire Commission

(a) On E-Day, the Cease-fire Commission (CCF) shall be established and begin its function under the direct supervision of CSC;

(b) CCF shall be composed of representatives of the Government, Renamo, the invited countries and the United Nations. CCF shall be presided over by the United Nations;

(c) CCF shall be based in Maputo and shall be structured as follows:

- Regional offices (North, Centre and South);
- Offices at the assembly and billeting locations of the two Parties.

(d) CCF shall have, inter alia, the function of implementing the demobilisation process, with the following tasks:

- Planning and organisation;
- Regulation of procedures;
- Direction and supervision;
- Registration of troops to be demobilised and issue of the respective identity cards;
- Collection, registration and custody of weapons, ammunition, explosives, equipment, uniforms and documentation;
- Destroying or deciding on the other disposition of weapons, ammunition, explosives, equipment, uniforms and documentation as agreed by the Parties;
- Medical examinations;
- Issue of demobilisation certificates.

(e) The United Nations shall assist in the implementation, verification and monitoring of the entire demobilisation process.

3. Timetable

- E-Day: Installation of CCF and commencement of its functions
- E-Day + 30: Definition by both Parties of the troops to be demobilised; activation of demobilisation structures and initiation of the process

- E-Day + 60: Demobilisation of at least 20 per cent of the total troops to be demobilised

- E-Day + 90: Demobilisation of at least a further 20 per cent of the total troops to be demobilised

- E-Day + 120: Demobilisation of at least a further 20 per cent of the total troops to be demobilised

- E-Day + 150: Demobilisation of at least a further 20 per cent of the total troops to be demobilised

- E-Day + 180: End of demobilisation of the troops to be demobilised.

(ii) Reintegration

 1. The term "demobilised soldier" means an individual who:

- up until E-Day was a member of the FAM or the Renamo forces;
- subsequent to E-Day was demobilised at the decision of the relevant command, and handed over the weapons, ammunition, equipment, uniform and documentation in his possession
- has been registered and has received the relevant identity card
- has received the demobilisation certificate.

For all purposes, demobilised soldiers of both Parties shall become civilians and shall be accorded equal treatment by the State.

2. Reintegration Commission

(a) A Reintegration Commission (CORE) shall be established. CORE shall operate under the direct authority of CSC and shall initiate its functions on E-Day;

(b) CORE shall be composed of representatives of the Government and Renamo, representatives of the invited countries, a representative of the United Nations, who shall preside, and representatives of other international organisations;

(c) CORE shall be based at Maputo and shall be structured as follows:

- Regional offices (North, Centre and South);
- Provincial offices in each provincial capital.

(d) The assignment of CORE shall be to effect the economic and social reintegration of demobilised soldiers, and it shall for this purpose conduct the following tasks:

- Planning and organisation;
- Regulation of procedures;
- Direction and supervision:
- Monitoring.

3. Resources

The economic and social reintegration of demobilised soldiers (demobilisation allowances, technical and/or vocational training, transport, etc.) will depend on the resources made available within the framework of the Donors Conference as referred to in item 6 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991.

In witness whereof, the Parties have decided to sign the present Protocol.

For the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Sant' Edigio, Rome, 4 October 1992

Protocol V

On 4 October 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Mariano de Araujo Matsinha, Minister without Portfolio, Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, Lieutenant General Tobías Dai, Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the Republic, Brigadier Aleixo Malunga, Colonel Fideles De Sousa, Major Justino Nrepo, Major Eduardo Lauchande, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the Organisation Department, and composed of José De Castro, Chief of the External Relations Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Chief of the information Department, José Augusto Xavier, Director-General of the Internal Administration Department, Major-General Herminio Morais, Colonel Fernando Canivete, Lieutenant-Colonel Arone Julai, and Lieutenant António Domingos, meeting at Rome in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian Government and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi of the Community of Sant' Edigio, and the observers of the United Nations and the Governments of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and Portugal, took up item 5 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991, entitled "Guarantees", and agreed as follows:
I. Timetable for the conduct of the electoral process

1. The elections to the Assembly of the Republic and the post of President of the Republic shall be held simultaneously and shall take place one year after the date of signature of the General Peace Agreement, as provided for in Protocol III.
2. Further to the provisions set forth in Protocol III, the Parties also agree as follows:

a) By E-Day + 60, the Government shall establish the National Elections Commission provided for in Protocol III;

(b) Immediately following the signature of the General Peace Agreement, the Government, for purposes of the provisions of Protocol III, shall request technical and material support from the United Nations and OAU;

(c) The Government shall draft the Electoral Act in consultation with Renamo and the other parties within at most two months from the adoption by the Assembly of the Republic of the legal instruments incorporating the Protocols and guarantees, as well as the General Peace Agreement, into Mozambican law. The approval and publication of the Electoral Act shall take place within at most one month following the completion of its drafting;

(d) Within 60 days following the signature of the General Peace Agreement, the Government and Renamo shall agree on the observers to be invited for the electoral process. The Government shall draw up the corresponding invitations;

(e) The election campaign shall begin 45 days before the date of the elections;

(f) By the date of commencement of the election campaign, all parties taking part must have been registered and have submitted their lists of candidates as well as their respective symbols;

(g) By the date of commencement of the election campaign, the candidates for the Presidency of the Republic must have submitted their candidacies in conformity with the legally prescribed requirements;

(h) The election campaign shall conclude 48 hours before the start of voting;

(i) The elected Assembly of the Republic shall take office 15 days after the publication of the lists giving the results of the election. The lists giving the results of the election shall be published not more than eight days after the closure of voting;

(j) The investiture of the elected President of the Republic shall take place one week after the elected Assembly of the Republic has taken office.

II. Commission to supervise the cease-fire and monitor respect for and implementation of the agreements between the Parties within the framework of these negotiations: its composition and powers

1. Pursuant to Protocol I, the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC) is established, which shall begin operating upon appointment of its Chairman by the Secretary General of the United Nations.

2. This Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Government, Renamo, the United Nations, OAU and the countries to be agreed upon by the Parties. The Commission shall be chaired by the United Nations and shall be based at Maputo.

3. The decisions of CSC shall be taken by consensus between the two Parties
4. CSC shall draw up its own Rules of Procedure and may whenever it sees fit establish sub-commissions additional to those provided for in paragraph II.7 of the present Protocol.

5. CSC shall in particular:

(a) Guarantee the implementation of the provisions contained in the General Peace Agreement;

(b) Guarantee respect for the timetable specified for the cease-fire and the holding of the elections;

(c) Assume responsibility for the authentic interpretation of the agreements;

(d) Settle any disputes that may arise between the Parties;

(e) Guide and co-ordinate the activities of the subsidiary commissions referred to in paragraph II.7 of this Protocol.

6. CSC shall cease to function when the new Government takes office.

7. CSC shall have under it the following Commissions:

(a) The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force (CCFADM). Its powers shall be those specified in Protocol IV, paragraph I (iii) on the formation of the Mozambican Defence Force. CCFADM shall be composed of representatives of the Parties and of the Governments selected by the Parties before the signing of the General Peace Agreement to provide assistance in the process of formation of the FADM in conformity with the provisions of Protocol IV, section I;

(b) The Cease-fire Commission (CCF). Its composition and powers shall be those indicated in Protocol IV, section VI and Protocol VI, section I;

(c) Reintegration Commission (CORE). Its composition and powers shall be those specified in Protocol IV, section VI.

III. Specific guarantees for the period from the cease-fire to the holding of the elections

1. The Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall submit a formal request to the United Nations for its participation in monitoring and guaranteeing the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, in particular the cease-fire and the electoral process, with immediate priority to co-ordinating and making available food, medical attention and all other forms of support necessary at the assembly and billeting locations for the forces as provided in Protocol VI.

2. With the means available to it and with the assistance of the international community, the Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall make available to CSC and its subsidiary commissions the logistical support required for their functioning.

3. The Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall send formal requests to the Governments and organisations selected by the two Parties to participate in the commissions agreed upon above.

4. The resources and facilities specified in Protocol III, paragraph 7 (b) shall be made available by the Government of Mozambique as from the date of incorporation of the

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General Peace Agreement into Mozambican law by the Assembly of the Republic. The major part of this process shall have been concluded by E-day.

5. The committee provided for in the Joint Declaration of 16 July 1992 shall exercise its functions before CSC takes office. CSC may if necessary decide to extend the activities of that committee, and establish guidelines for its operations to that end.

6. The Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall draw up in agreement with Renamo and the relevant United Nations agencies, in accordance with Protocol III, the plan for assistance to refugees and displaced persons, which shall be submitted to the donors' conference the holding of which is agreed upon in Protocol VII.

7. Between the entry into force of the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office, the entry of foreign troops or contingents into Mozambican territory shall not be permitted except in the cases agreed to by CSC.

8. Renamo shall be responsible for the immediate personal security of its top leaders. The Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall grant police status to the members of Renamo assigned to guarantee that security.

9. Guarantee of legality, stability and tranquillity throughout the territory of the Republic of Mozambique.

(a) The Parties recognise that the public administration in the Republic of Mozambique during the period between the entry into force of the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office will continue to obey the law in force and to be conducted through the institutions provided for by law;

(b) The public administration shall guarantee public tranquillity and stability, and seek to ensure the maintenance of peace and the creation of the climate required for the holding of fair and free general and presidential elections in accordance with the provisions of the General Peace Agreement and the Electoral Act;

(c) The two Parties undertake to guarantee that the laws and legislative provisions of the Republic of Mozambique, as well as the civil and political rights of citizens and human rights and fundamental freedoms, shall be respected and guaranteed in all parts of the national territory in conformity with Protocol I of 18 October 1991;

(d) In order to ensure greater tranquillity and stability in the period between the entry into force of the cease-fire and the time when the new Government takes office, the Parties agree that the institutions provided for by law for the conduct of the public administration in the areas controlled by Renamo shall employ only citizens resident in those areas, who may be members of Renamo. The State shall accord such citizens and the institutions staffed by them the respect, treatment and support required for the discharge of their duties, on the basis of strict equality and without any discrimination in relation to others performing similar functions and institutions at the same level in other areas of the country.

The relationship between the Ministry of State Administration and the administration in the areas controlled by Renamo shall be conducted through a National Commission constituted by the Parties for the purpose of facilitating collaboration and good

understanding. This Commission shall be composed of four representatives of each of the Parties and shall begin operating 15 days after the signature of the General Peace Agreement;

(e) The Government undertakes to respect and not antagonise the traditional structures and authorities where they are currently *de facto* exercising such authority, and to allow them to be replaced only in those cases where that is called for by the procedures of local tradition themselves;

(f) The Government undertakes not to hold local, district or provincial elections or elections to administrative posts in advance of the forthcoming general elections;

(g) The Parties undertake to guarantee throughout the national territory the exercise of democratic rights and freedoms by all citizens, as well as the performance of party work by all political parties;

(h) The Parties guarantee access by the Commissions provided for in the General Peace Agreement, the representatives and officials of the State institutions provided for by law and their officials to any part of the national territory to which they may need to proceed on official business, as well as the right to freedom of movement in all locations not restricted by any legislative measure, instrument or rule.

IV. Constitutional issues

The joint declaration of 7 August 1992 signed by Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique, and Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama, President of Renamo, constitutes an integral part of the General Peace Agreement. Accordingly, the principles embodied in Protocol I shall also apply with respect to the problem of constitutional guarantees raised by Renamo and illustrated in the document submitted to the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, at Gaborone, Botswana, on 4 July 1992. To this end, the Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall submit to the Assembly of the Republic for adoption legal instruments incorporating the Protocols, the guarantees and the General Peace Agreement into Mozambican law.

In witness whereof, the Parties have decided to sign the present Protocol.

For the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Sant' Edigio, Rome, 4 October 1992.

Protocol VI

On 4 October 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Mariano de Araujo Matsinha, Minister without Portfolio, Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, Lieutenant General Tobías Dai, Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic, Brigadier Aleixo Malunga, Colonel Fideles de Sousa, Major Justino Nrepo and Major Eduardo Lauchande, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the Organisation Department, and composed of José de Castro, Chief of the External Relations Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Chief of the Information Department, José Augusto Xavier, Director-General of the Internal Administration Department, Major General Herminio Morais, Colonel Fernando Canivete, Lieutenant Colonel Arone Julai and Lieutenant António Domingos, meeting at Rome in the presence of the mediators Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian Government and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi, of the Community of Sant' Edigio, and observers from the United Nations and the Governments of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and Portugal, took up item 4 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991, entitled "Cease-fire", and agreed as follows:

I Cessation of the armed conflict

1. The cessation of the armed conflict (CAC) is a brief, dynamic and irreversible process of predetermined duration which must be implemented throughout the national territory of Mozambique.

The implementation of the process shall be the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique and of Renamo, acting within the framework of the Cease-fire Commission (CCF). The CCF is answerable to the CSC, the organ responsible for the overall political supervision of the cease-fire. The CCF shall be composed of representatives of the Government and of Renamo, representatives of countries accepted by them and a representative of the United Nations, who shall preside.

2. The CCF, which shall be structured as stipulated in Protocol IV, paragraph VI.i.2, shall have the following functions:
- to plan, verify and guarantee the implementation of the cease-fire rules;

- to set itineraries for the movement of forces, in order to reduce the risk of incidents;

- to organise and implement mine-clearing operations;

- to analyse and verify the accuracy of the statistics provided by the Parties on troop strength, arms and military equipment

- to receive, analyse and rule on complaints of possible cease-fire violations;

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- to ensure the necessary co-ordination with organs of the United Nations verification system;

- the functions provided for in sections II, III and VI of Protocol IV.

3. The CAC shall begin on E-Day and end on E-Day + 180.

4. The CAC consists of 4 (four) phases:

- cease-fire;

- separation of forces;

- concentration of forces;

- demobilisation.

5. The cease-fire

The Parties agree that:

(a) the cease-fire shall enter into force on E-Day

E-Day is the day on which the General Peace Agreement is adopted by the Assembly of the Republic and incorporated into Mozambican law. The deployment of United Nations personnel in Mozambican territory to verify the cease-fire shall begin the same day;

b) As of E-Day, neither of the Parties shall carry out any hostile act or operation by means of forces or individuals under its control. Accordingly, they may not:

- carry out any kind of attack by land, sea or air;

- organise patrols or offensive manoeuvres;

- occupy new positions;

- lay mines and prevent mine-clearing operations;

- interfere with military communications;
- carry out any kind of reconnaissance operations;

- carry out acts of sabotage and terrorism;

- acquire or receive lethal equipment

- carry out acts of violence against the civilian population;

- restrict or prevent without justification the free movement of persons and property;

- carry out any other military activity which, in the opinion of the CCF and the United Nations, might jeopardise the cease-fire.

In performing their functions, the CCF and the United Nations shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout the territory of Mozambique;

(c) On E-Day, the United Nations shall begin official verification of compliance with the undertaking described in paragraph (b), investigating any alleged violation of the cease-fire. Any duly substantiated violation shall be reported by the United Nations at the appropriate level;

(d) During the period between the signing of the General Peace Agreement and E-Day, the two Parties agree to observe a complete cessation of hostilities and of the activities described in paragraph (b), in order to allow the United Nations to deploy its personnel in the territory to verify all aspects of the CAC as of E-Day.

6. Separation of forces

The Parties agree that:

(a) The purpose of the separation of forces is to reduce the risk of incidents, to build trust and to allow the United Nations effectively to verify the commitments assumed by the Parties;

(b) The separation of forces shall last 6 (six) days, from E-Day to E-Day + 5;

(c) During this period, the FAM shall proceed to the barracks, bases, existing semi-permanent facilities and other locations listed in annex A;

(d) During the same period, the Renamo forces shall proceed to the locations listed in annex B;

(e) The locations listed in the above-mentioned annexes shall be those agreed to between the Parties and the United Nations no later than 7 (seven) days after the signing of the General Peace Agreement. The lists shall specify the name and site of the 29 assembly and billeting points for the FAM and the 20 such points for the Renamo forces;

(f) Accordingly, by 2400 hours on E-Day + 5, the FAM and the Renamo forces must be in the locations listed in annexes A and B respectively;

(g) All movements shall take place under the supervision and co-ordination of the United Nations. Neither Party may prevent or jeopardise, the movements of the other Party's forces. The United Nations shall supervise all the locations listed in annexes A and B and shall in principle be present 24 hours a day in each of those locations as of E-Day;

(h) During this period of 6 (six) days, no force or individual shall be able to leave assembly and billeting points except to seek medical care or other humanitarian reasons, and then only with the authorisation and under the supervision of the United Nations. In each location, the commander of the troops shall be responsible for maintaining order

and discipline and for ensuring that the troops conduct themselves in accordance with the principles and the spirit of this Protocol.

7. Concentration of forces

The Parties agree that:

(a) The concentration of forces shall begin on E-Day + 6 and end on E-Day + 30;

(b) During this period, the FAM shall concentrate in the normal peacetime barracks and military bases listed in annex C;

(c) During the same period, the Renamo forces shall go to the assembly and billeting points listed in annex D;

(d) All movements shall take place under the supervision and co-ordination of the United Nations and shall be subject to the same conditions as those established for the separation of forces;

(e) All the main military facilities of the two Parties which cannot be moved to assembly and billeting points, such as military hospitals, logistical units and training facilities, shall be subject to verification in situ. These locations must also be specified no later than 7 (seven) days after the signing of the General Peace Agreement;

(f) Each assembly and billeting point shall be run by a military commander appointed by the corresponding Party. The military commander is responsible for maintaining the order and discipline of troops, distributing food and ensuring liaison with the organs for the verification and supervision of the cease-fire. In the event of an incident or a cease-fire violation, the military commander must take immediate steps to avoid an escalation and put a stop to the incident or violation. Any incident or violation shall be reported to the senior level of the command structure and to the cease-fire verification and supervision organs;

(g) Arrangements for the security of each assembly and billeting point shall be agreed between the corresponding commander and the CCF, with the knowledge of the United Nations. The military unit stationed in each location shall provide its own security. Each assembly and billeting point shall cover an area with a maximum radius of five kilometres. Individual weapons and the necessary ammunition shall be distributed only to the security staff of assembly and billeting points;

(h) Each location must have the capacity to accommodate at least 1,000 soldiers.
8. Demobilisation

Shall take place as stipulated in section VI of Protocol IV.

9. Formation of the FADM

Shall take place as stipulated in section I of Protocol IV.

10. Miscellaneous provisions.

(a) The Parties agree to the following:

1. To supply the United Nations with complete inventories of their troop strength, arms, ammunition, mines and other explosives on E-Day-6, E-Day, E-Day + 6, E-Day + 30 and, thereafter, every 15 days;

2. To allow the United Nations to verify the aspects and data referred to in the preceding paragraph;

3. As of E-Day + 31, all collective and individual weapons, including weapons on board aircraft and ships, shall be stored in warehouses under United Nations control;

4. (a) As of E-Day + 6, troops shall be able to leave their respective assembly and billeting points only with the authorisation and under the supervision of the United Nations;

(b) As of E-Day, the naval and air force components of the FAM shall refrain from carrying out any offensive operation. They may carry out only such non-hostile missions as are necessary for the discharge of their duties unrelated to the armed conflict. All air force flight plans must be communicated in advance to the United Nations. Aircraft may not, in any case, be armed and may not overfly assembly and billeting points,

(c) The foreign forces currently present in the territory of Mozambique must also respect the agreed cease-fire as of E-Day. In accordance with section II of Protocol IV, on E-Day the Government of the Republic of Mozambique shall communicate to the United Nations and the CSC the plans for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Mozambican territory. These plans shall include the numbers and equipment of such troops. The withdrawal shall begin on E-Day +6 and end on E-Day +30. All movements must be co-ordinated and verified by the CCF;

(d) The Parties agree that, as of E-Day, they shall end all hostile propaganda, both internal and external;

(e) Border control as of E-Day shall be provided by the immigration services and the police.

II. Operational timetable for the cease-fire E-Day:

Entry into force of the cease-fire and beginning of United Nations verification beginning of the cessation of the armed conflict (CAC) Beginning of the separation of forces phase

E-Day +5: End of the separation of forces phase

E-Day +6: Beginning of the concentration of forces phase Beginning of the withdrawal of foreign forces and contingents from the country

E-Day +30: End of the concentration of forces phase End of the withdrawal of foreign forces and contingents from the country

E-Day +180: End of the demobilisation phase and of the CAC

III. Release of prisoners, except for those being held for ordinary crimes

1. All prisoners who are being held on E-Day, except for those held for ordinary crimes, shall be released by the Parties.

2. The International Committee of the Red Cross, together with the Parties shall agree on the arrangements for and the verification of the prisoner release process referred to in paragraph 1 above.

In witness whereof, the Parties have decided to sign this Protocol.

For the delegation of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The Mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Sant' Edigio, Rome, 4 October 1992

Protocol VII

On 4 October 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Armando Emílio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and composed of Mariano de Araujo Matsinha, Minister without Portfolio, Aguiar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodata Hunguana, Minister of Labour, Lieutenant General Tobías Dai, Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the

Republic, Brigadier Aleixo Malunga, Colonel Fideles De Sousa, Major Justino Nrepo and Major Eduardo Lauchande, and the delegation of Renamo, headed by Raul Manuel Domingos, Chief of the Organisation Department, and composed of José De Castro, Chief of the External Relations Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Chief of the Information Department, José Augusto Xavier, Director-General of the InternalAdministration Department, Major General Herminio Morais, Colonel Fernando Canivete, Lieutenant Colonel Arone Julai and Lieutenant António Domingos, meeting at Rome in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian Government and co-ordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi, of the Community of Sant' Edigio, and observers from the United Nations and the Governments of the United States of America, France,

the United Kingdom and Portugal, took up item 6 of the Agreed Agenda of 28 May 1991, entitled "Donors' conference", and agreed as follows:

1. The Parties decide to request the Italian Government to convene a conference of donor countries and organisations to finance the electoral process, emergency programmes and programmes for the reintegration of displaced persons, refugees and demobilised soldiers.

2. The Parties agree to request that, of the funds provided by donor countries, an appropriate share should be placed at the disposal of political parties to finance their activities.

3. The Parties appeal for the donors' conference to be convened no later than 30 days after E-Day. In addition to donor countries and organisations, the Government and Renamo shall also be invited to send representatives.

In witness whereof, the Parties have decided to sign this Protocol.

For the delegation of the Republic of Mozambique:

Armando Emílio Guebuza

For the delegation of Renamo:

Raul Manuel Domingos

The mediators:

Mario Raffaelli
Jaime Gonçalves
Andrea Riccardi
Matteo Zuppi

Sant' Edigio, Rome, 4 October 1992

Appendix C: (Mondlane's dormitory in Cambine)

This is the house where Eduardo Mondlane stayed in while studying agriculture in Cambine Mission which belongs to the United Methodist Church. Mondlane became later the first president of Mozambique

Appendix D: Patrulhas

This figure represents one point of patrulhas in Cambine. Young boys studying in Cambine used to be concentrated here to discuss different issues, lessons learned at school, church programs and discuss issues related to the Portuguese domination. It was in a place like this that the young generation at that time had the vision of a liberation war.

Appendix E: Result of elections

Results of presidential and legislative election held on 27-29 October, 1994[351]

Table 2. Presidential Election

Registered Voters   6,148,842

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 5,405,836 (87.9%)

Total blank Votes   312,143

Total invalid Votes   149,016

Total valid Votes   4,941,515

Total abstentions   772,813

Candidate Party	Numbers of votes	% of votes
Joaquim Chissano FRELIMO	2,633,740	53.35
Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO	1,666,965	33.73
Wehia Ripua PADEMO	141,905	2.87
Carlos Reis UNAMO	120,708	2.44
Máximo Dias MONAMO-PMSD	115,442	2.33
Campira Momboya PACODE	58,848	1.19
Yaqub Sibindy PIMO	51,070	1.03
Domingos Arouca FUMO-PCD	37,767	0.76
Carlos Jeque (Independent)	34,588	0.69
Casimiro Nhamitambo SOL	32,036	0.64
Mário Machel (Independent)	24,238	0.49
Padimbe Kamati PPPM	24,208	0.48
TOTAL	4,941,515	100.00

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[351] A. Correia (at. Al), *Moçambique: Dados Estatisticos do Processo Eleitoral 1994*, Maputo: M L Graphics Lda (1997),___ (page not available).
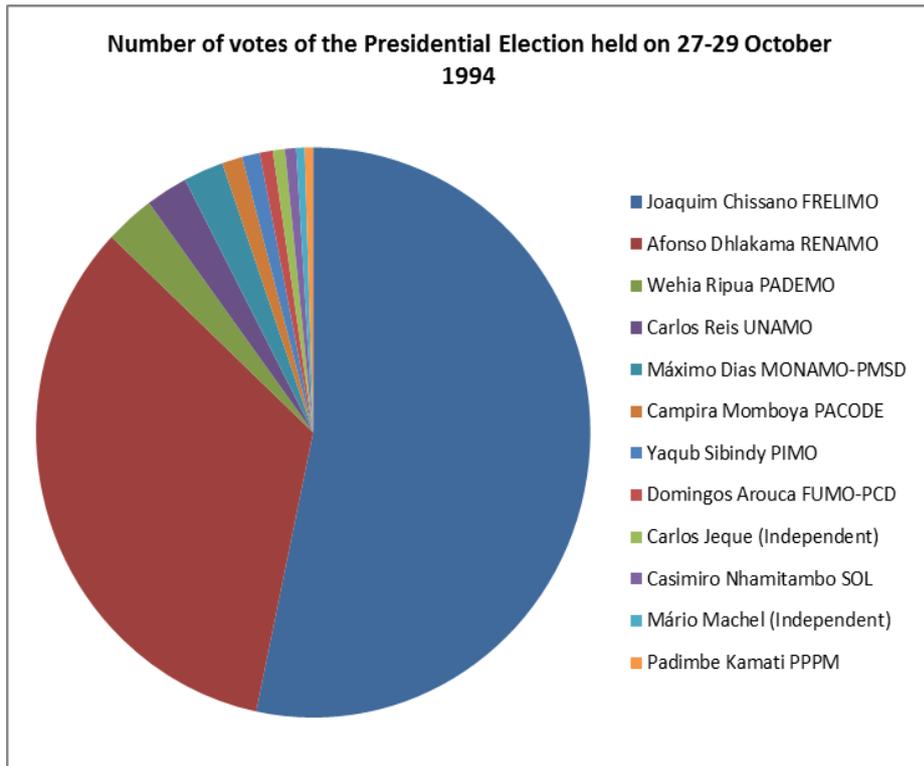
Graphic 1
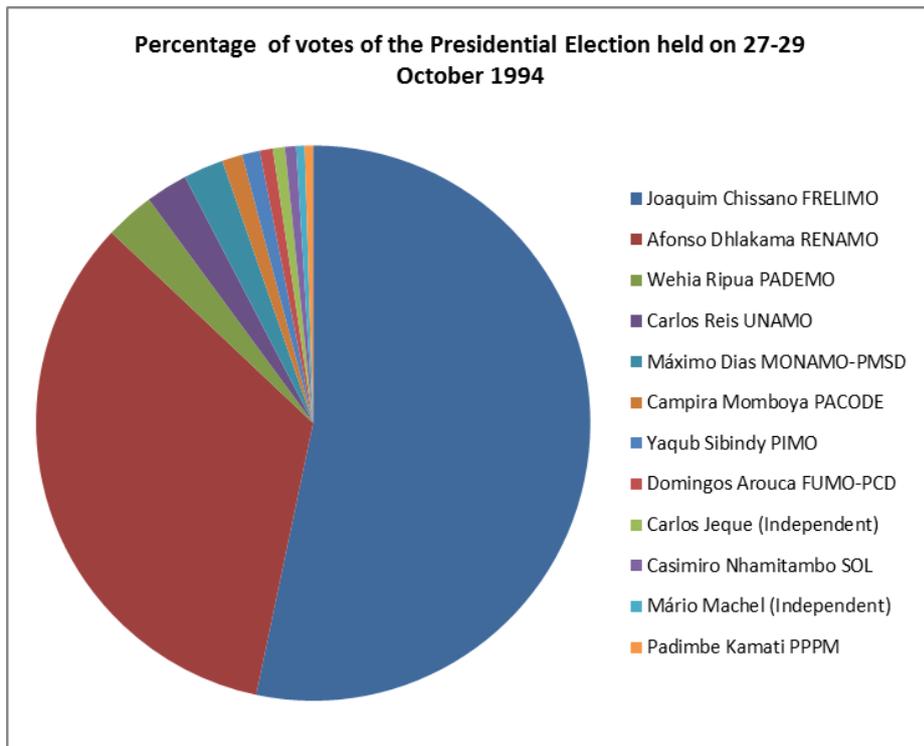
**Graphic 2**

Table 3: Legislative Elections

Registered Voters   6,148,842

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 5,404,199 (87.9%)

Total valid Votes   4,773,225

Total blank Votes   457,382

Total invalid Votes   173,592

Total abstentions   744,643

Party/Coalition	Numbers of votes	% of votes	Seats
FRELIMO	2,115,793	44.33	129
RENAMO	1,803,506	37.78	112
UD	245,793	5.15	9
AP	93,031	1.95	-
SOL	79,622	1.67	-
FUMO-PCD	66,527	1.39	-
PCN	60,635	1.27	-
PIMO	58,590	1.23	-
PACODE	52,446	1.10	-
PPPM	50,793	1.06	-
PRD	48,030	1.01	-
PADEMO	36,689	0.77	-
UNAMO	34,809	0.73	-
PT	26,961	0.56	-
TOTAL	4,773,225	100	250

Graphic 3

Number of votes of the Legislative Elections held on the 27-29/10/1994

241
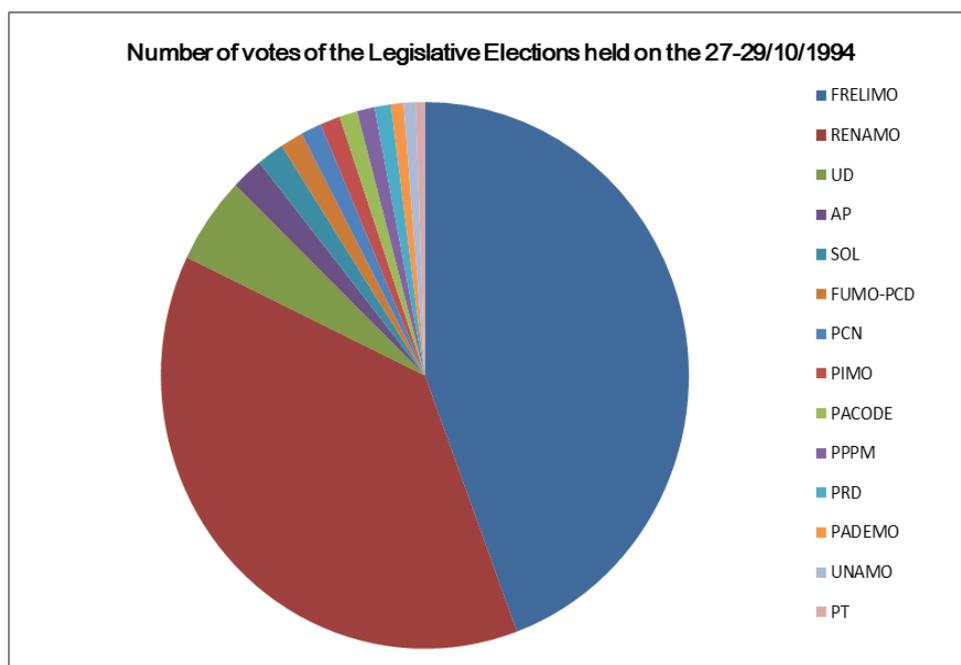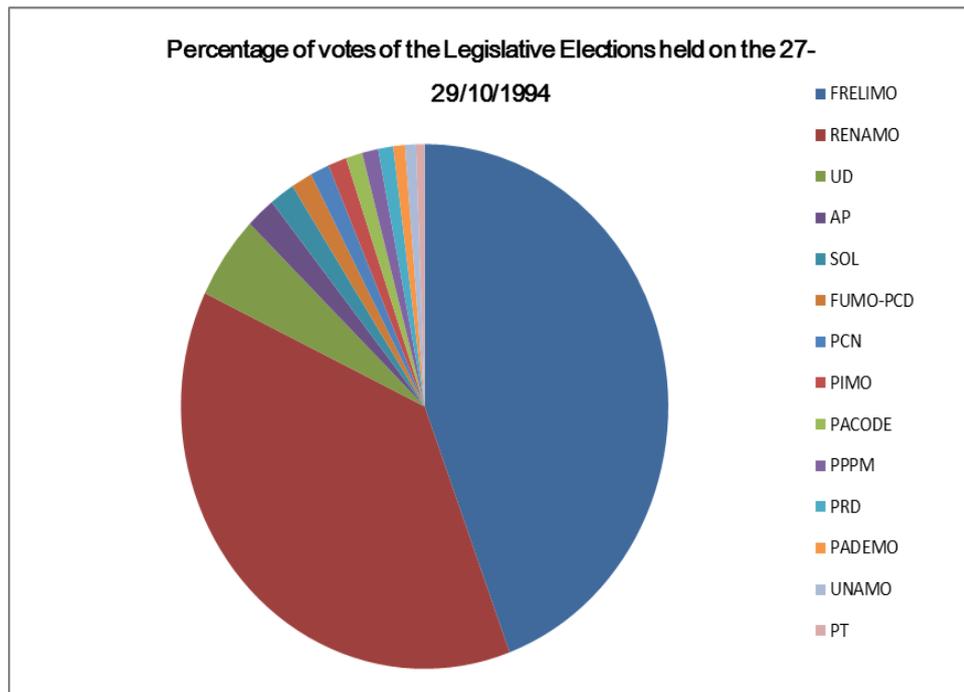
Graphic 4

Results of presidential and legislative election held on 03-05 December 1999[352]

Table 4. Presidential Election

Registered Voters	7,099,105
Total Votes (Voter Turnout)	4,936,748 (69.54%)
Total valid Votes	4,474,103
Total blank votes	320,955
Total invalid votes	141,690
Total abstentions	2,162,357

Candidate Party (Coalition)	Number of votes	% Votes
Joaquim Chissano FRELIMO	2,339,848	52.29
Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO-UE	2,134,255	47.71
TOTAL	4,474,103	100

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[352] A. G. Carrasco (at. Al), *Eleições Gerais- 1999*, Maputo: Brithol Michoma (2001), 42.

Graphic 5

Number of votes of the Presidential Election held on the 3-5/12/1999

■ Joaquim Chissano FRELIMO
■ Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO-UE

Graphic 6

Percentage of votes of the Presidential Election held on the 3-5/12/1999

■ Joaquim Chissano FRELIMO
■ Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO-UE
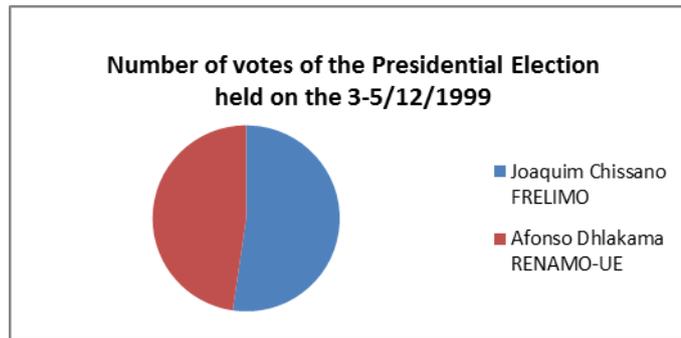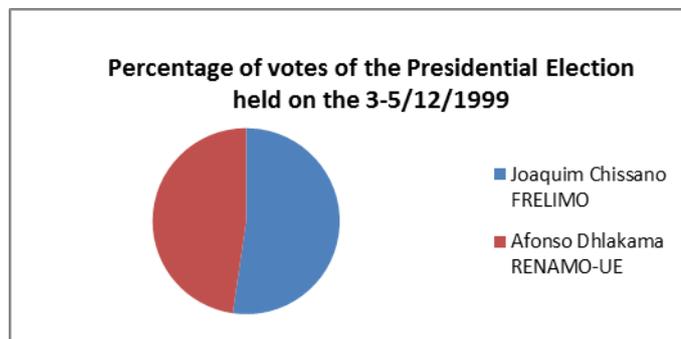
Table 5. Legislative Elections

Registered Voters   7,099,105

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 4,821,499 (67.92%)

Total valid Votes   4,136,158

Total blank votes   463,011

Total invalid votes   222,330

Total abstentions   2,277,606

Party/Coalition	Number of votes	% Votes	Seats
FRELIMO	2,008,165	48.55	133
RENAMO-UE	1,604,470	38.79	117
PT	111,280	2.69	-
PALMO	102,115	2.47	-
SOL	83,515	2.02	-
UMO	64,182	1.55	-
UD	61,276	1.48	-
PADELIMO	33,247	0.80	-
PIMO	29,456	0.71	-
PANAOC	24,615	0.60	-

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PPLM	11,684	0.28	-
PASOMO	2,153	0.05	-
Total	4 136 158	100.00	250

Graphic 7

Number of votes of the legislative election held on 03–05 December 1999

Graphic 8

Percentage of votes of the legislative election held on 03–05 December 1999

244
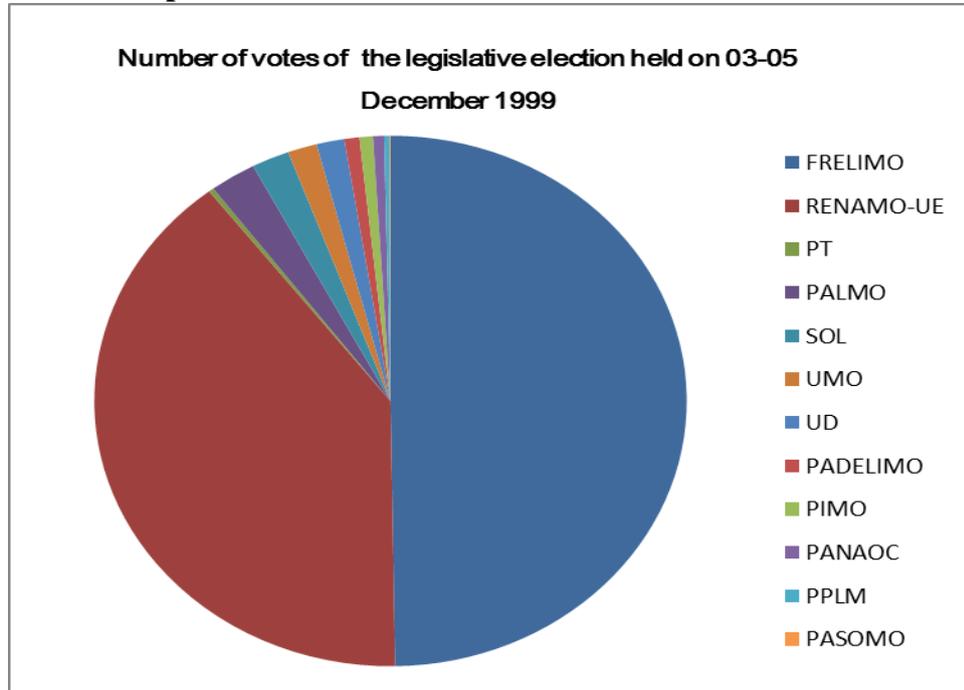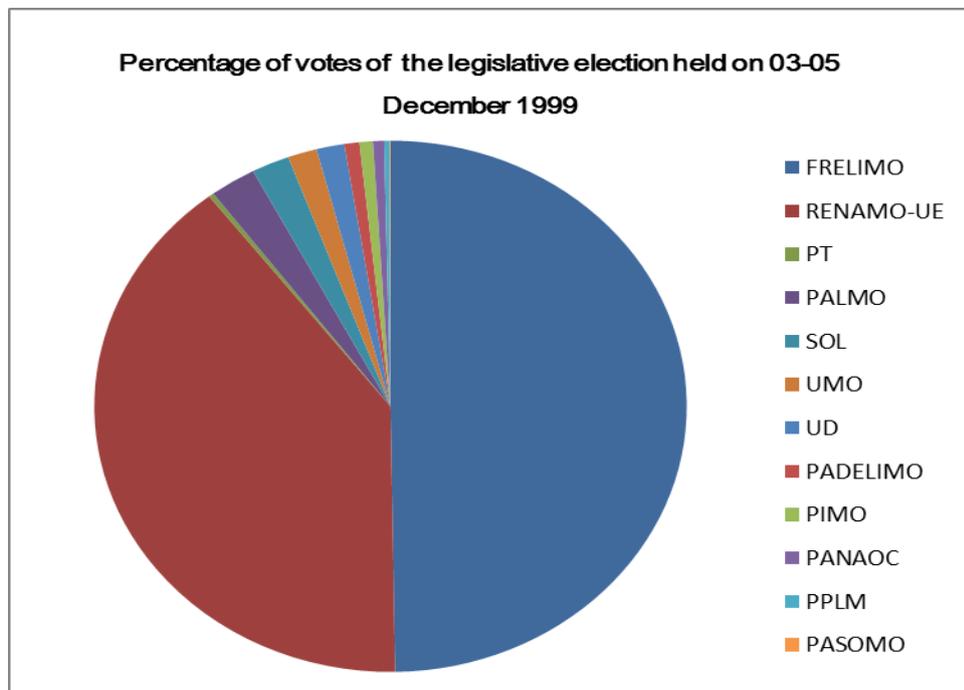
Results of presidential and legislative election held on 01-03 December 2004[353]

Table 6. Presidential Election

Registered voters   9,142,151

Total Votes (Voter Turnout)   3,329,167 (36.4%)

Total valid votes   3,144,168

Total of blank votes   96,684

Total of invalid votes   88,315

Total abstentions   5,812,984

Candidate Party (Coalition)	Number of votes	% Votes
Armando Guebuza FRELIMO	2,004,226	63.8
Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO-UE	998,059	31.7
Raul Domingos PDD	85,815	2.7
Jacob Neves Salomão Sibindy PIMO	28,656	0.9
Carlos Reis (UNAMO) [MBG]	27,412	0.9
TOTAL	3,144,168	100
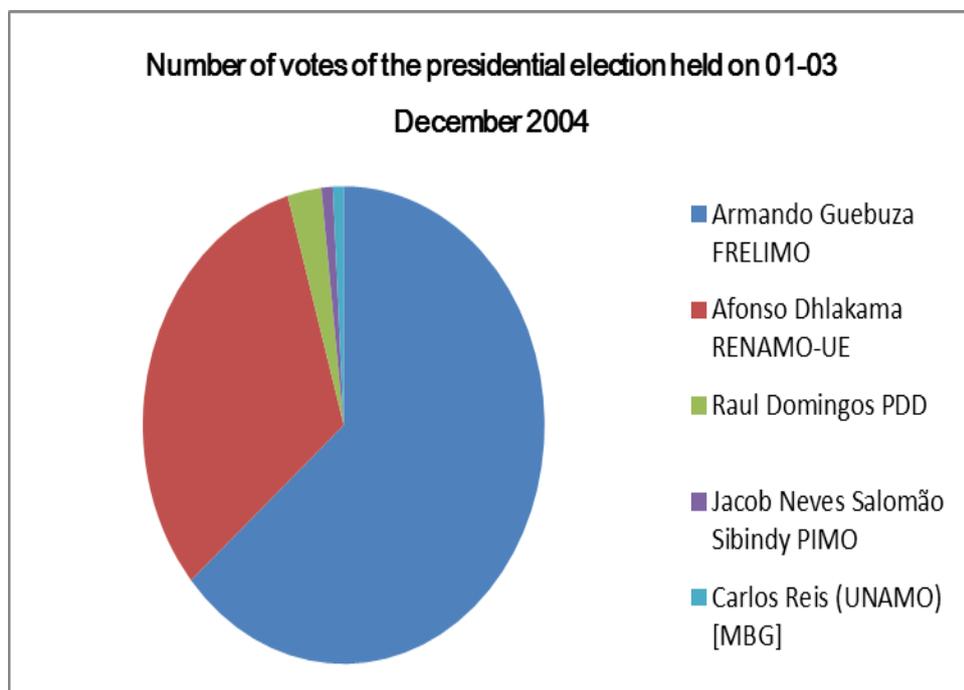
Graphic 9

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[353] A. Gregório (at. al), *General Elections 2004*, Maputo: Elográfico (2004), 36-37.

245

Percentage of votes of the presidential election held on 01-03 December 2004

- Armando Guebuza FRELIMO
- Afonso Dhlakama RENAMO-UE
- Raul Domingos PDD
- Jacob Neves Salomão Sibindy PIMO
- Carlos Reis (UNAMO) [MBG]
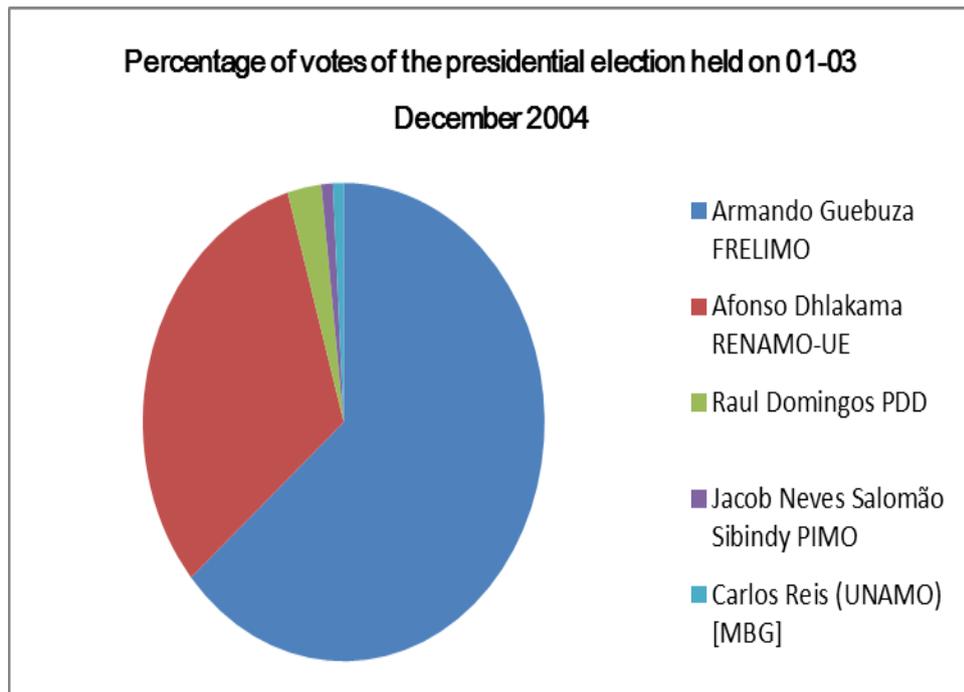
Graphic 10

Table 7. Legislative Elections

Total Registered	9,142,151
Total Votes (voter turnout)	3,321,926 (36.3%)
Total blank votes	166,540
Total valid votes	3,045,429
Total invalid votes	109,957
Total abstentions	5,820,255

Party/Coalition	Number of votes	% Votes	Seats
FRELIMO	1,889,054	62.02	160
RENAMO-UE	905,289	29.84	90
PDD	60,758	1.99	-
PAZS	26,686	0.87	-
PARENA	18,220	0.59	-
PIMO	17,960	0.58	-
PASOMO	15,740	0.51	-
PT	14,242	0.46	-
SOL	13,915	0.45	-
PEC-MT	12,285	0.40	-
MBG	11,059	0.36	-
UD	10,310	0.33	-
PVM	9,950	0.32	-
PALMO	9,263	0.30	-

PAREDE	9,026	0.29	-
USAMO	8,661	0.28	-
FAO	7,591	0.24	-
PADELIMO	3,720	0.12	-
CDU	1,252	0.04	-
PPD	448	0.01	-
Total	3,045,429	100	250
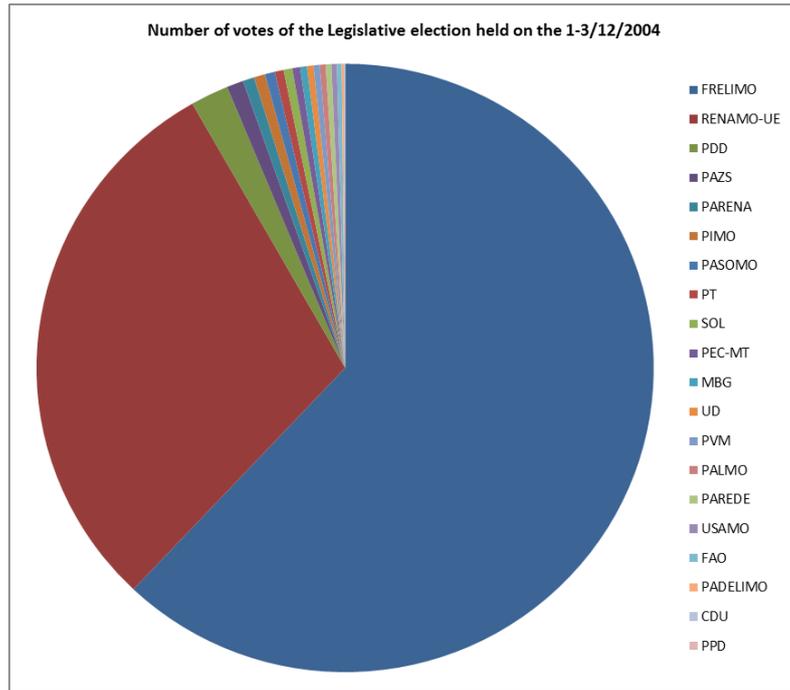
Graphic 11

Graphic 12

247
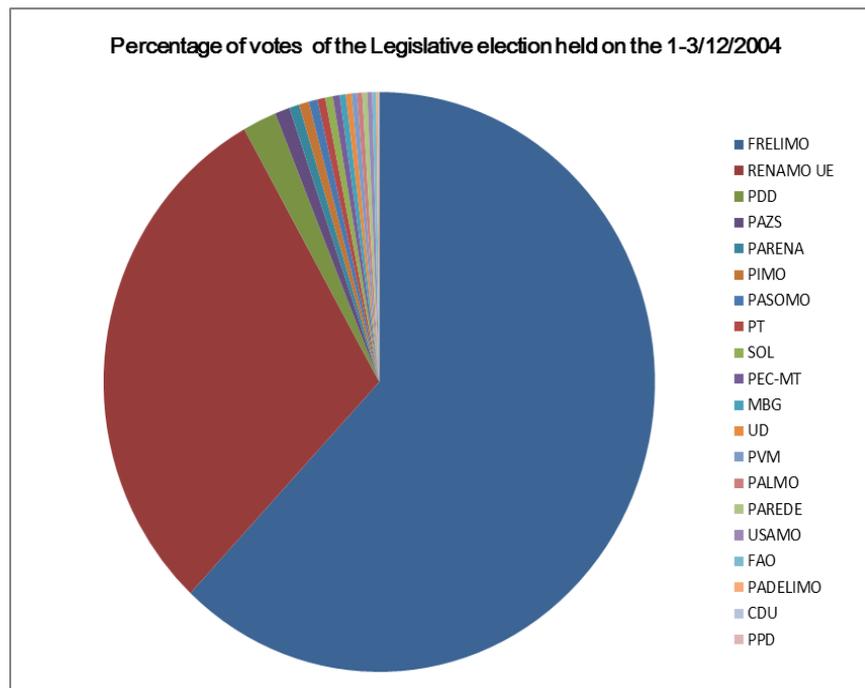
Table 8: Summary of abstentions[354]

Year	Voter registered	Total abstentions	%
1994	6.148.842	772.813	12.5
1999	7.099.105	2.162.357	33.45
2004	9.142.151	5.812.984	63.58

Appendix F: Map of Mozambique showing languages spoken in the country

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[354] G. Mbilana, *Reformas Constitucional, Política e Eleitoral* , Maputo: CIEDIMA (2012), 129.

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Appendix G: Community authority

Pedro Fernando Mucambe- Community leadership

Fernando F. N. Mucambe- Traditional authority

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Appendix H: FRELIMO membership Card
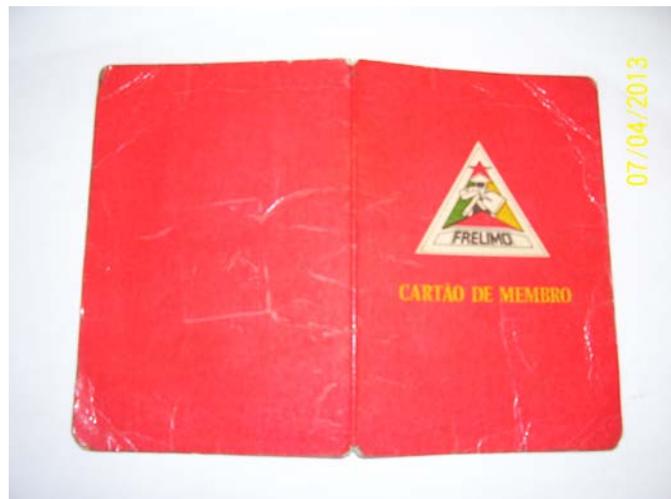
The outside of the card

Inside the card

Appendix I: Sculptures made by pieces of destroyed weapons

Figure 1: "Tree of Life Sculpture"[355]

Figure 2: "Chair of Sculpture"[356]

These Sculptures were made out of chopped guns and other decommissioned weapons under the TAE project run by The Christian Council of Mozambique

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[355]http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/dfidwork/ppas/christian-treelife.pdf
[356]http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_image.aspx?image=mm043394.jpg&retpage=16119

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Appendix J: Dam project in Changara- Tete

Figure 1

This photo shows how a dam is prepared in Tete. During the rainy season a good quantity of sand is accumulated which facilitates the retention of water for a long time. The residents open wells to fetch water from.

Figure 2

This is a simple of well from which is used for different purposes, watering the gardens, to prepare brikes, washing clothes, fetching water for people,

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Figure 3

Crops produced from the water that comes from the dam

Figure 4

A lady with her baby waiting for people to buy any product from her garden

Figure 5
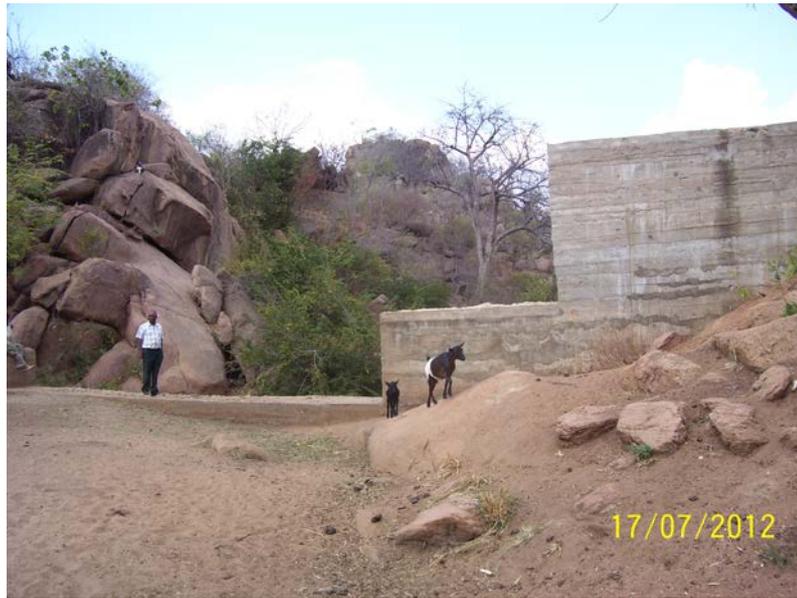
Goats' coming back after drinking water: The man on this photo is the coordinator of the CCM in Tete Province, his name is Tiago Vilanculos.

Figure 6

A woman washing clothes with water fetched from the dam.

Figure 7

A boy coming with water from the wells

Figure 8

Bricks made using the water from the dam

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Appendix K: Cassava Tree
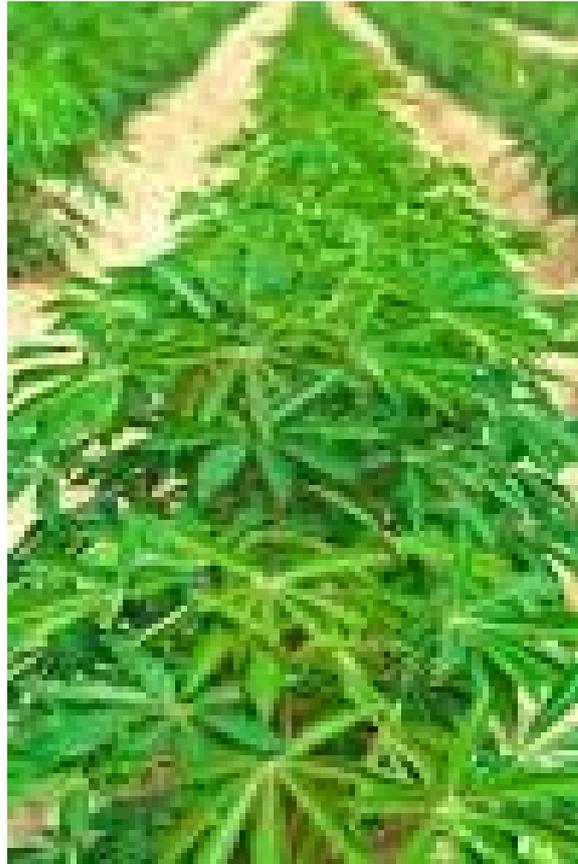
Cassava Leaves

Cassava Roots

Appendix L: Members of the Mozambican State Council

Members of the Mozambican Council of State: Verónica Macamo- President of the parliament, Aires Ali- former Prime Minister, Eduardo Mulémbuè, Luísa Diogo, Deolinda Guezimane, Manuel Francisco, António Muchanga, Bishop Dinis Sengulane, Sheik Abdulrazak Ali Salimo, Alberto Chipande, Bonifácio Gruveta e Brazão Mazula

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Appendix M: Questioner

1. What is the role played by the state in the multi-party democracy in Mozambique?

   _____

   _____

2. What characterises contemporary Mozambican democracy? Anything to criticise?

   _____

   _____

3. Mozambican democracy (elections) is characterised by abstention. What message are people conveying through this attitude?

   _____

   _____

4. How to change this scenario?

   _____

   _____

5. What is the contribution of the church towards Mozambican democracy?

   _____

   _____

6. Should churches be involved in politics? Why?

   _____

   _____

7. To what extent should it be said that church and state are working together for Mozambican democracy?

   _____

   _____

8. How is the relationship between church and state evaluated?

   _____

   _____