

THE COMPLEXITY OF PEACE IN MOZAMBIQUE: AN ASSUMPTION WITH SO MANY SETBACKS

Jovenil P. Custelo¹

César José Jemusse²

¹He holds a Master's Degree in Sociology of Development from Universidade Rovuma, a Postgraduate Degree in Public Administration from the Catholic University of Mozambique, a Bachelor's and Degree in History Teaching from Universidade Pedagógica. His academic passions are in areas related to Strategy, Civic Education – Patriotic, and Social Development. email: jovenilcustelo@gmail.com

²PhD student in Political Sciences and International Relations and professor at the Military Academy “Marechal Samora Machel”. Has passions in the areas of Security, Local Development. email: cesarjemusse@yahoo.com

SUMMARY

The article intends to understand how peace can be seen in its complex aspect, given the creation of an environment of harmonious coexistence among Mozambicans. The guiding question of this article was: how to turn the “complexity” of peace in Mozambique into a permanent gain? The possible answer found was that peace depends on understanding based on the idea that diversity is where we can build peaceful coexistence, based on mutual respect, the promotion of ethics, patriotism and citizenship. To obtain this point of view, several bibliographical references were used and based on them, the possible positioning of the proponent was constructed.

Keywords: Complexity, Peace, Mozambique.

INTRODUCTION

Mozambique became independent in 1975, the result of a warlike insurrection of the movement that protested against colonization. This movement was led by the Mozambique Liberation Front, founded in 1962, as a result of the split between three nationalist movements (MANU, UDENAMO, UNAMI).

After independence, Mozambique knew few days of peace, because after two years, in 1977, the war started by the National Resistance of Mozambique (Renamo). War that lasted almost 16 years, ending in 1992 and later the signing of the general

peace agreement in Rome on October 4, 1992, having signed the apparently definitive ceasefire.

It is based on this agreement where political and economic theses were advocated among various points as a basis for a feeling of reconciliation. After this reconciliation scenario, from 1994 onwards, a new constitution came into force, introducing multipartyism with the assumption of political decentralization and deconcentration.

Faced with this process of implementing the theses of the general peace agreement, the first aspect to be put into practice was the holding of the first multi-party elections, where several parties participated effusively and freely, thus marking the principle of democratization in Mozambique.

After holding the first elections, Renamo was defeated, where based on popular protests, there were riots in some places in Mozambique, although with little incidence. These riots, which for the most part are activated right after elections, which are held every five years, regularly provoking disputes about the process and the results of the elections, on the part of opposition parties, and militarily claimed by Renamo, thus placing in because of the gains that were achieved after the general peace agreement of 1992.

This atmosphere cohabited by the rejection of the election results, forced the leader of Renamo in 2012 to take refuge in the Gorongosa forests and start an armed insurrection in the center of the country and some places in the north. These clashes grew gradually, which forced the President of the Republic of Mozambique, Armando Emílio Guebuza, to sign the end of hostilities agreement in 2014, where Renamo was given some points on the control of the election process from the commission national elections (CNE). Even with this control after the 2014 elections, Renamo once again claimed direct control of some provinces, claiming to have gained a majority.

As you can see, this is a scenario that gradually put Mozambique at war, although with government efforts, there was always control and a constant search for an

end to these hostilities. It is in this context that we pose the following concern: how to turn the “complexity” of peace in Mozambique into a permanent gain?

The objectives of this article focus on: general – understanding how the “complexity” of peace can create an environment of permanent peace. Specific i) characterize the peace process in Mozambique; ii) analyze the assumptions that can build peace complexity.

The intention of writing this article is based on the fact that Mozambique is currently experiencing a terrorist attack in the north of the country, which is doubtful that there is support from some Mozambicans. Furthermore, looking at the Mozambican history, it can be noted that the people are being buffeted by several wars with very disastrous consequences, thus compromising the establishment of peace and effective happiness within Mozambicans.

This led us to incite the interest of realizing that Mozambique is not in a Gomoraian¹ punishment, in which peace does not find its permanent foundation, which in a way creates social nostalgia in the Mozambican people, and consequently, may be influencing generations to come in feeling violence as a “normal”. Bringing about an approach along these lines can contribute to sparking more debates regarding the preservation of the “precious asset” and engine for the country's development - in this case, peace.

Another no less important aspect focuses on raising more attention to the peace complex, in its fullness as an asset that must be preserved by all Mozambicans, as its absence threatens the future of the country in all areas of development.

Structurally, the article is composed of: contextual introduction, analysis methodology and finally the wording on the craft of the complexity of peace in Mozambique. Therefore, it is in this term of ideas that the article deals with the

¹ See the biblical story about Sodom and Gomora as lands punished by God.

complexity of peace, taking into account the setbacks that Mozambican peace is going through.

METHODOLOGICAL ART

The work will be based on bibliographic consultation on several sources that portray peace in the broadest sense, as well as, particularly Mozambican. The contents of these works are analyzed, which in the period after independence were recorded in the Mozambican literary memory and later condensed - in debates on the setbacks of peace in Mozambique as a central objective to be apprehended.

However, based on the readings, it is intended to create a comprehensive relationship based on the thought of Weber² quoted by Gabriel (1982) in which the actions of individuals result from comprehensive relationships existing between them, hence that any attitude taken by a society, group ethnicity, can be motivated by a question of existing social relationship. Here, you will understand the guidelines of the different agreements on peace in Mozambique, and also assimilate why there are always disputes in the process of implementing them.

Finally, we invite you to take a position on peacebuilding based on complexity theory³, which has the challenge of thinking about reality through its multiple articulations and dimensions (Morin, 2005). That is, thinking about the socio-political, economic and cultural perspective of Mozambique to understand the setback of peace in Mozambican society. It is in this field of approach that the present article was built.

THE PATHS TO PEACE IN MOZAMBIQUE: FROM THE SCOPE TO THE SETBACKS

Mozambique became independent on the basis of an armed conflict, guided by the liberation movement (Frelimo), against the Portuguese colonial presence. In this, the revolutionary movement – Frelimo, which had as its indispensable purpose the total

² Weber endorses a comprehensive sociology according to which the social sciences aim at understanding cultural events as singularities. The aim is, therefore, to capture the specificity of the studied phenomena and their meanings.

³ Complexity can be explained from some simple principles that allow a combination of several equally simple elements (Morin, 1992).

liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination and all traces of colonialism and imperialism, the conquest of immediate and complete independence for Mozambique and the defense and realization of the claims of all Mozambicans exploited and oppressed by the Portuguese colonial regime.

Fact backed by Samora (s/d), we unleashed the national liberation struggle to achieve clear political objectives of which: national independence, the right to live in freedom, democracy and peace.

This struggle culminated in the achievement of Mozambique's independence on June 25, 1975, where, under the direction of President Samora Machel, the total and complete independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique was proclaimed.

Two years after independence, in 1977, Mozambique was plunged into war – the 16-year war between government troops and the Mozambican national resistance (Renamo).

The 16-year-old war was triggered by internal dissidents, who were divided into three groups: historical Frelimo dissidents, dissidents produced after independence, and Mozambicans committed to the colonial regime. In this context, it is assumed that it was founded by a Frelimo dissident – André Matala Matsangaissa, in 1976, with the support of the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO), an intelligence organization headed by Ken Flower, at the service of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).) by Ian Smith (Coelho, 2004).

This dissidence caused and disturbed the happiness of the Mozambican people to enjoy the fruits of independence, measured by the inconvenience caused in an irreparable and inhumane way, thus plunging the country into an environment of fatal destruction. But then, because there was dissent soon after independence, looking at the paths followed to achieve independence, achieved from the Lusaka⁴ Accords in

⁴ See the Mozambican independence negotiation process agreements.

1974, in which it was proved, in order to reach a consensus resulting from antagonism of ideas, it was necessary the dialogue?

There may be several justifications supporting the outbreak of the 16 Years' War: where the first justification is allied with the "conspiracy" theory according to which Mozambique's independence was a threat to the segregationist regimes of neighboring countries, such as the case of Rhodesia of South, Nyasaland and the Apartheid regime that prevailed in South Africa.

Another aspect to consider was the adoption of "socialism" as the political model that Mozambique should follow. This fact is supported by Bragança & Depelchin (1986), that the presentation of the liberation movement (FRELIMO) as an organization subject to the interests of socialist countries, made Mozambique vulnerable to the aggression of imperialist countries.

The Soviet aid provided to Mozambique during the national liberation struggle created imperialist jealousy, rooted in the idea of domination and dependence, which distracted some Mozambicans from being used for war. Therefore, these aspects create a spectrum of debates that Mozambique has always been under the crusade of the imperialist powers, since colonization. A fact that soon after independence, indirectly suffered the imperialist invasion using Renamo as an instrument of destabilization of national independence, achieved from a hard fight against the oppressive system.

Lurking the Peace, 1992

The year 1992 symbolizes for the contemporary history of Mozambique the beginning of a "new era", that is, the end of the armed conflict that lasted almost 16 years and the beginning of a new national political page – multipartyism.

As Cuco (2016) assures, the General Peace Agreement of 1992, in addition to marking the end of the civil war that had ravaged the country for 16 years, also marked the beginning of a new national political order. Mozambique began a political transition from a socialist/Marxist regime characterized by the existence of a single party, starting

to introduce bases for a representative and participatory democracy, recognizing the role of political parties.

Therefore, the Mozambican political system will experience a new way of implementing the political agenda, based on the acceptance of differences and opinions as a construction of unity in diversity. This process will require new political exposure, and consequently a complexity of acceptance and abandonment of the way of thinking about the future of the country, signaling the departure from a single-party system based on Marxist ideologies towards a multi-party system similar to liberalism.

Among the various guarantees ensured within the scope of implementation of the General Peace Agreement of 1992, the following stand out: “Guarantee of legality, stability and tranquility throughout the territory of the Republic of Mozambique where provided for in guarantee 9 in paragraph a) The Parties recognize that public administration in the Republic of Mozambique during the period between the entry into force of the ceasefire and the taking of office of the new Government will continue to obey the Law in force and to be exercised through the institutions provided for by the Law”.

These guarantees were intended to arbitrate the process of implementation of the agreement, without, however, jeopardizing the effort made by the various national and international political actors, and perhaps the Mozambican civil society involved in this process.

Now, time passed and the implementation process took on new complex contours, as it required responsible conduct and selfless commitment from all the actors involved in the process. The first signs began with the 1994 electoral process, which was characterized by high military morale among the political parties, mainly Renamo and Frelimo. The elections were won by the Frelimo candidate and with an apparent denial of the defeat of the Renamo candidate. This controversy continued in the various speeches given by the Renamo candidate, alleging the theft of his votes.

Therefore Cuco (2016, p.25), that the Government of Chissano was marked by a speech aimed at reconciliation, national unity and reconstruction of the country and a culture of dialogue with Renamo in order to avoid a possible return to civil war, since the speech of this party, during this period, was always based on the idea of returning to war, alleging fraud in the electoral processes, practiced by its main opponent, Frelimo.

It was these complaints of electoral fraud that plunged the country into a war (although not declared), where government troops frequently clashed with the Renamo military, and the successive agreements of September 5, 2014, which aimed to end hostilities. This agreement did not last long, the country once again plunged into a political-military dispute that ended in August 2019 with the signing of a definitive peace agreement. Today the country is experiencing another war: the terrorist aggression in northern Mozambique that started in 2017 in the district of Mocimboa da Praia.

Complex assumptions in the face of peace building

Raimond Aron, in his thesis on the dialectic of peace and war, delights us with the current situation of peace, where he proposes peace as the more or less durable suspension of violent modalities between States (Aron, 2002). This presupposes the doubt that, where peace reigns, it is where the exchange of interests, thoughts and political tendencies coexists between two or more nations.

Peace is based on power, that is, on the relationship between the different degrees of capacity that political units have to act on each other (Aron 2002 p.220).

Today, speaking of peace, from the perspective of a complex assumption, submits itself to analyzing the different political interests existing among nations, for later aggregation in a common, albeit diversified, interest. But then, how to maintain the balance between different political thinking without, however, resorting to violence? Is it

possible to live in difference by uniting the different ways of understanding social reality without resorting to war? It is among these questions that we intend to list, in order to raise the aspect of peace as a complexity to keep the Mozambican people's coexistence in balance.

If war is conceived as a social presupposition of men, one may wish that peace is also a social construction of man, in living in harmony with others. The Archbishop Emeritus of Beira, Dom Jaime Pedro Gonçalves⁵ said that “if Mozambicans do not end the war, the war will end with them” (Gonçalves, 2014), in an appeal to political entities to know how to respect the existing difference in social coexistence and policy.

Therefore, man (hummus) as a product of nature, lives in constant search for harmony, which is pregnant to think, no matter how much war wants, contact with nature awakens feelings of peace in human beings, that is, one remembers of something that you already carry within your Self.

Fact seconded by Nordari (2014), that peace is a construction and an architectonic of the human being with his capabilities, even if he is driven to enter that state since the preservation of life itself is the only condition.

This reflection conditions the life of all Mozambicans to preserve peace, as a complex assumption of creating balances between political, religious, cultural and economic differences, in order to maintain a climate of harmonious respect for ethics, patriotism and citizenship in favor of of life. Furthermore, peace as a human will can only be kept in balance, only with the will of men to promote mutual respect, uniting the existing differences politically and socially.

As Milani (2003) states, building a culture of peace is promoting the necessary and indispensable transformations so that peace becomes the governing principle of all human and social relations. These are transformations that range from the dimension of values, attitudes and lifestyles to the economic and legal structure, international political

⁵ See Jaime P. Gonçalves on peace for Mozambicans.

relations and citizen participation, (...). Promoting a culture of peace means and presupposes working in an integrated way towards the great changes desired by the majority of humanity - social justice, equality between the sexes, elimination of racism, religious tolerance, respect for minorities, universal education, ecological balance and political freedom.

It is in this term of ideas that peace is proclaimed as a complexity for its construction, as it adds ethical, patriotic and citizenship needs to keep it in constant constructive balance. A fact argued by Morin in his thesis on the paradigm of complexity, that there must be an essential interdependence of all phenomena, since, from the complex view of the world, reality is defined through relationships and processes (Morin, quoted by Torres, 2005).

However, peace needs all Mozambicans as mentors and foundations for it. As long as there is exclusion in some negotiating aspects of peace, we may be moving towards the opening and loosening of loopholes that could endanger healthy harmonious coexistence.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The biological logic tells us that man is born, lives, grows and dies, but the idea of how man lives and how he can die is missing. This logic, although it is empirically summarized and closed to some human vicissitudes, leads us to think that deep down it brings a reflective aspiration that in order to maintain life and grow, there must be a climate of harmony, respect for ethics, citizenship and above. of all aggregation of values that will guide healthy life and death.

The theme on the complexity of peace in Mozambique: an assumption with many setbacks, is yet another invitation to reflect on how to promote the culmination of peace in Mozambique, taking into account the various advances and setbacks that guide this process. It is also a call to promote peace, bearing in mind that it depends on many

individual and diametrically parallel efforts to promote the harmonious coexistence of all Mozambicans.

The achievement of peace in Mozambique necessarily involves the construction and aggregation of socio-political, cultural, ethnic, religious, economic differences, in a philosophy of education for peace, thought out and appropriate naturally in the promotion of ethical, patriotic attitudes towards the exaltation of citizenship aimed at a society of peaceful coexistence.

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