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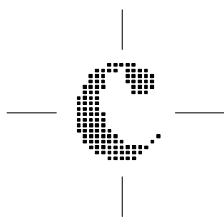
Working Paper 5

Mozambique: Prospects
for a Lasting Peace?

Sanusha Naidu¹

Conflict Research Unit
Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’
November 2001

¹ Standard Bank Africa Researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs, based at Jan Smuts House at Wits University. The study is based on a review of literature on the democratic process in Mozambique as well as a series of interviews conducted in Mozambique and South Africa during November and December 2000. The majority of interviews were conducted either off the record or as background to substantiate information gathered from published sources. Where I have taken direct quotes I have given the date and place of the interview. Finally while the report provides a broad overview of the political landscape of Mozambique’s fledgling democracy and the structural conditions that underpin, it also seeks to direct the reader toward a plethora of sources that deals with the subject matter of this report. However the latter is by no means an exhaustive list.



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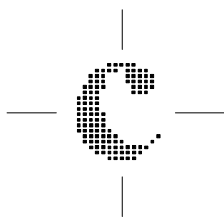
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Executive Summary

This paper has been written in the framework of the research project entitled 'Coping with Internal Conflict Project' (CICP) executed by the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Netherlands Institute of International relations 'Clingendael' for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The CICP consists of four different components, namely 'Power Sharing', 'Political Military Relations', 'Political Economy of Internal Conflict' and 'Resources, Entitlements and Poverty -related Conflict'.

Since the General Peace Agreement, signed in Rome in 1992 between Frelimo and Renamo, Mozambique has been widely regarded as a success story in terms of political reconciliation, pacification, and economic recovery. This success has placed the country on the 'A-list' of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and United Nations and has become a blue print for countries on the path of post-conflict reconstruction. Where other countries such as Angola have slipped back into conflict, Mozambique is seen as progressing toward a stable peace process, multiparty elections, and the transformation of the armed opposition into a civil political party.

Yet, in spite of these structural successes, some analysts have labeled Mozambique as a conundrum. This is particularly in view of the contradiction between phenomenal macro-economic growth at one level and the endemic spread of poverty at the other end, where almost 70% of the population who live below the poverty line. This inherent paradox has raised concerns over the substance of democracy in the country, underpinned by the simmering tensions between the two main opponents, Frelimo and Renamo.

Even though Mozambique may fit the description of an electoral democracy, it still remains trapped in the impact of the civil war, which has dimmed the possibility of a rapprochement between Frelimo and Renamo. In fact, the process of consultation between Chissano and Dhlakama in order to resolve the paralysed state of Mozambican politics underline a tendency towards a permanent entrenchment of democratic minimalism.

Therefore this paper argues that for the consolidation of democracy to become meaningful in Mozambique a power-sharing arrangement needs to be institutionalized within the political structures of the country. But this can only be realized if both Parties show a sufficient commitment to democracy that underscores a sense of democratic maturity.

Mozambique: Prospects for a Lasting Peace? ²

Introduction

Mozambique is perhaps the most successful story in the Southern African (apart from South Africa) region in terms of its recent political and economic transformation. Since the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome, 1992, Mozambique has recorded phenomenal economic growth rates. This has enabled the country to make the 'A-list' of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations (UN) in becoming a blueprint for countries in Southern Africa on the path of post-war reconstruction.

The road to multiparty democracy in Mozambique began in 1992 with the signing of a peace accord between the two main opponents.³ This effectively brought to an end 16 years of civil war. Although, the peace process was largely engineered by Italy, the Roman Catholic Church, USA, SA, other developed countries as well as big business, it was also influenced by regional leaders. Regional leaders like President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe played a strategic role during the peace process, especially in facilitating talks between Renamo and church leaders. Following the protracted negotiations, the parties agreed to hold the first democratic election in 1994. This decision was a historic victory for the people of Mozambique as well as for the international community.

Unlike in Angola where peace talks broke down and Unita went back to guerrilla warfare tactics, Mozambique represented a success story for the peace brokers. The much-advertised success of the peace process was in response to the failed cease-fire agreement in Angola. The international community needed to demonstrate that even the second poorest country in the world could stage elections like any other democratic nation. This fanfare was really based on appeasing the international community's sense of justice and ego in which they could claim to be the victors of bringing peace and democracy to a country that was unable to achieve it on its own. The jubilation surrounding the signing of the 1992 General Peace Accord (GPA) in Rome, fostered great hope amongst world leaders, multilateral agencies and international financial

² This report has also been published by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) as a country report.

³ The signing of the Peace Accord was not a smooth process. Three broad problems were identified: a) while the parties talked ordinary Mozambicans continued to suffer and die; b) there was a severe lack of trust between Renamo and Frelimo; and c) the agenda presented by each side was not always accepted by the other. See Armon, J, Hendrickson, D & Vines, A (eds.) (1998): "The Mozambican Process in Perspective", *An International Review of Peace Initiatives: ACCORD*, Iss. 3, London: Conciliation Resources, for a concise overview of the issues surrounding the peace process in Mozambique.

institutions that Mozambique was well and truly on its way to a post-conflict reconstructed society.

On the other hand, the signing of the peace process, followed by the 1994 elections ushered in a new era in Mozambique's history. Firstly, it brought stability, and a peaceful transition. Secondly, it nurtured an economic environment, enabling the Frelimo led government to pursue sound economic fundamentals, which has resulted in remarkable growth levels. Finally, it installed a democratic process, which engendered the principles of free press, basic human rights, an increasingly assertive civil society. But most of all it encouraged the participation of ordinary citizens in the electoral process. To this end, the people of Mozambique have been given the right to choose their leaders both in government and as the opposition. All in all this is what many see as the success story of Mozambique. However, this picture masks the realities, which exists within the country.

In recent months the political spectrum in Mozambique seems to be unraveling and the country appears to be at a crossroads. Like all emerging democracies, Mozambique is faced with teething problems regarding social justice and wealth accumulation. Intimately linked to this is the issue of power relations between and amongst the main role players. There is doubt as to whether any political rapprochement between Frelimo and Renamo has emerged. In fact, Renamo continues to feel marginalised and excluded from influence and power, while Frelimo continues to strengthen its position as the ruling party. If anything the rivalry and animosity between the two parties have increased. Furthermore, the benefits of the phenomenal economic growth are not accruing to everyone in society. Instead the gap between the rich and poor is widening, fuelled by corruption, uneven levels of development between the provinces, and increasing poverty. In addition, reconciliation is being overshadowed by the winner take all system which is underpinned by the 1990 Constitution. Given these prevailing threats, the situation in Mozambique appears to be more fragile than what meets the eye.

Thus far two influences seem to have helped Mozambique to maintain its equilibrium:

- 1) the role of the international community, and
- 2) the spirit of the Mozambican people.

Although democratic transition theorists would see these structural problems as endemic of the 'honey moon phase', the trajectory of these problems remain critical for furthering the consolidation of democracy, especially in countries that have moved from a one party state to a multiparty democratic system.

Thus, what may appear to have been a remarkable recovery from the bitter years of civil war is set at risk again by the volatility of political uncertainty and economic desperation. Now more than ever, the balance is being threatened by the failure of government to address popular aspirations and engender political maturity. Therefore this study will analyse the structural conditions that might foster and underpin this potential threat. The report will also highlight prospects that might exist for a power-sharing mechanism in Mozambique wherein all concerned actors can co-exist in a constitutional model that engenders their needs and interests while simultaneously expressing the aspirations of ordinary Mozambicans.

In this regard and for purposes of this report power-sharing will be defined as a political arrangement involving a government of national unity, aimed at creating strong political institutions which underpin a devolution of power at the provincial and local level, and ultimately strengthen the structures of democracy. Moreover, from a Mozambican perspective, a power-sharing mechanism will also have to be designed to include an instrument of equal access to resources by political parties in order to participate in the electoral system. To this end it is important that such an arrangement will contribute to the reinforcement of political

institutions as well as address the issues of unfair distribution of political power, services and material resources. Thus from a minimalist perspective power-sharing in Mozambique should be based on a process of inclusion in order to legitimize and strengthen the democratic process while fostering democratic maturity in the country. In this way, such an arrangement will create the necessary political conditions for conflict management and resolution, notwithstanding a working relationship between Frelimo and Renamo that underscores a process of sustaining democracy in Mozambique.

Historical Background⁴

Mozambique has an interesting and diverse historical background. A combination of Arab, British, and Portuguese influences coupled with indigenous traditions underpins the political, economic and social landscape of the country. Portugal colonised the country, but it was a weak metropolitan power, which was unable to exploit the colony's resources effectively or to establish an efficient administration. As a result vast areas of the country were carved up and leased as concessions to private firms. These private firms operated as independent fiefdoms, which maintained almost complete control over large swathes of territory and became notorious for both forced labour abuses and failure to develop their territories. They maintained control over the territories until the 1930s, when their leases expired under the centralising policies of the Portuguese dictator Antonio Salazar.

Having wrested control of the territories from the concession companies, the Colonial Administration intensified its involvement in Mozambique. From the 1950s and for two more decades there was a steady inflow of Portuguese settlers to the colony. This was stimulated by changes in the colonial investment patterns. The authorities issued a series of development plans designed to extend and upgrade Mozambique's transportation and communications infrastructure, to encourage those Portuguese, who had accumulated capital from monopolies, to invest in, expand and, diversify their undertakings. The generally favourable prices for tropical commodities in the post-war era fuelled the trend and the colonial economy expanded quite vigorously, encouraged by the influx of Portuguese settlers who took advantage of employment and business opportunities. By the early 1970s more than 200,000 Portuguese nationals were resident in Mozambique. However, the authorities still maintained a tight rein over African economic and physical mobility. They stifled the evolution of an indigenous petty bourgeoisie by monopolising skilled labour opportunities, and suppressing nationalist aspirations by barring Africans' access to bureaucratic and administration power.

⁴ This section is based on a series of documents that provide similar background information on Mozambique. In particular I have made extensive use of the following documents: *Mozambique Election Update '99*, Electoral Institute of South Africa, No.2, October 1999, CIA: *The World Factbook 2000: Mozambique*, <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mz/html> & *Encyclopedia Britannica: Country Profile: Mozambique*, <http://www.britannica.com>, United Nations Development Programme (2000): *Mozambique: National Human Development Report*, Maputo: UNDP. Also used World Bank Development Report 1999: *Mozambique*. Population Reference Bureau: *Mozambique*, <http://www.data.worldpop.org/prjprbdata/wcprbdata.asp?DW=DR>; Africa Business Network: *Country Profile Center: Mozambique*, <http://www.ifc.org/abn/cic/mozambique/english/prof.htm>.

Despite, the repressive stance taken by the Portuguese administration, anti colonial groups were formed and in 1962 the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (Frelimo) was born out of a coalition of three banned political groups. Frelimo came to champion the struggle for independence, and from 1964 a 'national liberation struggle' began to gather momentum. Operating from bases in Tanzania, Frelimo conducted a classic, anti-colonialist guerilla war, chiefly in the north of the country, politicising a sympathetic rural population in the process.

The turning point in the liberation struggle came on April 25, 1974 with a military coup, which overthrew the Salazar regime in Portugal. This change in the structure of power in Portugal forced the regime to make a rapid exit from Mozambique. Frelimo, which had yet to penetrate the central and southern regions of the country, capitalised on the situation to ensure that it would emerge from the transition as the dominant political force. Even though there were individuals in Mozambique who resisted Frelimo's authority and attempted a counter revolutionary attack, the internal chaos in Portugal compelled the newly elected administration to grant Mozambique its independence. Initially Portugal requested that elections should be held, but this was rejected and arrangements were made for the direct transfer of power to Frelimo. On 25 June 1975, Mozambique became an independent state under the leadership of Frelimo with Samora Machel as the first President. This victory for the people of Mozambique seemed to mark the beginning of the road to democracy.

Mozambique after Independence

Mozambique gained its independence amid a chaotic and violent exodus of Portuguese settlers, including almost all of the technical and managerial elite. Property and productive infrastructure was sabotaged and abandoned, and the country was left with a largely dysfunctional economy and an unskilled human resource base. Frelimo inherited a markedly fragile state with government and the economy in the hands of inexperienced Frelimo cadres with little formal training and high rate of illiteracy. Those embittered ex-colonists who remained further undermined the country's ability to rebuild. Despite the political and administrative disarray, Frelimo asserted its own vision of national unity, swiftly consolidating one-party rule and implementing a range of other measures to limit opposition and establish control over the populace.

The most important focus of the Frelimo government was to create a non-racial, classless society. The Party's socialist values became the underlying basis for governance.⁵ While some might argue that the socialist project was weak and without merit, at the time Socialism offered an alternative political system to the Western form of government, which leaders of liberation movements saw as perpetuating exploitation and class divisions. In line with a Socialist vision, Frelimo committed itself to a centrally planned economy.⁶ However, the vision of winning the hearts and minds of the people was not entirely altruistic. Frelimo, guided

⁵ See Rupiya, M (1998): 'Historical Context: War and Peace in Mozambique' *ACCORD, op cit.*, for a discussion of Frelimo's 3rd Party Congress where the liberation movement was formally transformed into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.

⁶ Ostheimer, 1999, p. 16.

by its need to establish firm control, took punitive measures against those who had opposed them, including the Roman Catholic Church, which it accused of aligning itself with the colonial regime.⁷ Most of the measures adopted by Frelimo were aimed at protecting its power base.

Despite the nationalist rhetoric, Frelimo was accused of giving certain groups preferential treatment under the new administration, which sharpened tensions in some rural areas. Large estates, which were abandoned by the Portuguese, were taken over by the State. These farms absorbed the bulk of agricultural investment while peasant production fell into sharp decline. The resentment this caused was heightened by Frelimo's largely compulsory 'villagisation programme', which compelled peasants towards communal production.⁸ But their main disadvantage was the marginalisation of the traditional authorities.⁹ Ultimately, Frelimo's ambitious nationalisation project evolved into a centralisation of economic and political control and the zeal of the Frelimo elite soon turned into a form of authoritarianism. Eventually this authoritarianism created acute economic cleavages between the ordinary citizens and the ruling elite.

Frelimo's frenetic assertion of control, its unaccountability, and its Marxist approach to running the country, which involved the identification of 'class enemies',¹⁰ soon produced aggrieved groups who had lost out or suffered under its rule. Where pockets of resistance emerged, they were eliminated and the party established an unchallenged authority over the political landscape. When organised resistance did come it was mainly driven by outside intervention.

⁷ In this regard Frelimo established 're-education camps' for dissidents and opposition leaders. The aim of the camps was to 're-educate' these individuals against anti-state activities. Moreover, Frelimo placed severe limitations on the role and authority of traditional leaders by setting up Dynamising Committees. These committees were given extensive powers to supplant the authority of traditional leaders in rural areas while in urban areas they were tasked to send 'unproductive' residents to the 're-education camps'. Intrinsically linked to the issue of traditional authority was the question of land, which Frelimo, when it came to power, brought under the control of the State. This caused serious tensions between the state and traditional leaders as well as for many farmers who wanted to see the land returned to their families. See West, H.G. & Kloeck-Jenson, S., (1999): 'Betwixt and Between: "traditional authority" and democratic decentralisation in post-war Mozambique' in *African Affairs: Journal of the Royal African Society*, 98 (393), October, pp. 455-485 for the impact of Frelimo rule on traditional authority. On another level the government established the National Service for Public Security (SNAP) which was a secret police service who was given immense authority to detain those of anti-state activities. Finally the government cracked down on religious groups who they believed sided with the colonial regime. See Rupiya, *op cit.*, p. 12.

⁸ The communal villages were also used as a counter insurgency base by the government to counteract attacks against it by the Rhodesian armed forces and internal opposition groups. This allowed for the government to have greater control over these communes and over the rural population who worked on these farms. But for many of the peasants in the communes the system reminded them of the colonial *aldeamentos*.

⁹ West et al, p. 461.

¹⁰ Some commentators have argued that the ethnic question has fuelled the tensions between the ruling elite and the opposition. However, in almost all the literature read and from speaking to people in Mozambique it would appear that the ethnic question, which might have some merit in certain instances, is a very isolated factor in the Mozambican context. If anything, most often commentators, politicians, and even ordinary people highlight that is class structures that influenced the tensions between Dhlakama and the ruling Frelimo elite, and even between Dhlakama and some members in Renamo who are seen to be advancing their class interests. To this end the question of ethnic tensions appears to be subsumed under the rubric of class interests where given the inability of the Frelimo government to meet the basic economic expectations of the majority of the people, could be interpreted as a source of mobilisation by the economically marginalised against the Party.

The Civil War

The outbreak of the civil war was directly attributable to the status quo of regional politics at the time. Frelimo's victory in Mozambique had a contagion effect on other liberation movements fighting for independence within the region. It renewed hope and optimism amongst these movements to increase their struggle against the white minority regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Furthermore, the Frelimo government was sympathetic to these movements and allowed them to use Mozambique as a base for counter insurgencies. It was out this context that Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (Renamo) was born.

Renamo, which was formed in 1977 by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation, was in response to President Machel's growing support for the Zimbabwean National Liberation Army (Zanla), and his enforcement of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. Renamo comprised of soldiers who had fought with the Portuguese during the colonial war as well as Frelimo dissidents. Its initial objectives were to destabilise the Mozambican government and provide intelligence on Zanla guerrillas operating within its border. In pursuing these aims, Renamo enjoyed limited grass root support and did not pose a serious threat to Frelimo. However, this changed after 1980 when Rhodesia was granted independence and Zanla took control.

Zimbabwe's transition to majority rule effectively left Renamo without a sponsor. Eventually control of the group was handed over to the South African Military Intelligence Directorate (MID). South Africa's desire in revitalising Renamo was to counteract Mozambique's support for the armed opposition to apartheid, and to block landlocked Zimbabwe's access to the sea through Mozambique. The intention was to increase South Africa's dominance within the regional economy. Under SA's tutelage, Renamo's strength increased and the group distinguished itself in terms of violence and brutality. By 1982 Renamo was active in most parts of Mozambique, especially up north and in the centre of the country, and became a serious military threat to the government. Its grassroots support, notably amongst the rural poor, also increased since Frelimo's authoritarian control led to ambivalence and hostility towards the government. This exacerbated the civil conflict and provided Renamo with the political space to exploit the situation.

In 1984 SA and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Non Aggression Pact. The Pact laid down the foundation for a cessation of hostilities between both sides. In exchange for SA halting its support for Renamo, the Frelimo government would close down ANC military operations from its territory. A series of South African mediated negotiations also took place between Frelimo and Renamo in an attempt to reach a lasting settlement to the war. However, these talks collapsed under pressure from the South African military and other opposition groups. Even though Frelimo largely stuck to the terms of the Nkomati accord, SA did not and continued to covertly support Renamo. Eventually this led to the break down of the Nkomati accord.

SA's covert support for Renamo forced the rebels to adopt new insurgency tactics. These tactics were more destructive than before and included the targeting of key strategic areas and civilians. Instilling fear and terrorising the rural population became the hallmark of Renamo's offensive. The tactics were part of a standard terrorist strategy intended to advertise the rebels' strength, weaken the authority of the government and to undermine the rural production systems on which Mozambique depended. To this end Renamo destroyed transport links, health clinics, schools and all other infrastructure that represented social security and government provision. By the late 1980s Mozambique had dissolved into one of Africa's greatest humanitarian disasters with the state moving towards total collapse.

The Frelimo government, on the other hand, was faced with a demoralised army and it was unable to

maintain control across vast areas of territory. Enlisting the help of its regional neighbours, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, the government attempted to flesh out Renamo bases in neighbouring countries in order to stop the insurgency attacks. Though this initiative had some success, Renamo continued to receive support from SA government, Portuguese business interests, and evangelical Protestant groups channelling their aid through Malawi and Kenya.

The turning point came in the late 1980s as a result of significant shifts in the national, regional and international political scene.¹¹ The death of President Machel under mysterious circumstances, the unbundling of the Apartheid regime, and the dismantling of the Soviet Union forced both sides to realise that a military victory was unattainable and the war was entering a stalemate. It was within this context that the first round of peace talks started in Nairobi in August 1989.

Talking Peace:¹² Toward Multi-Party Democracy

The peace talks proved to be one of the most sensitive and critical periods in Mozambique's long walk to democracy. The distrust formed as a result of the civil war was enough to derail the peace process. But while each was particularly weary of the other, and sought not to compromise their bargaining power, the situation in Mozambique did not threaten to move in the direction of Angola. In Mozambique Renamo did not have the capacity to start another civil war simply because its support base no longer existed while the country does not have precious resources like diamonds and oil with which it could hold Frelimo and the country ransom. By 1990 Renamo's *raison d'être* for a continuing war diminished.¹³ For Frelimo the failure of the SAPs to alleviate poverty, and the fact that the war was becoming extremely costly compelled Joaquim Chissano (successor to Machel after his untimely death) to set in motion a major review of the country's economic, foreign, and civil rights policies. This review opened the way for a number of reforms and even brought reconciliation with the Catholic Church and a formal retreat from Marxism-Leninism.

Although the Mozambican case did not exemplify the Angolan cease-fire, which broke down, there were other structural problems that became clearly evident. One of the main challenges to the cease-fire agreement and the peace process was the feeling of inequality. To be fair, Frelimo had a competitive edge over its rivalry.

The 1990 Constitution embodied almost everything that Renamo had been fighting for:

- A guarantee of individual basic rights like freedom of belief, opinion, and association;
- Party pluralism;
- The independence of the courts; and
- A direct vote by the president.

But these unilateral reforms had a negative impact on the peace process. The fact that Frelimo set the pace of

¹¹ Ostheimer, 1999, p. 17.

¹² See Armon et al, 1998, 3, Accord special on the Mozambican cease fire and peace process.

¹³ Simpson, 1999, p. 331.

the reforms did not bode well for Renamo. Instead, Renamo felt vulnerable and saw itself caught in a hopeless dilemma where its bargaining position would be reduced. Given this state of affairs, Renamo believed that its chances of concluding an acceptable negotiation package, which entrenched its power as a political party could not be achieved as long as Frelimo set the rules of the game. Alternatively, Renamo could have boycotted the negotiations and hoped to be successful in the elections. But this would have increased Frelimo's international support and legitimacy while confirming suspicions amongst the international community that Renamo was nothing more than a dissident group only interested in personal ambition and power. But as it stood "... if either side did opt out of the process, it would face an uphill struggle to avoid comprehensive international ostracism".¹⁴ For most part of the 1991-1992 negotiations issues around sovereignty of the government, Renamo's acceptance as a political party of equal standing to Frelimo as well as setting the rules for multiparty democracy underpinned the process.

But alongside these burning issues, the fighting persisted, while widespread drought and chronic food insecurity in the rural areas injected new urgency for a peace process. Eventually, the situation in Mozambique became so acute that Zimbabwe and other regional powers together with the international community increased pressure on the two parties to reach a settlement. But one of the main challenges in effecting an amicable peace agreement between Renamo and Frelimo was the issue of financial resources and logistic infrastructure. By this time Renamo had successfully transformed into a political party¹⁵ as a result of the following reasons:

- Demobilisation of combatants took place;
- The core structures of a political party were developed; and
- The party was able to establish itself in urban centres.

Yet the financial weakness of the Party was crucial to the peace process. In light of this, the leader of Renamo, Dr. Afonso Dhlakama, was able to wrest significant financial incentives from the international community to secure its compliance. Nevertheless, after several more tortuous rounds of discussions, Chissano and Dhlakama finally signed a General Peace Accord in Rome on 4 October 1992. Ironically it was the Catholic Church that facilitated the process together with the help of the Italian government. However, the signing of the GPA represented only a fraction of the seemingly long road that Mozambique had to travel to reach its destination of democracy. The biggest hurdle that faced Frelimo, Renamo, and the international community was the implementation of the GPA. The latter was crucial in ensuring that the principles of the peace process were carried out so that democracy could take root in the country.

The GPA had broad financial and logistical backing from the international community. In particular the US, Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, and the United Nations provided political and technical assistance. This was crucial since "... both sides lacked the capacity to set up and operate the complex structures required for implementation".¹⁶ As it stood the UN set up the United Nations Operation in Mozambique which

¹⁴ Chapman, 1995, p. 16.

¹⁵ By the mid 1980s Renamo had formed a political wing and consolidated its party structures at the first party congress in 1989.

¹⁶ Rupiya, 1998, p. 15.

oversaw the cantonment, demobilisation and disarmament of soldiers from both sides, the creation of a new army, the resettlement, of refugees and displaced people, and the organisation of elections. The elections proved to be the most important litmus test for the GPA. But the distrust between Frelimo and Renamo did little to convince observers that Mozambique was well and truly on its way to democracy. This was exhibited in the way each refused to give up strategic advantage to the other in respect of cantonment and demobilisation. Alongside this, Renamo and Frelimo were engaged in a tug of war. Renamo sought guarantees that areas under its control would not be overrun by the army while the government feared that Renamo would renege on its promises and take up arms again. Although, the UN allowed for such delays and accommodated the idiosyncrasies of both sides, time was running out. Eventually after the full complement of the UN deployment reached Mozambique, the Security Council took a hardened stance and compelled both sides to formally meet and come to some form of agreement over the elections.

At the beginning it seemed futile that any agreement could be forged between the two sides. Conditions deteriorated as mutual suspicion increased with both sides trying to retain a reserve military while renewed violence and banditry remained a serious cause for concern. And it seemed almost impossible to enforce the over-ambitious commitments made in the GPA. However through an ounce of sheer luck and a mountain of diplomatic maneuverings, the UN had managed to get both sides to agree to an election date in October 1994. In the run-up to the elections, Dhlakama, was confronted by the realisation that Renamo's only hope of translating its victory in the elections would be through a bi-partisan 'government of national unity'. But the latter also signified Renamo's survival in a multiparty system. Even though the international community tried to broker the deal so that the GPA did not break down, Chissano rejected the proposal. Instead he offered the Renamo leader a kind of a ceremonial package, which affirmed Dhlakama's status as the 'Leader of the Opposition', complete with a salary and benefits as well as a diplomatic passport. For Dhlakama this did not appease his misgivings about the power and status of Renamo in the context of Frelimo's increasing dominance under the multi-party system. Moreover it seemed like an insult to the leader who was trying to extract some real concessions from Chissano for the survival of Renamo. Even though on the surface Chissano seemed confident that Frelimo would win the elections, privately the leader conceded that if the results were unfavourable then he reserved the right to negotiate a deal. If anything, the latter was clear indication that Frelimo was not interested in power-sharing and considered the winner-take all system as more viable.

Despite the inherent struggles between Frelimo and Renamo to advance their strategic positions, the peace process continued. As a result after more tortuous rounds of dialogue, Chissano and the Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, finally signed a General Peace Accord (GPA) in Rome on 4 October 1992. The GPA entrenched the key principles for co-operation between Frelimo and Renamo and the institutionalisation of multiparty democracy in Mozambique.

In broad terms the agreement set out the following:

- A cease-fire between Frelimo and Renamo.

- The forming of political parties and the conduct of elections.

- Guarantee of Basic Human Rights, including freedom of the press.

- The Formation of Mozambican Armed Forces and the demobilisation of government and Renamo soldiers who could not serve in a unified national defence force.

- Independence of the judiciary.

A concentration of Renamo and government forces in assembly areas.
The Repatriation and integration of refugees and displaced people.

The signing of the GPA was seen as a durable settlement that would bring long lasting peace to Mozambique. It was interpreted as a groundbreaking agreement that had fostered peaceful relations between two rivals. However, the GPA did not address the real issues surrounding peace and stability in Mozambique. Instead, it peppered over three critical issues, which are important for the future of the country:

1. Lack of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The peace brokers did not build into the GPA any mechanism that would lead to a commission for truth and reconciliation, which could be used as a process for rehabilitation and to a lesser extent justice. Instead, it was left up to the main political parties to work out them on their own. As it turns out mutual suspicion, and distrust continues to dominate the political landscape, sometimes sliding into intense confrontation between Frelimo and Renamo. In fact, old wounds still influence the political landscape.
2. In a society where deep cleavages between the ruling party and the opposition still exist, it seemed appropriate for a government of national unity to be entrenched within the GPA, but this did not take place. Again the peace brokers did not insist on this provision and left it up to main political parties to discuss it amongst themselves.
3. Finally the peace brokers allowed for the continuation of the 1990 Constitution under the new democratic dispensation. The Constitution, which was largely determined by Frelimo and endorsed a winner-take all system has impacted negatively for the prospects of power sharing and a government of national unity.

All in all these anomalies within the GPA has had dire implications for Mozambique, especially in the current climate of political uncertainty and waning trust between Frelimo and Renamo. This was visible in the run-up to and outcome of both elections.

The 1994 and 1999 Elections

The first election conducted between 27-29 October 1994 saw Frelimo winning the election by 44.3% (and obtaining 129 seats) compared to Renamo's 37.8%. Chissano was elected President by 53.3% while Dhlakama received 33.7% of the votes. Even though Renamo waged a low-key election, it managed to win 112 seats out of 250 seats in the Parliament, and became the official opposition. For all intents and purposes, the 1994 election was declared 'free and fair'. This authentication of the results and the elections was accepted by all participants and signified a decisive step for the consolidation of peace and commitment to democracy in Mozambique. An interesting feature of the 1994 elections was the support that Renamo received. Renamo's showing at the polls indicated that there was a sizeable percentage of the electorate who identified with the party and believed that it represented their interests. This was despite the Party's political and organisational weaknesses. Furthermore, it was contrary to the belief by the international community and Frelimo who assumed that Renamo's history and tactics during the civil war would be enough to steer the electorate away from the Party. Yet, the election results was a clear indication that Frelimo could not dismiss Renamo so easily from the polity.

But, Mozambique's almost flawless transition to democracy was marred by the local government elections in 1998.¹⁷ Even though, the problems, which came to light in the elections, could be construed as part of the structural weaknesses that accompany societies in transition, the Mozambique case represented something more substantial than just teething problems of democracy. Shadows were cast when Renamo and nine other parties boycotted the election and accused Frelimo of irregularities during the voter registration process, not least the loss of sixty of the 1994 voter's roll. But, Renamo was unable to prove these allegations, and speculation grew that this was a tactical move by the Party to disrupt the elections and improve its chances in the 1999 national elections. The latter was based on the assumption that if the party withdrew from any political responsibility this provided it with an opportunity to be perceived as a viable alternative in the national election.

However, the withdrawal of Renamo from the elections, provided Frelimo with an opportunity to advance its presence in those areas/provinces where it was unable to attain a majority, especially in the provinces that Renamo had won in the 1994 national election. But voter turnout for the local elections was poor. With little less than 15% of the electorate voting, the elections sent a clear message to all political actors, especially Frelimo that a legal framework based on a broad consensus between the two main antagonists had to be devised while the electoral process itself must be transparent.

In any event the 1998 local elections demonstrated alarming weaknesses in Mozambique's democratisation process. For one thing, the decentralisation of power to local governments, which was to accompany the local government elections, did not take place. Instead control over the local areas, including the appointment of Municipal Presidents, disbursement of money and the pace of change and development, was still directed by the central government. This led to tensions in local areas where the electorate raised questions over the value of their vote, thereby leading to high rates of voter apathy.¹⁸ Thus the local government elections indicated an almost non-existent competitive environment, a lack of alternatives to Frelimo, and an exceedingly low level of participation, notwithstanding the disillusionment of the population with the existing political system. These deficiencies were certainly cause for concern, especially for the 1999 national elections. But more so in light of the general principles that the GPA highlighted for a healthy multi-party democracy in the country.

The outcome of the 1999 elections was also enshrouded in controversy. This time around Renamo contested the elections through a coalition, which it entered into with several other opposition parties that supported its boycott of the local government elections. Together they formed the electoral alliance Renamo-União Eleitoral in June 1999. As usual Dhlakama felt that the electoral process was adversely biased toward the coalition in general and Renamo in particular. The issue centred around the issue of voter registration. The Renamo leader saw the two months which was set aside for electoral registration followed by an early election as not enough time for the majority of the electorate (especially in rural areas) to register. This was because

¹⁷ See *Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin*, Issue 16, December 1995, published by AWEPA for a comprehensive discussion regarding the local government structures and the provocations that seem to exist between the two parties in terms of representation.

¹⁸ Lundin, I. B. (1999): 'Reviewing Mozambique's First Municipal Elections: A Brief Qualitative Study', *African Security Review*, 7(6).

Dhlakama felt that registration in the rural areas would take longer and therefore the two-month period would be insufficient to reach those villages deeply ensconced in the rural areas. This fear was borne out of the reality that most of these villages were the stronghold of Renamo, which, in effect, would prejudice Renamo's chances of gaining a substantial proportion of the votes. Despite the technical shortcomings of the voter registration process, the Renamo coalition contested the elections. But this time around Renamo was confident that it would win the elections and become the ruling party. However this was not to be. The table below indicates that even though popularity for Dhlakama as a presidential candidate increased dramatically from 1994, support for Renamo remained more or less the same.

Presidential Elections	1999	1994
Chrissano (Frelimo)	52,3%	53,3%
Dhlakama (Renamo)	47,7%	33,7%
Others	a)	13,0%
Blank Votes	6,5%	5,8%
Invalid Votes	2,9%	2,8%
a) No other candidates		

Parliamentary Elections	1999	1994
Frelimo	48,5%	44,3%
Renamo	38,8%	37,8%
UD	b)	5,2%
Others	12,7%	12,7%
Blank Votes	9,6%	8,4%
Invalid Votes	4,9%	3,2%
Voter Turnout	70,0%	88,0%

b) In the 1994 election the UD was able to get the 5% threshold to gain a seat in the Parliament, but in the 1999 election it was unable to do and consequently remained outside of Parliament.

Source: Mozambique Election Update 99, No. 4, 1 March 2000.

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa

The results of the 1999 election brought things into focus. On the one hand it illustrated that Frelimo was able to retain its position as the ruling party, but was unable to win a clear majority. While on the other hand, it demonstrated Renamo's increasing support in the provinces. The Party increased its political base from five provinces in the 1994 elections to six in 1999 elections.

Even though the 1999 elections were declared free and fair, Renamo contested the results on the basis that there were irregularities, which favoured Frelimo. Renamo took its case to the Supreme Court. But,

instead of being vindicated, the Supreme Court upheld the results. The outcome of the election remained the Achilles Heel for Renamo and together with its coalition partners, they boycotted the parliament for most of 2000.¹⁹ Renamo's decision was based on the assumption by Dhlakama that the Party would surely win the election with a clear majority, thereby becoming the ruling party. Even if this was purely delusional on the part of Renamo, the outcome of the election again points out that the Party does have a significant support base, which Frelimo has not been able to penetrate. Therefore, this highlighted that the political spectrum in Mozambique was still evenly poised.

The second national election in Mozambique was crucial to the democratic process in the country. It was mainly a Mozambican affair. As one interviewee put it the first election was about peace while in the second election ordinary people voted for democracy.²⁰ But the 1999 elections were symbolic for two reasons. Firstly, it was a litmus test to gauge whether the principles of democratic culture have been entrenched within the country. And, secondly, it demonstrated the essence of political maturity between the two political opponents. In both instances it would appear that Frelimo and Renamo have not succeeded. Instead they are moving toward a zero sum game for control at the centre and within the provinces. To this end Frelimo does not want to let go of its position as the ruling party while Renamo wants to be the government in power.

Economic Realities

Mozambique's economic realities continue to play a dominant role in the political landscape of the country. Critics often argue that growth in Mozambique's economic recovery started from a low base, and that advances are yet to be felt by the poor. The transition from a socialist planned market economy to liberalism and capitalism has had a mixed impact on the country's economic recovery. At one level, the transition has rejuvenated and boosted the economy toward becoming a popular destination for foreign direct investment and infrastructural developmental projects. This has generated high economic growth rates and enabled the country to qualify for debt relief. Yet, at the other end, these sound economic fundamentals have not translated into substantial increases in the standard of living of people in the rural areas of the country. Politically speaking, the latter has generated the potential for political volatility to emerge within the country as it is mainly in those provinces known to be Renamo strongholds that the people are still waiting to take advantage of the socio-economic conditions created for wealth accumulation. Beyond this the high levels of poverty and the social and economic disparities between the provinces remains another source of conflict between Frelimo and Renamo since this provides fertile ground for social discontent, thereby creating an ideal opportunity for political instrumentalisation by the opposition, namely Renamo. This will be discussed below.

Mozambique is the fourth most populous country in the SADC, but one of the least developed. The civil war had a debilitating effect on the overall development of the country, leading to high incidences of poverty,

¹⁹ For overview of the 1999 election results and the challenge by Renamo regarding the results, see *Mozambique Election Update 1999*, 4, 1 March 2000, EISA.

²⁰ Interview, Maputo, 31 October 2000.

which remains one of the most compelling challenges for the government. According to the Ministry of Planning and Finance, “the incidence of absolute poverty is 69,4%, indicating that more than two thirds of the Mozambican population are living below the poverty line”.²¹ In rural areas, it is estimated to be high as 71.2%. This is alarming, especially since 80% of the population is concentrated in these areas. The figure for urban areas stands at 62%.²² Even in the capital, Maputo, which is considered to be the country’s commercial and economic hub, there are visible signs of poor living conditions in the shanty towns on the outskirts of the city. It is estimated that 47.8% of people resident in the city live below the poverty datum line.

Yet, the issue of poverty appears to be more complex than what the above figures reveal. According to the United Nations Developmental Progress (UNDP) report on Mozambique the vast disparities between “. . . Maputo City and the rest of the country leaps immediately to view”.²³ Overall the report reveals that despite the dramatic economic progress in recent years, Mozambique remains an extremely poor country with low levels of human development, which are reflected in weak social indicators such as life expectancy, education, GDP per head and literacy. While none of this new, for the first time in the report, the Human Development Index (HDI) and other data have been broken down by province, allowing a comparison of the geographical distribution of wealth and human development in the country. Regional contribution of GDP indicates a clear, but unsurprising, concentration of economic activity (and wealth) in Maputo city, which accounts for 34% of GDP, followed by Nampula province with 13% and Zambezia and Sofala with 11% each. Maputo city’s HDI score places it firmly in the category of a medium human development country. For a country like Mozambique, which is considered to be the second poorest country in the world, such disparities are not promising for the future of social and economic stability. They also demonstrate asymmetry development between Maputo City and the rest of the country, which could become a source of renewed political tensions. The importance of this divide in political terms could be felt in the medium to long term. An important implication in this regard has been the constant referral by commentators that should this uneven divide not be addressed in the short-term then the economic success recorded thus far could push back the gains already attained by the Frelimo government. To this end, it could create vast discrepancies between the economically marginalized and the urban population, which could become a source of renewed tensions between the center and the provinces. One possible way for this to be prevented is for the Frelimo government to fast track its devolution of power to local government and channel more aid for the rehabilitation of infrastructure in those provinces where the gains of the economic policy are still to be felt.

Despite these grim realities the economic pragmatism of the Frelimo leadership has seen the following successes:

Economic growth rose from an average of 6.7% to 10% between 1996 and 1998

Inflation reduced from 50% in 1995 to less than one percent in 1998, and maintained at a target level of less than 5.5% since then.

²¹ Ministry of Planning and Finance 2000: *Absolute Poverty Reduction Action Plan (2000-2004)*, Maputo: Quarto Press, p. 13.

²² *Ibid.* p. 13.

²³ UNDP, 2000, p. 23.

A campaign of encouraging FDI by establishing legal and institutional frameworks.

The establishment of 13 new financial institutions registered under Mozambique legislation and the opening of the Mozambique Stock Exchange in Maputo.

In 1999 234 new projects were approved which has a value of US\$ 767.392.587 and created 20.863 new jobs.

Yet, in spite of these economic successes, economic liberalization has brought with it a dichotomous effect. On the one hand, African values like social solidarity were replaced by more individualistic and selfish principles. On the other hand, the structural adjustment programme (The Economic and Social Rehabilitation Programme, known as PRES adopted in 1987) sustained what Abrahamsson and Nilson call the 'economy of affection'.²⁴

As a result the traditional redistribution system, which was characterized by its informal, kin-based structure, led in a liberal environment to economy reflecting the neo-patrimonial structures of the state. This has definitely contributed, if not underpinned, the endemic spread of poverty and social and economic disparities between the provinces. To this end Lipset's argument that economic development involving high levels of education and promoting a reduction of social disparities expands the possibility of supporting the development of a democratic system, while stabilizing a middle class has certainly not been realized in Mozambique. Instead a widening gap between the rich and poor exists, with illiteracy levels high as 60.4% of the adult population, underlined by a shortage of skilled labour and financial resources and coupled by the loss of 116,000 jobs since the introduction of privatisation and liberalisation of the economy. Therefore, if the current economic recovery is considered to be a good indication that the country is on track toward peace and stability, then these remarkable growth figures belie the desperate social conditions that many of the country's 16 million or so people live under. In fact, it appears that only a small elite base is benefiting from these economic fundamentals.

Thus as Eduardo Siteo correctly points out that the "... state of poverty experienced by the majority of the population"²⁵ remains one of the main threats to the political stability in Mozambique. This has dire political implications for the fragile peace accord in Mozambique, which will no doubt lead to renewed sources for political instability. One possible avenue in this regard would be the prospects for demagogue politicians to mobilise political support through ethnic and regional discourse. A course of action that Renamo has already resigned itself to in order to demand that a power-sharing agreement be reached.

Political Realities

The democratic process in Mozambique hinges on a fragile situation. Even though the international community is reasonably satisfied with Mozambique's transition to democracy, political diversity, which underpins the multiparty system, has not been realised in the country. The fact that the country has an elected

²⁴ Ostheimer, 2001, p. 18.

²⁵ Siteo, 1999, p. 5.

government for the first time in its history and conducted two general elections, does not allude to the reality that the democratic system is afflicted by very real weaknesses in the political structures.

The teetering power struggle between Frelimo and Renamo has raised questions over whether there can be lasting peace and democracy in the country. Until October/November 2000 the country seemed to be enjoying relative political stability. In particular it was noted that the GPA ushered in a new era where no bullets had been fired in the country, following the 16 years of civil war. But this neat picture does not tell the real story. In fact the situation in Mozambique was and still is grafted by intricate complexities.

At the very outset, political power sharing was not an option that both sides wanted to adopt. Each believed that the route to a stable society in Mozambique could be achieved through majority rule and a winner takes all system. This was rooted in the reality that the state represented an instrument of capitalist accumulation. With no independent national bourgeoisie class,²⁶ the state has become an instrument of capital accumulation. In Mozambique the capitalist class are the politicians and ministers.²⁷ There is no distinction between the state and capital accumulation and both are seen as complementing one another. As a result this capitalist class enjoys access to government tenders and contracts, and has developed a network of business interests which takes precedence over the state. The net effect of this is that more and more elites want to become part of the state while those within are not willing to give up their positions.²⁸

Furthermore, the close association of the state with capital has enabled the ruling party to find willing donors to finance election campaigns. The latter has been a sore point for most political parties who are outside of the government and find their election campaigns hampered by financial constraints. In addition, the ruling party has unfair advantage over the rest of the political parties in that it is able to access state resources to help fund its electoral campaigns.²⁹ This inequality of opportunity has placed severe limitations on smaller parties contesting the elections. In any event the link between the state and the accumulation of wealth has profound implications for the consolidation of democracy. In many ways, state officials would place the responsibility of the state second to their own while those on the periphery would continuously clamour to be part of the state by citing the inefficiencies of those in power.

At the other end of the spectrum, Frelimo seems intent on recognising nothing else but an absolute victory at the polls while simultaneously increasing its power at the centre and within the provinces. As it stands even though Renamo had won a majority in six provinces, it could not appoint its own provincial governors. According to the Constitution the president has the power to do so.³⁰ This allows Chissano the power to appoint governors even in provinces supportive of Renamo, which would increase the Party's profile as well as maintain control in these provinces.

²⁶ Interview, Maputo, 01 November 2000.

²⁷ Interview, Maputo, 02 November 2000.

²⁸ Naidu, S. (2001) 'Mozambique: Can the Success Story Continue?' in *Traders: Journal for the South African Region*, January - April, 5, p. 6-8.

²⁹ Ostheimer, 2001, p. 19.

³⁰ Interview, Maputo, 31 October 2000. What is striking about the context of the situation is that Renamo had won 6 provinces compared to 5 in the 1994 elections. This surely indicates that support on the ground might be moving in the general direction of Renamo, which could further consolidate their power in 2004. But the political structures seem to deny them the possibility of translating these victories in the provinces into tangible expressions of their potential as a political party.

Following the results of the 1999 elections, Chissano's new cabinet was largely drawn from the Frelimo ranks. Even though Chissano reshuffled the cabinet with the aim of making it more competent, efficient, gender, and regional balanced,³¹ it does not hide the fact that Frelimo does not want to entertain any notions of power-sharing between itself and the Renamo Coalition or smaller parties. This edging out of Renamo and other smaller parties both in the provinces and parliament indicates that Frelimo is content with nothing less than absolute control. The latter is reinforced by the following centralising tendencies by Frelimo:

The Party controls access to state resources with the entire administration in its hands.

Key portfolios critical to the democratic process are held by Frelimo affiliates.

The independence of the judiciary is compromised by the influence the Frelimo exerts on all aspects of public life through the executive and through party organs. In addition, the judicial officials are beholden to the Party for their positions.

The Party has not decentralised power to local government.

The Party still controls part of the media through government ownership.

This centralising tendency has spurred Renamo and its coalition partners to warn that the spectre of an Angolan style war of attrition could take root in Mozambique. This warning came as Dhlakama cautioned the Frelimo government that the Party together with its coalition partners "would return to the bush and take up arms unless it was granted legal authority over the country's six central and northern provinces".³² However, this threat did not force Frelimo to bow to the demands of power sharing.

The nonchalant reaction to Renamo's threats indicates that Frelimo does not see Renamo as a serious threat to it.³³ These perceptions are reinforced by the view that Renamo's tactics of "politics by pressure, threats, attacks", are nothing more than an "Al Capone Syndrome" trying to force the government into a power-sharing agreement after it realised that its court actions and boycott of parliament were not going to work.³⁴ Such a view of Renamo reinforces the notion that the party does not constitute a viable alternative since it has made little progress in establishing a sound basic organization.³⁵ To this end the Party still maintains an extremely chaotic structure and has proved ineffective in exploiting government weaknesses or projecting a coherent message. In this way Renamo has served Frelimo's interests, by ensuring that the country has no viable government in waiting.

Even though Renamo might rely on the strength of the coalition, it appears that such a strategy maybe short-lived as the electoral alliance is bogged by internal problems. Dhlakama's proclamation in the media "I am the one who commands within Renamo",³⁶ following the speculation that Raul Domingos³⁷ could have

³¹ Gumende, A (2000): 'Major Reshuffle in new Mozambique Cabinet' in *Southern African News Feature*, January, No. 1.

³² *Mail & Guardian*, 17-23 November 2000. This demand by the Renamo leader followed clashes and anti government demonstrations in the North.

³³ In all the interviews conducted this appeared to be a common perception.

³⁴ *Mail & Guardian*, 2000, p. 9.

³⁵ As one interviewee highlighted Renamo did not capitalise on strikes by the trade union movement against macroeconomic policy. This lack of initiative poses serious doubts as to whether the Party can be a viable alternative to Frelimo. Interview, Maputo, 31 October 2000.

³⁶ 'Raul Domingos, Sucessor de Dhlakama?' in *Publico*, 12 August 1999.

been the next leader of the Party indicates the leader's autocratic leadership style. But it also illustrates that the coalition partners should not expect to be compensated for their alliance with Dhlakama if Renamo is victorious in the next election. Nevertheless, in spite of these handicaps, Renamo's remarkably resilient in the last election appears to have alarmed Frelimo, thereby strengthening its determination to marginalise the party.

Most ordinary citizens in Mozambique equated democracy with a material definition. By linking it with hope for a better life, the majority of Mozambicans have come to see democracy as improving their material conditions. Instead the economic gains recorded thus far only seem to benefit a relatively small middle class concentrated in Maputo while the rest of the population had to adjust to increases in the cost of living coupled by a rudimentary public and social infrastructure. The widening gap between the rich and poor underpinned by prevailing inequalities poses serious threats to the political stability of the country. And no doubt challenges peoples' confidence in the democratic process. Even though some may argue that the economic success of the country reflected a certain degree of stability, it was far from producing any form of meaningful sustainability for the majority of the population.

In this regard, the asymmetrical levels of development between the South and Central/Northern provinces, could become the catalyst for renewed tensions within the country. From this perspective, demagogue politicians could manipulate the material conditions of the electorate to get voted into office. But another seemingly potent danger for democracy in Mozambique is voter apathy and disillusionment with the government. This was clearly demonstrated in the 1998 local government elections. And was reiterated in a study conducted by Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo in 1999, which clearly shows that the local elections were an evaluation of government's performance in terms of redistribution of social wealth and the promise of a better future.³⁸

Widespread corruption has also brought a major backlash against Frelimo. There are complaints about petty corruption within the civil and public service. Even though there been a concerted public effort to crackdown on this petty corruption, little has been done to address the massive scale of grand corruption. This continues to spread unabated while the court system is largely weak and corrupt, thereby allowing for such cases not to be prosecuted. Large-scale corruption has been particularly common in the privatisation process, especially of the banks and in government contracts. Many government ministers, their families, and President Chissano's family, are involved in businesses which now dominate the local economic scene. And Renamo figures such as Raul Domingos are being incorporated into this new politico-economic elite. This dearth in accountability and transparency has allowed for a massive gap between the rich and the poor to develop. In as much as the Frelimo government has done nothing to tackle either grand corruption or to develop strategies that will bring real gains to the areas outside Maputo, Renamo has also not seized the opportunity to develop the appropriate policies to address this issue. It seems more geared towards apportioning blame and trying to gain concessions for itself.

³⁷ Raul Domingos was the key figure in the negotiations for Renamo. He was instrumental in drawing drawing the document on reforming the political system from a Presidential system to Parliamentary system. However the process has been put on hold.. Domingos posed a political a threat to Dhlakama.

³⁸ Ostheimer, 2001, p. 22.

Furthermore the dependence on foreign aid poses another twist to democracy in Mozambique. The injection of foreign capital into Mozambique's economy, whether through donor agencies or FDIs, creates severe limitations on the ruling party's ability to map out and consolidate the democratic process. At one level it means a gradual reduction in the country's sovereignty and ability to take independent political decisions while at another level it indicates that the ruling party might not have the power to direct the course of democratisation. In Mozambique, democracy means more than just procedures. It is the expression by the majority of the people for a better life, redistribution of economic wealth, and social justice. In short, democracy symbolises the expectation of the people in terms of material conditions.

There are, therefore, some serious doubts as to whether peace and stability can be maintained in Mozambique. So far Frelimo has demonstrated a willingness to pursue and strengthen the foundations of democracy, albeit on its own terms. But Chissano and his ministers realise that to accomplish a viable and working democracy in the country, they must address the economic aspirations of the electorate. Also, Frelimo must also recognise that a democracy means government for a limited period of time, and that a change in government revitalises any democratic system. This raises a question crucial to Mozambique's political stability and success: is Frelimo prepared to accept defeat? The answer depends on the extent to which Frelimo is willing to display a sense of political maturity and observe the rules of the democratic system. This does not seem likely as evidenced in the clashes between Renamo and Frelimo supporters in November 2000.

Following Renamo's boycott of parliament, the party decided to take its protest of the 1999 election results to the streets, in particular to voice opposition against the centralisation of power by the Frelimo at the provincial and local level. What began in most parts of the country, especially up North, as peaceful demonstrations soon turned violent in certain areas where police used force to disperse the demonstrators. While this raised questions over human rights abuses, particularly in the prison cells, it also touches on two fundamental issues.

Firstly, if Frelimo did not perceive Renamo threats as serious, then why did they respond in the way that they did? It would have been more useful for Frelimo to have endorsed Renamo's right to hold demonstrations by arguing that they are entitled to do so under a democratic state. But by clamping down on protesters in some of the provinces, Frelimo has played into the hands of a bellicose faction within Renamo who want to portray the ruling party as belligerent, and intolerable, and thereby illustrate that there is no point in working with such a government. Furthermore, the clashes have also brought to light the gangster element in both parties "who want to divert attention away from their own greed and their own lack of policies and actions to help the poor".³⁹ In this regard, it appears that if attention is focused on interparty warfare, then no one will notice the bank fraud nor would the cases be prosecuted.

From another perspective it appears curious that Frelimo reacted in the way that it did to the demonstrations. Is it possible that Frelimo realises that it needs Renamo, but at the same time it needs to keep the party weak? If this is true, what possible reason does there exist for such manoeuvrings. To this end it seems quite clear that the internal fractures within both parties could give rise to an independent group that could challenge the status quo. Even though Renamo is the official opposition, an independent third force does

exist in the Maputo City assembly. This opposition is mainly built from the old Frelimo guard who did not want to settle the war in 1992. Therefore their main challenge against Frelimo would be on economic, development and corruption issues. This succinctly plays into the hands of those within Frelimo who feel that by Renamo staying in the boycott box for the 2003 local elections and 2004 national elections, there would be a concrete chance for a real opposition to make significant strides in the electoral process. In this case the only choice is to prop up Renamo and keep it from collapsing. To this end Dhkalama needs to motivate his supporters into action, or else Frelimo will do it.

A crucial test for democratisation in Mozambique is the independence of civil society. At present it remains closely attached to the ruling party with the only difference being that this feature seems to be concentrated in the urban areas. It represents a matrix of complex networks, mostly associated with the ruling class. Gramsci's definition of civil society seems to be the most appropriate measure by which to examine civil society in Mozambique. He defines it as an "... ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private' [which] corresponds to the function of hegemony which the dominant group exercises throughout society".⁴⁰ Moreover, it is not separate or independent but rather seen as an extension of the state whereby class and other forms of domination are achieved and maintained. By this definition, civil society in Mozambique has not matured to the level of democratic culture. Instead, it remains intimately connected to the ruling class, which uses its influence to exert pressure on groups within society to conform. One of the most compelling effects of this is the fact that civil society has no independent voice to challenge government and its policies. But most of all it cannot fulfill the role of being a democratic watchdog.

Even in instances where an inquisitive press is emerging to monitor corruption and draw attention of the international and donor community towards the problem, the independent voice of the media is either threatened or silenced into submission. The 'BCM case' in Mozambique provides a good indication of this. The unearthing of the US\$14 million fraud that occurred during the privatisation of Banco Comercial de Mocambique in 1996 by the respected journalist Carlos Cardoso resulted in his assassination. This clearly indicates the vulnerability of a critical civil society, thereby limiting its capacity in becoming a vibrant one, which is crucial in consolidating and maintaining democracy. On the hand the Cardoso case illustrates the length to which corrupt officials and businesspersons are willing to keep the expanding black economy in Mozambique intact. One reason for this is that without sufficient and effective control mechanisms, this new liberal environment fosters corrupt practices and impedes the development of functioning public institutions or what Weber⁴¹ called the essential element of an accountable state B the state bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, given the tumultuous relationship between Frelimo and Renamo, underpinned by underpinned by the above factors, questions have emerged as to whether the fragile political stability can be maintained and strengthened in the future. It is an open secret that Renamo does not feel comfortable in the current democratic dispensation. It has on numerous occasions asserted that the national elections in December 1999 were neither free nor fair and echoed displeasure at the results. Fears have been expressed that Renamo's

³⁹ Hanlon, 2000, p. 596.

⁴⁰ Dumisane Hlophe (1998), *Globalisation and Civil Society in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Theoretical Perspectives*, Masters Thesis, unpublished, p. 17.

⁴¹ Ostheimer, 2001, p. 32.

uneasiness might lead to a break down in the national reconciliation project and became a catalyst for the resurgence of another civil war. Certainly the political skirmishes between Renamo and the government in October and November 2000 have fuelled these perceptions. At the time of writing the report President Chissano had extended an invitation to the Renamo leader, Dr. Afonso Dhlakama, to address the tensions that underpins these skirmishes. The outcome of the meeting will be critical to the future political stability of Mozambique, notwithstanding the consolidation of democracy. On the other hand, although Renamo's behaviour highlights a political culture that still has to reach maturity, the question of whether Frelimo is willing to accommodate Renamo within the current political structure may also be asked. The party is also beset with internal cleavages between the liberals and the hard-line conservatives while its inability to build permanent and strong social bases have been under scrutiny. In light of this, it remains to be seen whether Renamo has the capacity to capitalise on these weaknesses and force Frelimo to make significant concessions for the sake of political stability. This definitely raises doubt as to whether Frelimo or Renamo have reached political maturity. It would appear that both political parties seem to be caught in the trap of the civil war where mutual suspicion guided their interactions with one another. Therefore the chances are slim if such behaviour persists, but in recent weeks there has been some positive signs from within the country that could be interpreted as significant step for Mozambique's young democracy. President Chissano's declaration that he would not stand for a third term in office should be seen as a step in the right direction for multi-party democracy to be strengthened and a respect for the principles of democracy. No doubt this would send a clear signal to the opposition that they would have a greater and much more interactive role to play in the political affairs of the country. This could just be the beginning of re-evaluating the winner-take it all system.

Conclusion

If democracy is understood in its formal meaning comprising a set of institutions such as free and fair multiparty elections, then Mozambique can claim to be a democratic country. However, if democracy is equated with a degree of popular participation and control over power, the democratic status is less clear. One reason for this is the prevailing state of poverty and regional and urban-rural inequalities that calls into question the effectiveness and efficiency of the political system in delivering the expected goods to the citizens.

But Mozambique's uncertainty does not only lay with the capacity to deliver. A more discerning threat against the political stability of the country is the issue of consensus. The 1998 local government elections demonstrated a lack of consensus both within the ruling party and between it and the opposition over the issue of political decentralisation. The lack of consensus over such an important issue in the democratization process indicates that the political elite placed party politics before the national interest.

As for the case of multi party elections, some commentators argue that there are no structural factors that threaten to turn Mozambique into a de facto one party state. But, murmurings amongst certain quarters have suggested that Frelimo together with other Southern African leaders have raised the spectre of the liberation movement. To this end Frelimo has sought to play the card of the liberator of the Mozambican people to secure more votes for the Party. On the other hand the behaviour of the opposition also contributes to the prevailing state of affairs. What is yet to be seen is the extent to which the new Renamo-led alliance will be in

a position to press for meaningful change in the future. The structural and especially financial weakness of Renamo is still striking while the Party itself has been constrained by its lack of political imagination that it can conceive of little other than its well-known boycott strategy. However, with a high rate of illiteracy and an increasing level of dissatisfaction, particularly in the countryside, Renamo could capitalise on these weaknesses and consolidate its position. But so far it has not demonstrated any move in this direction. Instead it appears intent on trying to secure a power-sharing mechanism for itself. Part of this tendency seems to be fueled by growing speculation that there are tensions within Renamo's top ranks as former civil war generals vent frustration at Dhlakama's failure to deliver promised jobs in the government after elections. Seemingly, then, with both Frelimo and Renamo experiencing internal problems, there exists the very real possibility that factions in both Renamo and Frelimo will feed off each other and form splinter groups.⁴²

At present the situation in Mozambique requires special to be paid to the nexus between democratic consolidation and economic development. What happened during the November 2000 clashes clearly underlines this point. As long as Renamo and its electorate feel unable to take advantage of the socio-economic opportunities that exist under liberalism and capitalism, the political status quo would continue in which Renamo would feel compelled to paralyse the country and make it ungovernable. On the other hand, if Frelimo continues to pursue its hegemonic status and does not feel inclined to enhance the democratic system through political competition, and engage in open dialogue with the opposition, then, as Dhlakama has stated on several occasions, he and his party would continue to stage public demonstrations until a power-sharing agreement is reached. This certainly overshadows the future prospects for peace and stability of the country.

Alongside this, to accomplish economic development and reform, solid political institutions are needed. This can only be achieved through an unequivocal administration of the law and legal efficiency, which currently are still weak and, in particular, has a reputation for being inefficient and corrupt. The latter is vital in advancing small and medium enterprises, which are the pillars of sound economic development and also provides the rural-based electorate with the platform to take advantage of the opportunities that exist under a liberal economic framework.

At any rate the latest political dialogue between Afonso Dhlakama and Joaquim Chissano (18 January 2001) suggests that consensual reform of Mozambique's constitution and the establishment of a decentralised political structures are probably unavoidable, if the current stalemate is to be resolved.

Presently, however, Chissano continues to emphasise constitutional restraint against Dhlakama's claims that Renamo should assume power at the local level in those provinces where the opposition party won a majority in the 1999 elections. Dhlakama himself assumes a position above the constitution by claiming structural changes without the necessary legal framework. One way of limiting regional polarisation while simultaneously incorporating Renamo into the governance structures may be found in a reformed decentralisation programme. Even though, there have been steps in this regard, the process is slow and the final law on communal self-administration showed the resistance of Frelimo toward any kind of power sharing. As a result district administration finally remained incorporated into the centralised governance structure. Practically this meant that even in communities where the opposition provided a mayor or had the majority in the municipal council, the control over economic resources remained with the governing party at

⁴² Mail & Guardian, 2000, p. 9.

the central level.

Therefore the relationship between the consolidation of democracy and material development in Mozambique requires that current discourse on power should be replaced by a discussion on political alternatives. Closely linked to the latter is the issue of political culture. Bearing in mind the core elements of democracy (competition and participation), a supportive political culture manifest itself in mutual tolerance, the willingness of main actors to compromise, the ability of parties to form a coalition, and the acceptance of election results by the defeated party or parties. As the 2000 election aftermath has shown the maintenance of the status quo, despite altered power constellations creates high levels of political instability. In the case of contemporary Mozambique reform of the political system and political re-organisation of the state may thus bring about a stabilising effect on the system. To this end a power-sharing arrangement, as defined in the introduction of this report, would enhance the level of maturity of the political opposition, Renamo, as it would have to engage constructively with the political process. It would also strengthen the identification with and participation in the political system of those constituencies of the population who did not vote for the majority party.

On the other hand such an arrangement will demonstrate Frelimo's willingness to pursue and strengthen the foundations of democracy along the lines of recognising that a democracy means government for a limited period of time and a change in government revitalises any democratic system. This would no doubt depend on Frelimo's political maturity of observing the rules of a democratic system and accepting that defeat at the polls means a reduction in its hegemonic status. At any rate a power-sharing arrangement will enhance the prospects for a government of national unity in which all stakeholders, including political parties and civil society leaders, would share in the decision-making process and probably move the country toward accomplishing a viable and working democracy that addresses the aspirations of the economically marginalised. It would also offer a new discourse on power and in effect produce a political alternative to the current winner take all system. This would be a useful starting point for foreign donors and NGOs to help the Mozambican authorities to work towards this end. In this regard, the international donor community and NGO sector could help the two main opponents realise that such an arrangement does not work against them but rather allows for competitiveness and change which is not only in line with a political culture associated with democracy but also revitalises the democratic system. One way that this could be achieved if Frelimo and Renamo are made to realise that a power-sharing arrangement through a government of national unity allows for equal access to resources and political power, instead of a zero-sum game.

All in all Mozambique's road to democracy has not been an easy one. The country still remains confronted by the ghosts of the civil war and any move toward consolidating democracy remains a long, slow, and sometimes even stagnant process. To this end the absence of a truth commission with no integration of past has to some extent heightened the current tensions within the country. Even though six years is not enough time to assess whether democracy has been consolidated it does provide a useful starting point. Seemingly the democratic process in Mozambique has come at some cost. The profits of Frelimo's economic pragmatism has not impacted on the lives of ordinary people while the liberalisation of the economy has also made the country vulnerable to contagion effects within the global economy. Moreover, drug trafficking and international crime syndicates, which seem to follow transitional societies, have also become part of the Mozambican landscape. But if meaningful democratic consolidation is to take place in Mozambique then it is crucial that the prevailing inequalities are reduced, and poverty is alleviated. One possible way for to be

achieved is to get the government to become more focussed on the delivery of local infrastructure and skills development than just being centred on attracting investment. On the other hand FDI investors can also contribute to the process by channeling more of their aid and investment to non-governmental organisations working on the ground within those communities outside of Maputo. In this way, giving expression for the need of an independent and robust civil society to emerge. However, in the final analysis democracy can only be sustained in Mozambique if there is a simple mixture of political competition and actual changes in power.

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