

Constraints and Perspectives on Democracy in Mozambique

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1 Introduction

At the first of February NiZA organised, in cooperation with COA, ICCO, Hivos, Novib and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with support of the European Union, a conference about the constraints and perspectives on democracy in Mozambique. This report comprises the speeches of the guests from Mozambique and the proceedings of the workshops.

The conference took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague. Chair of the day was Stephen Ellis, of the Africa Study Centre at the University of Leiden. The conference was visited by more than hundred participants.

Elma Doeleman
December 2002

Guests from Mozambique

- **Alice Mabota**, President of the Mozambican Human Rights League in Maputo.
- **Carlos Roque**, Director of the Association for Community Services (ASSERCO) in Beira.
- **Castro Sanfins**, Representative of the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) in Nampula.
- **Gil Lauriciano**, Media Researcher at the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI) in Maputo.
- **Teófilo Braga**, District Administrator of Angoche, Nampula Province.
- **Victor Igreja**, psychologist and trauma researcher, co-founder of the NGO 'Hope for All' (AEPATO) in Gorongosa, Sofala Province.

2 Word of welcome

By Peter Hermes, director of NiZA

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to welcome you all to today's conference 'Constraints and Perspectives on Democracy in Mozambique'. I especially would like to extend a warm welcome to our guests from Mozambique. We are honoured that you have accepted our invitation to be here today to share your different experiences of working in support of participative democracy in your country.

The principle objective of NiZA is promoting democracy and good governance in Southern Africa, in the broader sense of access to information, access to basic needs and access to justice and security. NiZA and its predecessor the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation have a long history in supporting Mozambique. In recent times, various partners and contacts in Mozambique expressed their concern about developments that might be threatening the fragile democratic process. Some examples:

- Renamo disputed the results of the 1999 elections, which in November 2000 led to nation-wide demonstrations. These ended in violent confrontations between Renamo supporters and the police and left at least 45 people dead.
- Shortly afterwards the suspected agitators, some hundred Renamo supporters were locked up in a tiny cell in Montepuez and died after a week without food or drink.
- Also in November 2000 Carlos Cardoso, the journalist who was investigating corruption scandals involving the bankruptcy of the Banco Comercial de Moçambique, was assassinated.
- This was followed in 2001 by the murder of António Siba-Siba, the young bank manager who wished to expose how the Banco Austral had practically gone bankrupt because of 'bad loans'.

These worrying examples of the constraints the Mozambican democracy is facing are the reason for NiZA to organise this conference. But these very same examples give rise to democratic perspectives, since they provoked an ever louder outcry from civil society against malpractice and abuse of power.

Mozambique is frequently referred to as a success story of democratisation. And, in comparison with many other African countries, it is. The peace process in Mozambique has been successful. A new constitution was adopted in which the basis for a democratic state of law was laid down. The armed opposition transformed itself into a civil political party and multi-party elections were held. But after nearly ten years of peace, the majority of the people still have no access to basic facilities and services. Another problem are the regional imbalances in development, with the region around the capital Maputo booming with investments in infrastructure and industry, while the rest of the country runs way behind. This results in a growing dissatisfaction with the current government. Political parties might exploit this situation in a power struggle, which could pose a threat to peace and stability in the country. The mounting political tensions in neighbouring Zimbabwe demonstrate all too crudely what this can lead to.

In a vulnerable country like Mozambique, it is essential to spot increasing political tensions at an early stage and to analyse the factors that threaten stability. In the practice of conflict prevention, action is usually only taken after the existing tensions have escalated to such an extent that a conflict seems merely unavoidable. At that stage loss of human life and liberty has often already occurred or has become unavoidable. Adequate early action could have prevented these high costs. Mozambique, because it has the warm attention of the international donor community, could serve as an example of a country where early recognition of political tensions will lead to appropriate early action. Because, if political tensions are recognised at an early stage, possible solutions can be identified and implemented adequately. The objective of our conference is to give an impetus towards doing this. The most important questions we will debate with Mozambicans and representatives of Dutch development policy are:

- What role can Mozambican *civil society* play in strengthening democracy?
- What opportunities do northern NGO's have to strengthen this process?
- How can donors play a role in preventing the escalation of political tensions at an early stage?

The main international financial institutions, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, exert immense pressure on the

government to liberalise the economy and open up its borders to globalisation, but not all effects of this policy are in fact beneficiary to the Mozambican population. One famous example is the closure of all factories that were processing cashew nuts, one of the country's important sources of income. Instead of investing to modernise this industry so that it could compete with other industries around the globe, Mozambican peasants were forced to export their cashew nuts to India where processing was said to be cheaper. As a result thousands of people throughout the country lost their jobs, but the government continued to receive loans from IMF and World Bank as it was the best kid in the class in carrying out their policies.

It would be easy for opposition parties to use this kind of examples to formulate another policy and become a political alternative. However, this is not the case. The relation between the main parties, Frelimo and Renamo, is one of deep distrust and competition for material gains. Real criticism and alternative views are voiced by groups in civil society who might be able in the near future to unite and form a political alternative, the so called third force. Much will depend on the next national elections of 2004. President Chissano has already declared that he will not stand for re-election. This may offer opportunities for a fresh approach of the problems in the country, provided that the electoral process goes well.

We are aware of the complexity of the situation in Mozambique and that the road to democracy is a dynamic process. We hope to learn from the Mozambican representatives of civil society here present, how they see their own role in this process and how we can support.

We see it as a positive signal that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made a contribution to today's conference by offering us this location and welcoming us as guests. We regard this as an acknowledgement of the significance of the role of civil society in democratic processes. We would like to thank the Ministry for this opportunity and hope to continue the dialogue on Dutch policies in Southern Africa.

We would also like to thank COA, Novib, ICCO, Hivos and the European Union for their financial support, making this conference possible.

Before handing the floor to Stephen Ellis, Professor at the Africa Study Centre at the

University of Leiden, who has been so kind to accept the role of Chair of the Day, I would like to wish you all an enjoyable day and sincerely hope that this conference will stimulate us to take action. Thank you very much.

3 Defining democracy in Mozambique: A decade of love and hate stories?

By Victor Igreja

Introduction

The Government of Mozambique and its people began the year 2002 with three challenges from 2001: First, to find effective strategies to tackle the rapid growth of all sorts of criminality including "high intensity corruption". Second, to develop reasonable policies to address the generalised poverty that affects the majority of the population. And third, to find a less orthodox and more innovative leader to replace Chissano in the leadership of the Frelimo party. They did not meet these challenges. After several years of wars, failed Marxist-Leninist policies, drought and floods it appears that the present leaders (with very few exceptions) have little abilities to find real solutions for the increasing number of complicated problems that Mozambicans are experiencing.

At the end of each year, when government members evaluate their achievements, their analyses are always very positive and promising. But at the same time the population at the grassroots level continues to complain about inactivity, mismanagement and corruption of these same leaders. What is wrong in this country where the Mercedes and "4 x 4s" live close together with the misery of the majority? How to stop the growing distance between the rich politicians and the majority of poor people? How to prevent in the long-term the complete disruption of the social contract between the State and its citizens? And how is it possible that democracy in Mozambique is both a story of success and of failure at the same time?

Democracy and its roots

In the middle of the 1980s Mozambique was facing a deep crisis. The centralised economy could no longer survive and its main protagonist, president Samora Machel was assassinated. The civil war aggravated by a prolonged drought was very intense and claimed many civilian casualties. Peace and reforms were the most important needs of everyone without exception at the time. In 1987, the first signs of reforms were given with the Structural

Adjustment Program promoted by the World Bank. The economy and prices of commodities were liberalised. One could say that the capital-city of decision-making regarding the future of Mozambique was transferred from Moscow to Washington and Paris.

In 1990 the first political reforms took place and a new constitution was adopted in which the plurality of ideas, religion, medical systems and political parties were recognised. However, we are not sure if this democracy in Mozambique is the result of a genuine need of the ordinary citizens (local factors) or if it is just fulfilling the needs of the North American and Western European countries to extend their markets world-wide (external pressures).

Mozambican parliament: A room for trauma catharsis?

With the adoption of a new constitution and the end of the war in October 1992 a promising step was taken regarding the democratic process of the country. Mozambique and its people were considered an example not only for Africa but also for the rest of the world. It was the end of a war with apparently no winners nor losers. Everyone was simply pleased with peace and democracy. Multiparty elections were first held in 1994 and a couple of hundreds parliamentary seats for the democratic apprentices were established.

The multiparty parliament was constituted by members of Frelimo and the opposition party Renamo. At the beginning we had great expectations that the newly elected parliament was going to serve as a mechanism for consolidation of democracy, institutional development and promotion of peace and national reconciliation. However, soon we realised that the parliament was not the best theatre for the promotion of these values. Parliament was transformed in a field of intense verbal battles and insults, a room for a real traumatic catharsis. From time to time, Frelimo and Renamo parliamentarians stopped in the middle of discussions about developmental problems and they began to accuse each other of abuses and atrocities committed against civilians during the 16 years of civil war. They don't seem able to make political negotiations and compromises to address the endless list of problems affecting the ordinary citizens.

The traumatic catharsis by the politicians together with the state's violence against its citizens every time they go out to the streets to make public manifestations are symptoms that the country is not yet reconciled with itself. We learnt that the internal problems did not terminate with the peace settlement. The problems remain in society, sometimes more visible than others, but they do not simply vanish. The old system of spreading fear to better control the citizens is still in vogue and there is a general pessimism that if the actual democracy is not rapidly grounded in basic moral principles the country will be characterised by deep social and political instability. Ten years after the first democratic steps the roots of democracy are still very fragile.

Is democracy a question of time?

Comparing different African and Western European countries to measure the quality of democracy, political scientists often conclude that African countries need time to develop and consolidate their democracies. The argument is that Western Europe and North America needed hundreds of years to develop and consolidate democracy. The implicit idea is that democracy requires time. I am not sure if this viewpoint is valid for most of the African societies. In societies where the chiefs holding power are more important than the rule of law it appears to be controversial to attempt to promote democracy and the State of Law. Zimbabwe is a very good and fresh example to illustrate this reality. After twenty years of an apparent successful transition suddenly the country collapsed and no one risks predicting the outcome of the present crisis. The most shocking is the fact that Mozambique is no exception to this rule, in particular because the Frelimo elite promotes the principle that the reconstruction and development process depends exclusively on Frelimo members. This is not exactly in line with the basic concepts of a multiparty democracy.

If we assume that in a democratic country power is always a cyclical experience, we can predict that if another party might win the elections in Mozambique it will be inclined to do exactly what Frelimo has been doing for more than twenty five years.

The persistent marginalisation and persecution of opposition members, the lack of political legitimacy in different provinces of the country,

the increasing attitudes of political intolerance and impunity and the lack of press freedom will definitively show that the development and consolidation of democracy is not a question of time. Without the political will to respect the differences and the clear understanding that democracy is not a "one team game", there is no time in the world that will help in the consolidation of democracy. In addition, politicians should embrace the idea that they come from civil society and they should go back to civil society again.

Political leaders have to exercise power while rationalising it, committing themselves to the well-being of the state and when it's time to leave just go home to their family life. This should be a natural process and if Mozambicans manage to reach this level of understanding, I guess we will be on the right track to contribute to the development of democracy.

Justice, development and democracy across regions

It is no longer a taboo to state that there are regional differences in Mozambique. The southern region is growing very fast. Maputo is the centre of finance, of the main political institutions, intellectuals, writers, and urban culture. At the same time, the main health centre in a remote district like Gorongosa does not have running water because of lack of a pump that costs less than six thousand Euro. But the ministers in the capital have expensive Mercedes Benzes that they use for a five minute drive from their palaces to their ministerial buildings. Why is this happening? Is this a problem of decentralisation and lack of power of the district authorities? Or is it a problem of corruption at different levels of State Administration? Or a problem of lack of resources? Of one thing I am sure: this is a system of injustice.

Development should be extensive to all regions of the country. The state cannot have credibility if the few available resources and the international credits are systematically confined to a few urban families. The State of Law with all mechanisms of law enforcement must be equal for all. No citizen in Mozambique should be above the law, including those holding power and their relatives.

For the majority of war survivors that I have been working with in the last five years in

central Mozambique, war and misery are not over yet. There is a continuous line of everyday experiences of suffering and hardship from war to peace.

Since the end of the war to date, neither a leader nor a political party has presented a credible plan to reconstruct and develop Mozambique. All plans were based on the narrow visions of international experts hired by the government. It is interesting to note that it does not matter much if the international expert belongs to the government or to the opposition in his/her country of origin. But when a Mozambican expert is about to be hired the person will be screened on his or her views about the Frelimo government.

A Frelimo expert is always preferable.

Even the PARPA (Plano de Acção de Redução da Pobreza Absoluta), Mozambique's proposal to implement NEPAD, does not bring innovations. PARPA does give a lot of promises to the poor, but has been developed without consulting the population. Until very recently, only the president, the prime minister and other top chiefs knew about PARPA. It appears to be "poverty relief" at the highest level in the hierarchy. There is quite a discrepancy between what is said and what is really happening on the ground. No government, no leader, no political party can be an example to the world, if children are dying every day because of the effects of corruption and mismanagement. And we have to admit that in Mozambique the State and other political organizations are still superficial institutions. There are few citizens that feel represented by these institutions and the majority of people are solely manipulated for electoral acts.

The struggle to create a civil society and the role of international solidarity

In countries where all institutions including the churches are politicised, civil society movements have to struggle to define their own objectives and set up real plans of action. Independent observers often try to find reasons for the so-called weakness of civil society in Mozambique. But this is not hard to explain. It has to do with the way the state institutions are structured. In ten years of democracy there is still no true independence of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. In such

circumstances how can you become a real pressure group? It is clear that the civic movements do not have the power to defend legitimate interests.

In fact to become a civic organisation that functions as a real pressure group is a hard and complex struggle. The most interesting example is the so-called Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) that was one of the most important institutions attached to Frelimo during the years that followed independence. After the first democratic reforms in 1990 OMM declared its independence from the main political party and decided to congregate all women regardless of their political affiliation. At the time it sounded like a very progressive step. Some months later however, OMM wanted to join the party again because it was bankrupt. It is possible that some women in the organisation did no longer share the same ideological line as the Frelimo leaders, but financial reasons dictated the OMM to desist from being an independent organisation.

The OMM experience was not an isolated case. Other organizations were forced to do exactly the same, and Frelimo rapidly swallowed them again. It is here that the role of international solidarity funding and expertise should be seen. The role of international solidarity is of paramount importance to civil society organizations in Mozambique. Only when civic organizations are able to keep a distance from the political power, they will be capable to give voice to those that are systematically precluded from the centre of society. When civic organizations manage to be independent they will be capable to defend the real interests of the people they represent and the population in need. Here again, the international support plays a crucial role by providing resources that may help organizations becoming independent.

Of course, we should not hold a romantic view about the different organizations of civil society. There have been reports of several cases of mismanagement and corruption. We cannot deny this fact and we have to be very critical about it. It is also known that the level of education and professionalism of some organizations is not the best and something needs to be done at this level. But above all, I think that these cases should serve as lessons about the importance of capacity building and institutional development. Only in this way a new consciousness can be created, in which civic organizations have a clear vision about their position and role in society. Also a

dynamic ethical code of conduct should be developed urgently to regulate the relations between international and local NGOs.

Here there are several lessons that can be drawn. The international community must pay more attention and provide more qualitative support to civil society initiatives. However, we have to stress that the international co-operation and solidarity should not serve to reinforce illegitimate powers in our countries. The decade of the so-called "primitive accumulation of capital" is over or at least must stop now. A chance should be given in the years that follow to civil society initiatives working in the different regions of Mozambique. Hope should be a right for everyone.

It is important that civic organizations do not look for a blind kind of support. Programs for the next years should be aimed at both reducing the level of poverty and socio-political conflicts in society and building capacity inside organizations. Critical analysis of the programs at different stages should be a common practice through the presentation of their achievements and failures to the courts of the public opinion. And civic organizations should create a mechanism to involve the new generation of intellectuals that has not yet taken on a role in participating in the democratisation and reconstruction process. I believe that out there, there are very interesting programs but requiring expertise and financial assistance.

To finalise, the role of the media has been addressed several times. Now we know very well that to be a journalist in Mozambique is a risky activity unless the journalist writes or says just what pleases the government. Who dares to investigate the secrets of bad governance? Who dares to reveal the names of top leaders that were involved in the bankruptcy of a couple of Mozambican banks? It is true that freedom of press and of opinion is guaranteed by the constitution. But our corrupt leaders are not treated as terrorists against their own people. They travel with diplomatic passports and are well received in countries like Holland, England and almost everywhere in the so-called "Fort Europe." As long as these international relations go unquestioned, something is profoundly wrong. The world is still lacking a global justice, solidarity, and happiness.

4 Workshop I: Decentralisation and Local Governance

*Best Practices and Most Encountered
Problems*

Introduction

Introductions by:

**Mr. Carlos Roque, director of ASSERCO
(Beira)**

**Mr. Teófilo Braga, district administrator
(Angoche)**

**Mr. Castro Sanfins, representative of
UNCDF programme (Nampula)**

In 1998 Mozambique held local elections for the first time ever in 33 municipalities. The opposition party Renamo boycotted these elections, which contributed to a very low turnout of just 25%. Decentralisation of state power and reinforcement of local government have since proven to be a laborious process, mainly limited to these 33 municipalities, all of which have a Frelimo administration. The intention is to extend the number of municipalities in the future, but it's not yet clear how and when. Apart from these municipalities, there also exist the so-called Local State Organs, existing of 128 districts, 393 'administrative posts' and 1048 localidades (local communities). In all cases the administrators are appointed centrally. Also provincial governors are indicated by the central authorities. In the centre and north of the country, where a relatively large part of the population sympathises with the opposition, this centralistic model leads to tensions and dissatisfaction among the people.

Yet the central government is active in making and changing laws towards a more decentralised governance and recognition of other, traditional forms of authority. The main actors are the Ministry of State Administration and the Ministry of Planning and Finance. They work together with UNCDF/UNDP, the Dutch SNV and the Worldbank in carrying out programmes to reinforce the districts (so far not the municipalities).

In this workshop we have a representative of the UNCDF programme in Nampula province, a district administrator of Angoche district in the same province, and a representative of a local

NGO working with grass roots communities in and around Beira, Sofala province. All three give a brief overview of their activities and how they contribute to a more decentralised system of governance in Mozambique.

Carlos Roque, director of ASSERCO

Carlos Roque begins by detailing how, after the new constitution of 1992 which permitted citizens to organise themselves in independent interest groups, the civic movement was born in Mozambique. Many of these groups started out as charities, but they lacked experience at every level. That's why in 1995 ASSERCO started a process of capacity building in these small organisations. After some years the programme was directed at two levels: 1) at local communities, whether in city neighbourhoods or rural villages; 2) at associations with concrete proposals to solve community problems.

At first it was necessary to create a consciousness among the people of the policy changes. Before, during Portuguese colonisation as well as under the one-party-rule since independence, it had always been the central authorities who identified problems and solutions for the population. Now the people were expected to start thinking for themselves and expressing their desires. They had to learn what were their obligations, their rights and their needs and to decide about priorities.

Working method

To realise these objectives, ASSERCO starts a process of mobilising youngsters who like to work for the benefit of their neighbourhoods. After receiving a training, the youngsters start to work from door to door, asking every family what the principle problems of the community are, how they might be solved and what contribution each family can give toward these solutions. In the end, after listing up all the outcomes of the inquiry, a public meeting is held with the whole community, in which the final report is discussed and improved. On the basis of this report, priorities are agreed on and a development plan for the neighbourhood is elaborated. Finally a new instrument is introduced to accompany the development process: the Neighbourhood Development Nucleus (NDB).

Generally these NDB's consist of an equal number of men and women, the neighbourhood administrator or village chief and the young activists. Its function is to initiate a process of

mobilising the inhabitants to start the work and arrange the means necessary for this.

Another responsibility of the NDB is to take the plan to the municipal council and explain the needs of the neighbourhood. Thus they must secure financial, material and technical support for those parts of the plan the inhabitants could not achieve on their own.

The whole process from the identification of the various problems to the definition of solutions and how the population can contribute to them, creates the conditions for a true participation of the communities in the governance of their neighbourhood.

Today in the municipality of Dondo investments are made on the basis of well elaborated proposals from the population of the neighbourhoods. Some examples of what they have achieved:

- Cleaning of the neighbourhood (drainage ditches, roads, houses, gardens, latrines) and personal hygienic training.
- Campaign of conservation of the environment and fight against uncontrolled forest fires.
- Civic education of girls and children in general. At the end of the first school semester, it is necessary to check up and send back to school those kids that desisted, mainly girls.
- Education about the prevention of and fight against epidemics and illnesses like venereal diseases, cholera, malaria, tbc and lepra.

Teófilo Braga, district administrator of Angoche

Mr. Braga stresses the importance of inviting people from the districts, like himself, to international conferences like this one. As they work close to the communities they develop other sensibilities than politicians in the capital. Mozambique has always been a very centralised country where all civil servants even in the smallest locality were appointed by the central government. But in the last few years a consciousness has grown that decentralisation is a basic question for economic survival. Studies about poverty have shown that it is more a political than an economic problem. However, it must be noted that in some political circles there's still a lot of suspicion about the

decentralisation process, as it entails the transfer of power to the community.

The decentralisation process in Mozambique is following two lines: decentralisation of power and deconcentration of competences. In 1994 a law was introduced which gives more competences to the provincial governors. From then on they can appoint a range of civil servants, from district administrators to provincial heads of department. This was in fact a big step, compared to the former situation where all these were appointed by the central government. And although rural districts are not yet given the right to become a rural autarchy, Angoche was appointed one of four pilot districts in the south of Nampula province to experiment with planning at district level. This creates more room for an active participation of the communities in the governance. The objective is to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the application of finances and human resources by a planning at grassroots level. To this end the provincial government (planning and finance office) was enlarged in 1997 with a Regional Nucleus for District Planning (NRP). The collaboration between this NRP and the district administration led to a District Development Plan for Angoche, which is being implemented since 1999.

According to this plan, the district government works together with a number of groups at different levels: communities and community leaders, including religious leaders, civic organisations like community based organisations (CBOs), the private sector and international organisations. All of these contribute one way or the other to the execution of the District Plan. The interaction between the different levels requires a permanent dialogue, to which end the government organises consultative forums with all sectors of society.

The urban centre of Angoche became one of the 33 municipalities where in 1998 local elections were held. However, the opposition party Renamo decided to boycott the elections and in Angoche this led to a low turnout of just 25% of the electorate. It created a lot of social tension, which continued for a whole year after the elections.

The central government started the process of transferring some autonomy to a lower lever in a gradual manner, so as to be able to learn from the experience of the first municipalities. In the next local elections, to take place in 2003, it is expected that more municipalities will be

indicated to participate. This will have a positive effect on political tensions in the district of Angoche, where so far the two main parties both claim the leadership of the political process, creating a difficult situation for the administration. With the implementation of the decentralisation process and the ensuing involvement of society in political discussions, lately there has been a notable improvement in the socio-political relations between the various actors.

Finally, Mr. Braga describes the negative consequences at district level of the choice of several donor governments for a Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) in their aid efforts. As it is up to the central government to define priority sectors for investment, other areas that might be relevant in a specific district loose out in the bargain. Concrete examples of the district of Angoche are the closure of the programmes of CARE (rural micro-financing) and HealthNet International (health). The international agencies involved in supporting the decentralisation process should also include support to district finances. A study by the Ministry of Planning and Finance of 1999 points to the necessity of a huge reform in this area to enable all public sectors an effective control over their own budgets. The main partner actually supporting local governance in Angoche – the Dutch SNV – has already shown interest to supply technical assistance for on the job training and the funding of operational costs of a pilot project to develop a model for this.

Castro Sanfins, District Planning and Financing Programme, Nampula

UNCDF's programme for decentralisation in Mozambique began in 1993 with the formulation of a local development fund to bring benefits to the rural poor through investment in initiatives originating from grassroots communities and the emerging private sector. The government's economic rehabilitation strategy saw decentralisation of central decision-making and strengthening of provincial management capacity to support local development as a priority. A first phase was carried out between 1995 and 1998 in 3 of the 18 districts of Nampula province. From that first experience the lesson was learnt that the local development fund should be more integrated with the policy to decentralise planning and financing; so far the project had not succeeded in creating a consensual development platform

among the communities and local authorities that it focused on. A reformulated programme started in 1998, financed by UNCDF/UNDP and the Netherlands government, with a planned duration of three years. The objective is to promote economic development and alleviate poverty in selected districts by improving the provision and operation of small scale social infrastructure and improving planning and governance functions at district level. The programme was implemented in 14 of the 18 districts.

The main areas of activities are:

- Direct budget support to the provincial investment budget, to allow substantial fiscal transfers from province to district level;
- Technical support in the introduction of participatory district planning methodologies;
- Completion of public sector investments at district level.

The programme is an official pilot linked to the governmental decentralisation programme. The training emphasis is on training provincial technicians to provide technical support to the districts and introducing participatory approaches into the official planning system. The weak private sector is being supported by a government tendering process, which capacitates and accompanies the contracting companies. The programme stresses the importance of long-term development, rather than the current short-term and crisis planning.

There are three main components guiding the programme: the District Development Plan (DDP), the Annual Planning Cycle and the dialogue with civil society. The DDP represents an economic and social strategy led by the local government. The Annual Planning Cycle guiding local governance during a year forms the basis for fiscal transfers to the Districts. The dialogue with civil society is an indispensable element in formulating the Annual Planning Cycle with grassroots influence.

The results after the first three years of the programme have been positive. The programme has taken root in government policies. It has been decided to expand the methodologies on a national scale. In 2001 a National Supervision Committee was established based in four key ministries to monitor the experience of Nampula and extract lessons for other provinces.

Some positive lessons that can be drawn from the Nampula Programme are:

- It is possible to attain convergence of ideas between all actors in the field, whereby efforts to reconcile interests are of vital importance.
- It is possible to convince governments on the importance to recognise the communities as key players in local governance. Local governments and community institutions have a huge capacity which needs only to be offered space to grow, act and be realised.
- It is possible to a certain extent to influence the national agenda starting from a local level.

There are also some negative lessons to be learnt:

- Community leaders, NGO's and government officials can see the decentralisation process as a threat if not involved and trained to understand the process.
- Too much money can be as harmful as not enough money. For some districts the process was taken just as a mere opportunity to have more money without looking at the process itself and its sustainability.
- The absence of a regulatory framework retards the establishment of the process, deepening the differences in interpretation of procedures.
- The lack of consideration of group specificities, especially in the case of women, resulted in a weak perception of their interest in the programme.
- Rushing for results within programmes that involve changes in habits and culture may be harmful. Though the programme has been successful in its development phase, it now stands the challenge of consolidation, which requires a great deal of collaboration from all the actors at all levels.

Conclusions

The existing, centralised system of governance has not been able to address successfully issues like education, illiteracy, and language; the main document, the constitution, only exists in Portuguese. The central system tends to focus mostly on the urban areas. Although the decentralisation process has started in Mozambique, the bureaucratic system is not consolidated with local power. For example the

procedure of the tribunal can only be approved at national level thus making devoid district authority. Apart from that, there's a lack of civil society space at the local level. There is a lack of capacity both in the decentralised State structures as in civil society organisations. Bureaucratic structures hinder efficiency and promote delays. Tradition or culture hinders participation, especially in cases where authorities refuse to discuss development issues with women. The issue is to basically create space without conflict, to allow for discussion of development programmes between different groups such as the traditional and the state authority. They must discover common ground and achieve positive mutual development. However, this needs a change in culture. A tradition of dialogue is lacking in Mozambique since colonial times, and where dialogue is introduced there is tension. There's a lack of participation, legitimacy and transparency. The decentralisation process still needs a lot of institutional building and capacity building of organised communities.

Constraints encountered in the decentralisation process:

- The legitimacy of organisations is not guaranteed.
- The legal framework is still centralised.
- Bureaucracy slows down implementation.
- Weak participation of women.
- Sector wide approach of donors strengthens central government to the detriment of local government.
- Fiscal system still favours the central government

All three presentations show the positive sides of decentralisation principles: they enable participation of communities, to have them define their problems and discuss with government and municipal councils their needs. But it's clear that more democracy, in the form of more civil society organisations, media and political parties, is necessary to create competition, promote accountability and help in ensuring good governance. To avoid uniformity of district plans, they should take into account the specific regional or community differences and their specific priorities. Community initiated/based programmes give the best guarantees of sustainability, as long as the State structures allow for their voices to be taken serious in the process of district planning.

5 Workshop II: The role of CSOs and media in the democratic process

Presentations: **Gil Lauriciano, Alice Mabota, Victor Igreja**

The workshop began with short presentations by three leading figures of Mozambique civil society and the media sector, namely Gil Lauriciano (a journalist), Alice Mabota (a human rights lawyer) and Victor Igreja (a trauma counsellor). After the presentations a floor discussion followed which is shortly reported here.

The Media Sector – Presentation by Gil Lauriciano

Gil Lauriciano first began to train as an electrician and was sent to an institute in Moscow for this purpose. However, he returned to Maputo to work in journalism at the national news agency, AIM. His editor, Carlos Cardoso, suggested him to work at the foreign desk. In 1986 he moved to the national desk. He survived an ambush, and this is how he became a war correspondent. This is an example of the way most Mozambican journalists got into that profession: not by choice and certainly not by studying it, but because government designated them to this area.

After the war, Lauriciano continued his journalistic career with the independent Media Coop, which distributed news by fax and e-mail. Asked whether media formed part of civil society, Lauriciano said he felt that it did, as it plays a very important role in promoting citizen's interests. A well-informed person is likely to take the right decisions.

Lauriciano felt that the change from colonialism to socialism did not have much impact on civil society – peoples' situations remain similar. Under colonialism, everyone knew the regime controlled what was published. After independence, it was easy to know how to please the ruling party, as journalists had internalised self-censorship. The civil war in Mozambique resulted in the country splitting up into "islands". When the country became a member of the IMF and World Bank, journalists

had to learn something new – democracy, including freedom of the press.

This said, Lauriciano felt that some recent developments have been positive – the quality of media content has improved and more voices are coming up. However, there is more still to be done, and this takes time. With a call "let's do something now, so things can happen", Lauriciano referred specifically to three areas where capacity building was needed, namely to provide: training to journalists, especially management training; journalistic equipment and paper (a government Minister can shut a newspaper down by taxing paper very high).

Clarifications

Henk de Graaf (HIVOS) enquired about the numbers relating to recent developments. How many newspapers are there?

Gil Lauriciano responded that there were three to five newspapers in circulation, including: Notícias (daily, circulation 15,000); Savana (weekly, circulation 10,000); Diário (daily, circulation 8,000) and Demos (a co-operative newspaper, which is currently having difficulty obtaining paper).

Jaap Swart (Radio Netherlands Training Centre) asked what was already being done in terms of training. Further, he asked what the legal situation was regarding the creation of independent media, specifically radio and television.

Gil Lauriciano stated that before, one needed special approval before training could take place. Now, it is much easier, although there is no consistency in the provision of training.

There is a National School of Journalism (NSJ), which runs short courses, in partnership with other donors. There is also a private university training middle-level journalists, but it is not in a good shape. There is some controversy regarding this institution, which was created by the former Ministry of Information; technically it still belongs to the Ministry, which is now extinct. Consequently, donors find it complicated to get involved. Lauriciano used to teach there, since he and his colleagues were all concerned about the quality of journalism.

Human Rights and The Law –

Presentation by Alice Mabota

Alice Mabota, president of Human Rights League in Mozambique, began by presenting some figures, explaining that Mozambique is a very large country with long distances and a population of 16 million inhabitants. Since independence from Portugal, Mozambique has been a one-party state, until the first multi-party elections in 1994.

Main issues affecting the country's democracy and human rights situation

The country was immersed in civil war for 16 years, ended in 1992 by a Peace Treaty in Rome between Renamo and Frelimo. The fact that only two parties participated in the peace treaty has an impact on democracy in Mozambique, since both arose from military forces.

In 1990, before the signing of the peace treaty, a new constitution was adopted, which gave rights to individuals. However, the fact that the 1990 constitution was made by only one party also caused problems for democracy and human rights in the country. Up to now there have been two national elections, although there are contentions regarding their fairness.

The constitution remains the primary law, from which all other laws derive; human rights are provided for in the form of individual rights and guarantees. Further, there are national and international laws, as approved by the Parliament. Mozambique has also ratified the Optional Protocol and Charter of Civil and Political Rights.

Allegations of extra-judicial executions and torture

Mabota mentioned that, in the past, people of Mozambique did not have the right of life, since the death penalty existed, implemented in an arbitrary way, and in the presence of the public. The new constitution prohibited the death penalty. But, while the death penalty no longer exists, many people are 'sentenced to death' extra-judicially. This is being done with the full knowledge of the Ministry.

Mabota then circulated photographs throughout the group, which claimed to show persons who were killed in this way.

She claimed that this is happening on a monthly basis under the pretext of "fighting crime". When confronted by the family, people in the police are transferred, which means that crimes cannot be investigated and furthermore shows clearly that the commander knows about this and consents. When people are killed, rumours are started that they were murderous. Often, people who have been killed are shown on television, together with criminals – influencing public opinion by implying that they are all criminals. Such an action is itself against the right of individuals to have a good reputation.

Mabota further stated that people are being tortured in police stations in Mozambique. Article 10 of Mozambique's constitution prohibits violations of these rights and the Convention Against Torture and Inhuman Treatment or Punishment prohibits this, but in police stations it still happens that people are taken and tortured. These pictures show what is happening. More photographs circulated amongst the group.

The Mozambique Human Rights League (LDH)

Mabota then spoke of the work of the Liga dos Direitos Humanos (LDH), which was created in 1993 and is active in three main areas: prisoners, civic education and access to justice.

The LDH helps people in prison by visiting facilities to inspect conditions and make sure that people are not in custody for too long. For example, people might be arrested for stealing a chicken and they are held for three years or more. The LDH also tries to prevent children from being imprisoned. They have had some successes. For example, prisoners used to receive two meals a week – they now receive one meal a day. Further, when the LDH first started visiting prisoners, prisoners were very ill. Their health has now improved.

The LDH also works in the area of civic education, through the publication of brochures, sponsoring of theatre activities and participation in radio and TV programmes.

A third area of attention is the access to justice project. It is a very big project, since it is targeted for people who don't have money. The State does not provide legal aid. The LDH

employs forty paralegal assistants and thirteen lawyers.

LDH would like to expand its civic education programmes but faces obstacles due to the vastness of the country and the fact that the majority of the population is illiterate. Mabota expresses the wish to have a centre for training activists on human rights and hopes to count on the support of the Netherlands to build and operate this centre.

The opposition parties in Mozambique are weak due to lack of knowledge of the role of the opposition. And there are few NGOs working in the area of human rights due to fear and lack of knowledge. If Mozambicans are poor, it is not material poverty but spiritual poverty and ignorance. They look only within the boundaries of their lives and cannot phantom other forms of existence. A human rights school could be crucial for the reduction of human rights abuse and to help the democratic process.

Mabota concluded with a message that what the LDH wants is to create awareness in the Dutch government that civil society needs its continued support – not money as such, but support to improve democracy and human rights in Mozambique.

Clarifications

Stephen Ellis (Africa Studies Centre, Leiden) asked for clarifications on the numbers of death squads in the country. How are they organised? Are they gangsters?

Alice Mabota responded that she couldn't give numbers because the LDH doesn't know about everything that is happening. Last year they received twenty or thirty cases. This month they received three cases. The people who carry out the executions are policemen, not with a police car or uniform, but using their own cars, though there have been some cases where they have been accompanied by a police car. The squads can arrest someone, drop him off at the station, pick him up later, and then kill him.

Dealing with Trauma, presentation by

Victor Igreja

Victor Igreja began by explaining that last week he was in Hamburg and had dinner with Chilean friends. They offered him a small present, a piece of the Berlin Wall. Igreja wished that

corruption in Mozambique could be represented like this, as a piece of the past.

Igreja said that as he hears Alice Mabota, he really sweats. The situation is really not good, and Mozambicans appreciate her (Mabota's) work in this field. Before, society was divided, and then came the LDH, representing the interests of all.

For five years, Igreja and his colleagues have been trying to implement a psychosocial project helping people recover from their trauma – terrible narratives of war experiences. For some groups in Mozambique society, there is not much difference between war and peacetime experiences. Igreja and his colleagues are trying to develop a model for helping people recover from trauma, a model that will be useful for the communities.

Instead of holding a lecture Igreja presented slides showing how he and his colleagues work. Pictures included were:

- A woman who became a healer, because someone in her family killed someone innocent. The person killed is coming back to take revenge. Someone in the killer's family thus becomes a healer to help correct this. These healers have to work with a knife, representing the instrument used to kill someone innocent in the past. Igreja explained that they try to help people recover from their war experiences by working at various levels, including the spiritual level. A healer is responsible for the spiritual level, while others work on other aspects. At the beginning a deep conversation with patients is undertaken to help to try and contextualise their problem.
- A medical doctor who contributed to a big meeting, organised by Igreja and his colleagues to confront people with the results of our visits. Igreja praised the medical doctor because he is a flexible man, who is not afraid of the world of spirits.
- A group of young men and women in Maputo, from different neighbourhoods, forming different associations. Igreja explained that they are trying to do something in their own neighbourhoods on conflict resolution.

Igreja concluded by saying that it is good to share these ideas. His work is very intense and being here is a healing moment for him.

Clarifications

Henk van den Heuvel (PhD Student, Free University Amsterdam) asked if what was shown in the slides was a role-play.

Igreja responded that it was not. They were spontaneous experiences, held in the community.

Fabio Poelhekke (Consultant) asked what language they used.

Igreja responded that, in Maputo it is Portuguese, but in the districts they use local languages, where Portuguese is spoken by only a few.

Floor Discussion

The Chair, **Fabio Poelhekke**, began by saying it was good to have inputs from individuals concerned with issues at grassroots levels. He explained that the other working group was focussing on local government, whereas the focus of this working group was on participation of NGOs in local development.

It is thus a coin with two sides: civil society has the right to ask what contributions local government should make, but also to suggest how it might make a contribution itself.

The role of the media is also important, particularly the role of the radio.

Further, it should be considered what Dutch civil society could contribute.

Challenges and Benefits of Radio and Newspapers

Jaap Swart (Radio Netherlands Training Centre) mentioned that they were currently co-operating with ICS in Mozambique. ICS was trying to help organise civil society on a range of issues – health, education, etc. Radio has been instrumental. It helps to co-ordinate actions and keeps an eye on local authorities. It strengthens people at the base.

Jacques Gouvert (Mozambican studying for a Masters degree in Urban Housing Management) stated that the problem of media in Mozambique is not only from the supply side – access to this information is also an issue. Most people do not know how to read. This is the main problem – information cannot reach the people, who are

poor. To buy a newspaper costs money, raising the question whether to buy newspaper or bread. We have to think of those who receive the news, not just those who write it.

Further, he mentioned that if the population is not well organised, there is no “right way” to go to the government and speak. People must understand that it is possible to speak to the government. Public / private partnership is important – not just top to bottom.

Jelska Calvin (works in Mozambique) asked what local government could do about radios without batteries? Language is also normally Portuguese – what can local government do in translating into local languages?

Gil Laurenciano responded, saying that he intended to view radio as part of media in general, even though it was not specifically mentioned in his presentation. Radio does play an important role and UNESCO is helping to support community radio, as is Ford Foundation, through ICS. Community television stations are also being developed.

It is important to focus on what one can contribute to media in general. If there is a newspaper, then there must be some readers. There is a high rate of illiteracy, but also a demand from others who can read. The advantage of a newspaper is that it can be circulated.

It is not only papers that cost money – batteries are also expensive. “Free play” radio is being distributed, since many rural people have no electricity and cannot afford batteries.

Finally, **Lauriciano** responded that each province has its radio station that is part of the national broadcasting network and they do broadcast in local languages. There are many languages in Mozambique (twelve main language groups) – but there are attempts to broadcast in four or five different languages.

The Role of Traditional Structures

Guus Meijer (Conciliation Resources, London, UK) referred to the role of traditional leadership. It is important to consider how to incorporate them in local government, making them more of a democratic force and important also to address gender issues. Frelimo itself recognised it as a problem.

Gil Lauriciano responded that traditional structures are still part of a big debate. They are now called “community structures”, but it is not clear what this means. Government itself finds it difficult to define. We are more focussed on central politics, which is western in thinking. Other structures also need to be looked at, but there are problems. For example, during the war, some traditional leaders lost their legitimacy – it is a complex dynamic.

Reporting Human Rights Violations

Ineke van Kessel (Africa Studies Centre) asked if one collects facts about human rights violations, what does one do to get the story out? Does one engage with other civil society organisations? Media? Lawyers’ organisations?

Alice Mabota indicated that the LDH is spread throughout the country. In each centre they have a woman and a man working. They are in the north, south and the central sections of the country. Information from the paralegal centres comes to the centre in Maputo. At these (open) centres, citizens come in with different kinds of cases (e.g. reporting that someone was murdered). The LDH go to the police where the (alleged) action was perpetrated and try to identify who is missing. People also report missing persons to LDH.

The LDH works with TV stations in reporting human rights violations. Radio also wants to work with them to help identify persons.

When the identification process is done, they make a report and with this report, they go to the public ministry to try and get this action denounced. However, when the public ministry in charge has the process in their hands, they might not close the process, but the police officers involved are often transferred.

The LDH also works with Amnesty International, but it is very hard to try and get these matters reported and pursued. The only case in which they succeeded is the case of a person murdered. Other cases (e.g. torture) are problematic, since people are afraid to talk.

Some private papers do publish violations, but government papers do not.

Government Response to Allegations

Leo Stolk (Novib) said that he heard an announcement on TV where it was declared that there was a split in the security forces. What was the impact of this?

Alice Mabota responded by saying that one month before Carlos Cardoso was killed, they had a national debate on TV. It was a very hard debate, but they were able to demonstrate that police and judges abused their power. After this debate, the producer of the program had problems. Later, she (Mabota) received a visit of a lady policewoman who told her that she was afraid she (Mabota) would be killed. Alice responded that she wasn’t afraid, that they were not coming to kill her. The next day she gave her statement to Carlos Cardoso, to publish in the international press, because she did not trust the national press.

On the next day, the Minister lost his position, but no process was initiated – no punishment.

Aida Bastos (Co-operation Canada – Mozambique) asked Igreja, to what extent his idea had been explored, and whether there were studies in Mozambique along those lines.

Astrid Berner-Rodoreda (Bread for the World, Germany) asked the presenters, in light of what had been heard about a range of problems in establishing democracy in Mozambique, what they saw as the road ahead.

Victor Igreja stated that he had spoken with Alice Mabota about establishing a new office in a region currently not served by trauma counselling. He told the story of a local official who was asked about violations of human rights. The official said: “how can I talk about human rights when I belong to the government? All I can say is that human rights are being respected!”

Igreja also told the story of an administrator who came to the district, a clever man. He began to organise local meetings in various localities. One man tried to get an answer to a very basic question in a locality where the authorities were building a school: “how will they pay for the teacher?” The administrator responded that they (the community) would provide food, and a healer if he were sick. The man angrily responded: “how can the community pay for the teacher’s salary – it is the responsibility of the administration!” The administrator responded to the man: “You, sit down. You are abusing!” The man later said:

“To give him a lesson, he will see what will happen in the next meeting”.

Igreja declared that if Alice Mabota goes to the court and tries to resolve a problem, it is unlikely it will be resolved. The structures must be developed.

Freedom of expression or *tolerance of information*?

Gil Lauriciano stated that he hoped we are not just bringing in negative aspects, as one must recognise that there are some positive aspects as well. For example, we are here, talking about these issues. He sees Alice Mabota regularly. Debates do take place in the newspaper, radio, TV, seminars. It would be harsh to suggest that the LDH cannot speak up. Presently, there is a great amount of freedom in the press, and Alice Mabota knows that. The police are always under fire because of the crime. He doesn't know why the death squads were not reported in the press. There is good co-operation.

Victor Igreja stated that the question is *not* whether there is or is not freedom of the press. Officially there is. The real question is, *what happens after*? One doesn't have the institutional structures to protect in these situations.

Alice Mabota stated that she spoke with facts, not rumours. Freedom of expression in Mozambique she compared with *tolerance of information* – not much more. What happens after the news? Tolerance does not equal freedom of the press! How many times has the content of a TV programme been changed?

The Chair, **Fabio Poelhekke**, concluded the discussion by stating that we must constantly make a distinction between formal and real democracy – what is in the laws and what in fact happens.

Summary: Final discussion and conclusions

Marja Spierenburg, Free University Amsterdam: The discussion on decentralisation was quite technical, the concept was depoliticised, but it has many political denotations.

Jaap Swart, Radio Nederland Training Centrum: I would like to invite the Mozambican guests to reflect on the following question: Despite the enormous supply by donors, there still is an enormous poverty in Mozambique. Is there enough capacity? If not, how are you going to deal with that?

Peter Hermes, NiZA: I have two questions. One to the Mozambican guests: What is the relation of civil society with the government? And one to the Dutch ambassador to Mozambique: What is your opinion on the sectoral approach?

Arie van der Wiel, Dutch ambassador to Mozambique: I hear a lot of scepticism about the sectoral approach, which is a pity. It started as an action against the traditional project approach, which is donor driven and hardly sustainable. The SWAP gives the receiving country more ownership of development aid. It is strongly focused on the government, but Mozambique was selected because of good governance. Only recently, in the last donor co-ordination meeting, there was strong criticism, especially on the legal system. But we also strengthen civil society, for example in Nampula, where we make an inventory of which NGO's are there and which can we work together with? Hopefully we can extend this research to the rest of the country. At the same time we want to strengthen government, even on the local level. The Ministry of Finance has to set standards of transparency.

Kristin Wambold-Liebling, UNCDF: I would like to hear some comment on the draft law on the relation between local organs and the central state.

Teófilo Braga, district administrator Angoche: The political will exists to decentralise. Examples are the land law, the forest law. We have set up the consultative councils so that the population can speak out on these issues.

Victor Igreja, psychologist: On the question of project versus sectoral approach. One of the main side effects of the SWAP is that you create conditions for the legitimate powers. But there is a problem with how the current government was elected. People died as a result of this. And the SWAP supports centralisation instead of the opposite. The government knows it gets 60 % of the money from donors. But how about accountability and service delivery? You should not give money to the government without

control. The primitive accumulation of capital should stop. The hospital in Gorongosa needs a pump that costs only \$ 5000,- but there is no money for that.

To the organisers of this meeting, I think it is very important to organise similar meetings in Mozambique. Sometimes people from outside have to come to push the situation forward. This is also my role in Gorongosa. You can create the scenario for us to ventilate our experiences.

Gil Lauriciano, journalist: The PARPA (Moz. version of Nepad) has been designed and approved in great haste, without consulting the population. I agree that decentralisation is also a political issue. You need a strong central government for that. And you should see the levels as complementary, not as a competition between central versus local level, government versus civil society.

About the SWAP: If we had an accountable government we wouldn't have the discussion we're having here today.

Alice Mabota, human rights lawyer: The human rights situation in Mozambique needs the involvement of the whole world, there are no borders for human rights. The Dutch government must continue to support Mozambique so that we can get as far as you are today. When you call Mozambique a good example in Africa, I say: yes, in terms of definitively leaving the war behind us, but no, in terms of good governance.

Carlos Roque, Asserco: We are just at the beginning of a democratisation process. There's a lot of foreign pressure on what we should do. But at this moment our civil society needs a lot of support. The new experience of NGOs is often interpreted as being a political opposition. But we are no politicians. Civil society can play an important role in promoting democracy, if properly supported.

Chair of the day, Stephen Ellis, Afrika Studie Centrum: It is not possible to make a synthesis of this day, there were too many subjects on the table. But I'll give some comments and interpretations.

From my readings before the conference, I understood that after a relatively successful peace process, Mozambique is now heading for a democracy. But from what I heard today, this is not quite true. We don't know what's going to happen. I don't want to be cynical or negative, but be careful to say that a country is on the road to democracy. None of us these days knows what that means.

The golden age of democracy has passed even in the West. An increasing number of people have very few rights, especially immigrants. To me it seems not appropriate to set democracy as a goal for other countries in the world. That doesn't mean we want no ideals or justice. People looking for a better life are looking for social and political justice. This happens everywhere in the world. In this sense we can easily link together people of different regions in the world. What is it we are after? It is not democracy, it's justice. Nowadays there is consensus that the concept of development during the sixties and seventies of the last century was deprived of a political content. The government could be intolerant, but development was the goal. Now we acknowledge that.

Decentralisation, if you're serious about it, is a highly political issue; you should face up to it. We've seen too many examples of policies adopted for the best of reasons, but with bad results. Now, is the sectoral approach right? I think there has to be a compromise between the donors' influence and the government's ownership.

6 List of participants

Aarts, Han	MUNDO – Maastricht University
Araújo, Láli da	
Ashton, Kate	One World Action
Athmer, Gabriëlle	
Bastos, Zaida	COCAMO
Berner-Rodoreda, Astrid	Bread for the World
Besten, Maaïke den	
Beverwijk, Jasmin	University of Twente - CHEPS
Blom, Maaïke	NiZA
Boermans, Rein	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Boogert, C.S. den	ICCO
Bos, Pieter van der	NiZA
Braga, Manuel	District Administrator, Angoche
Brito, Lara de	
Buikema, Harry	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Castro, Sanfins	UNCDF
Collier, Chris	Hivos
Conijn, Anita	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Doeleman, Elma	NiZA
Dolan, Chris	ACCORD
Dube, Sihle	NiZA
Dijk, Mark	VVD
Ellis, Stephen	Afrika Studiecentrum
Furtado, Élia	
Gatwood, P.	F.I.P.A.
Gerwen, Frans van	VNG
Goor, Luc van de	Institute Clingendael, Conflict Resarch Unit
Govender, Venitia	
Graaf, Henk de	Hivos
Grotenhuis, Pascalle	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Gruppen, Pieternel	Radio Nederland Wereldomroep
Haagsma, S.	Kerk in Actie
Handmaker, Jeff	Rea Hamba
Hansma, Tamme	Hivos
Haren, Petra van	Amnesty International
Hartmans, Joke	NiZA
Hauck, Volker	ECDPM
Heitink, Henk	Novib
Hermes, Peter	NiZA
Heuvel, Henk van den	
Hoffmann-Vaz, Inge	Bread for the World
Hollenberg, Geertje	Awepa
Hoppers, Lilian	Africa Legal Aid
Igreja, Victor	AEPATO
Jackson, David	Wise Owls Organisation
Jansen, Sanna	NiZA
Janssens, Marijke	Gorongosa
Jaspers, Klaartje	
Keen, Jan	
Kern, Dolf	
Kessel, Ineke van	Afrika Studiecentrum
Kirchner, Gerhard	
Korzelius, Monique	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Krewinkel, Ben	
Kooistra, Geert	

Kooistra, Taco	CDP
Kos, Tim	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Kuijper, Jelske	
Lauriciano, Gil	ISRI
Leenders, Geert	
Librock, Richard	COCAMO
Linden, Jos van der	ICCO
Linden, Rens van der	NiZA
Linders, Hille	NiZA
Lodder, Lonneke	
Logister, Louis	KUN
Maassen, Monica	Novib
Mabota, Alice	Human Rights League, Mozambique
Madeira-Klak, Alice	
Marijnis, Martijn	Ministry of Foreign Affairs - DMV
Meijer, Guus	Conciliation Resources
Monteiro, Luisa	
Monteiro, Manuela	PSO
Oldenburg, Mieke	
Oranje, Joke	SNV
Pelgröm, Hans	
Penedo, Nelson	
Penninkhoff, Petra	Royal Tropical Institute
Plugge, Irene	Ministry of Foreign Affairs - DMV
Poelhekke, Fabio	
Pijnenburg, Bart	Wageningen University – CIS
Regouin, Eric	
Rennen, Hanny	
Richters, Annemiek	Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum
Roozendaal, Meindert	
Roque, Carlos	Asserco
Roque, Maria	
Schoenmakers, Hans	University Groningen
Schoonman, Berthe	University Utrecht – International Relations
Somers, Greet	FOS
Spierenburg, Marja	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Stirling, Sangra	ICCO
Stolk, Leo	Novib
Swart, J.R.	RNTC
Tovar, John	
John Veron	ICCO
Verstegen, Suzanne	Clingendael Institute
Vos, Pauline	
Wambold-Liebling, Kristin	UNCDF
Webber, Hope	
Wiel, Arie van der	Dutch Ambassador in Mozambique
Willems, Elvira	
Wilms, Louis	
Woestenburg, C.T.M.	JOTA
Zaqueu, Eduardo	Mozambique Embassy Brussels
Zuidam, Henk van	Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland