FROM THE GENERAL PEACE AGREEMENT (1992) TO THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 1994: THE PEACE PROCESS CONDUCTED IN MOZAMBIQUE[1]

Anselmo de Oliveira Rodrigues[2]
Eduardo Xavier Ferreira Glaser Migon[3]

Introduction

Located on the East coast of Africa, Mozambique has about 800,000 km², a feature that allows the Mozambican country to occupy the 15th position on territorial extension in Africa. In view of this, its surface contains a considerable amount of natural resources, such as coal, titanium, natural gas and graphite. In political terms, Mozambique has borders with six countries and its territory is delimited on the North by Tanzania, the East by the Indian Ocean, the South by South Africa and Swaziland and to the West by South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

Figure 1 - Political Map of Mozambique in dual perspective

Borders of Mozambique   Provinces of Mozambique
Source: Own elaboration based on the United Nations Field Department, 2016.

The geopolitical configuration of the surroundings of the African country carries with it a peculiar aspect in its conformation, namely: the presence of the Republic of Madagascar, located to the East of Mozambique, more precisely on an island in the Indian Ocean. It is not by chance that throughout history Madagascar has had an enormous influence on the African country (Visentini 2012).

When the Mozambican history is verified, and in accordance with the basic principle of the theory of International Relations, it's clear that it has never been detached from the International System (IS) and that many of the episodes that occurred around the planet were influenced or had a close relationship with events that occurred in Mozambique. The civil war in Mozambique is an example of this, a conflict triggered in 1977 that was directly related to the Cold War and which plunged the country into a serious internal crisis for more than two decades, ending only in 1994, with the holding of general elections in the country, under the supervision of the United Nations (UN).

The international dimension reached by the Mozambican conflict leads us to assume that the peace process conducted by the UN in Mozambique in the period between 1992 and 1994 should not be analyzed in isola-

tion in time and space, since it is part of a broader system, with a complex nature. Thus, it is proposed that an adequate understanding about this peace process should be based on an understanding of at least two basic topics: 1) the historical evolution of Mozambique; and 2) the initiatives made by IS actors in Mozambique after the Cold War in order to restore stability and peace in the country. That said, the objective of this article is to understand the peace process implemented in Mozambique and to identify the main events that have occurred in the world, which have reflected in the respective peace process.

To this end, this article is structured as follows: initially, the theme on the agenda is set, highlighting some relevant geographical and historical characteristics of Mozambique. In the second section, the methodology used is defined, as well as the limits of this investigation. The third section revisits the process of historical evolution that occurred in Mozambique between the 8th century and the year 1992, reporting on it in five sub-periods. The fourth section analyzes the participation of the UN in Mozambique between 1992 and 1994. And in the last section, the main facts of the IS that reflected positively and negatively on the peace process conducted in Mozambique are verified.

Methodological Considerations

The methodology used in this study is qualitative (Creswell 2010) and the results obtained were analyzed under the light of the complexity theory, more precisely in the understanding that the IS is, *per se*, a complex system. Thus, it is understood that the complex system is one that has linear and nonlinear relationships in its structure, which are characterized by not establishing proportionality between the actions of entry and exit of a system, causing the "butterfly effect", where small stimuli in certain components can result in large effects in other parts of that system (Bousquet and Curtis 2011). Therefore, the integral parts of this system should not be analyzed in isolation, because they interact with other actors, establishing relationships and making exchanges, which are fundamental for the stability of a complex system (Cairney 2012).

Without disregarding the relations caused by the Mozambican country with other African regions previously, it is understood that Mozambique was only inserted in the IS as of the 8th century, because it was from this period that there was the beginning of the establishment of relations with people from other continents. In this context and based on the complexity thoery, it is found that the main facts occurred in Mozambique from the eighth century

should not be analyzed in isolation, because they are closely related to the main events of the planet. Inserted in this plot, the peace process conducted in Mozambique did not escape the rule and suffered great influences from other actors and events that occurred in the IS:

Figure 2 - The Peace Process in Mozambique
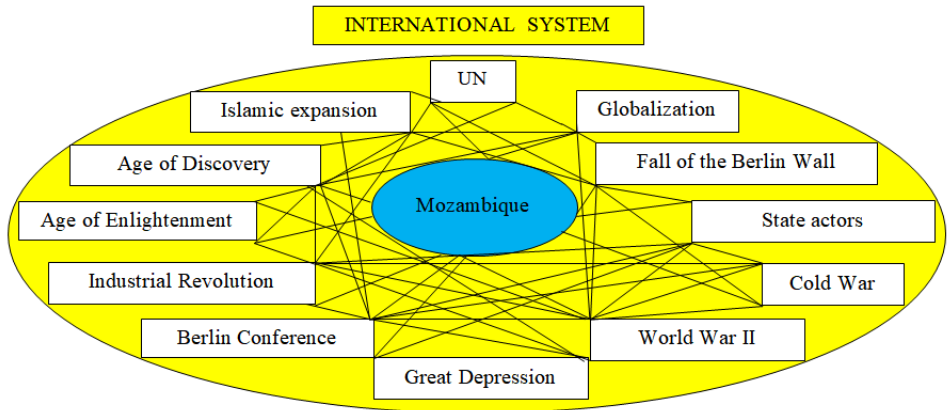
Source: Own elaboration, 2019.

Figure 2 summarizes the complexity existing in the international scenario, with a focus on the African country from its insertion in the IS in the 8th century, highlighting the main episodes that occurred in the world that generated reflections in Mozambique. Regarding the universe of actors to be researched, due to the high number of agents that have established relations with Mozambique throughout history, this article defined the study, investigating only those that most influenced the peace process of the Mozambican country:

Table 1 - Universe considered

State actors	Non-State actors
United States of America, former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Russia, Portugal and South Africa.	United Nations Organization

Source: Own elaboration, 2019.

Considering this list of actors, the analysis was done in two phases: 1) initially, the historical evolution of the Mozambican country between the 8th

century and 1992 was revisited, correlating it with the events that occurred in the IS contained in Figure 2; and 2) in a second moment, the participation of each of the agents listed in Table 1 was studied, in the peacebuilding process carried out in Mozambique between 1992 and 1994, highlighting the positive and negative aspects of this action. Seeking to verify the role of the United Nations in this process, all the resolutions issued by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) were investigated, which paid tribute to the African country during the period in which UNOMOZ[4] was present in the country, highlighting the positive and negative points of this action.

Brief History of Mozambique

Without disregarding the dynamics established by the different African peoples in Mozambique before the 8th century, it is noted that the insertion of the African country in the international context really happened with the occurrence of Islamic expansion, a historical moment that registered rapid growth of Arab power between the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, with the establishment of an Arab-Muslim empire, which occupied territories in the Iberian Peninsula, the Italian peninsula, the Middle East, Central Asia and the *Maghreb* region (Sicker 2000). Benefiting from the diffusion of Chinese navigation techniques, Arabs and Persians projected themselves in the Indian Ocean and in the middle of the 8th century, they arrived at the structured port of *Sofala*, in Mozambique.

From trade with the Arabs to the arrival of the Portuguese (8th century – 16th century)

Belonging to the largest empire of the time and without subjecting the local population, Arabs and Persians quickly settled along the Mozambican coast from the eighth century and established a lucrative trade with African peoples, notably based on local gold mining (Ricks 1970). This commercial dynamic was maintained in the following centuries and reached its apex between the 10th and 11th centuries, with intense trade between Africans, Persians, Arabs and Indonesians.

However, at the end of the 11th century, the Arab-Muslim empire began to emit the first signs of its fragility with the emergence of the Crusades on the European continent. Led by the military and clerics, these movements were intended to free European countries from the Muslim yoke and, to this

---

4 United Nations Operations in Mozambique.

end, united the European population around a common cause: the religious
one (Junior 2001). The territorial loss of the Arab-Muslim empire was not
limited to Europe but also extended to other territories, such as Central Asia,
which was ceded to the Turks. These facts contributed to the effective fall of
this empire in the fifteenth century. Already inserted in the international con-
text of the time, Mozambique felt the effects of this change and registered the
decline of the trade with Arabs and Persians, as well as the higher incidence
of Chinese and Indians in the region and the consequent increase in trade
relations with these peoples (Oidtman 1958).

The collapse of the Arab-Muslim empire made it possible for Europe-
an countries to ascend the international system, an aspect that caused great
changes on the strategic stage. As a result, the world witnessed the beginning
of the Great Navigations, a historical period that lasted from the 15th to the
17th century (Carvalho 1998). Inserted in the IS, once again Mozambique was
not immune to what was happening on the planet and witnessed the arrival of
the Portuguese in its territory at the end of the fifteenth century.

From the Portuguese State of India to the Independent Captaincy (1505 – 1752)

Thus, and after several decades, the Lusitanians established them-
selves and founded the Portuguese State of India in 1505, the portuguese over-
seas department that encompassed a vast territory consisting of Mozambique,
numerous islands of the Indian Ocean and several Indian coastal cities. In-
itially conceived as captaincy of the Portuguese State of India, Mozambique
received the installation of the first Portuguese branch in 1505, in the *Sofala*
region (Wagner 2007). Motivated by the pulsating trade with the Indies, Mo-
zambique observed the growth of Portuguese trading posts along its coast
in the sixteenth century, just as it witnessed the beginning of the Lusitanian
penetration into the interior of its territory. The Portuguese were increasing
their influence throughout the sixteenth century and, by the beginning of the
seventeenth century, were already fully consolidated in the African colony.

However, the 17th century began a period of decline of the Portu-
guese colonial empire. Under the context of the Great Navigations, Holland,
France and the United Kingdom also launched themselves around the globe
in search of wealth, an aspect that generated direct reflections on Portuguese
overseas possessions. In the midst of this scenario, there was the Luso-Dutch
war, which occurred between 1595 and 1663, resulting in a significant terri-
torial loss from the Portuguese State of India to the Dutch. With the main
objective of serving as a logistical warehouse for Portuguese vessels trading

with India, Mozambique did not offer great financial attractions. Even so, the Mozambican colony was not unharmed by what was happening on the international scene and registered in 1607, an attempt of Dutch invasion in its territory, which was promptly rejected by the Portuguese troops present in the region (Dodge 1976).

The 18th century marked a change of course for Mozambique. Worried about the great territorial loss that the Portuguese State of India had in the previous century, Portugal decided to reinforce its presence in the African colony. The appointment of the Marquês de Pombal as Portugal's prime minister in 1750 brought about a series of changes throughout the Portuguese colonial empire. Under the strong influence of the Enlightenment ideals, Marquês of Pombal unleashed a series of measures aimed at increasing Lusitanian control over Mozambique. It was in this context that the political status of the Mozambican colony changed in 1752, separating it from the Portuguese State of India and raising it to the category of independent captaincy (Wagner 2007).

From independent captaincy to World War II (1752 – 1945)

With this change, the Portuguese crown took over the administration of Mozambique. It was no coincidence that the following years saw a sequence of political, fiscal, social and commercial actions emanating from Marquês de Pombal and aimed at boosting commercial activity in the Mozambican colony, exploiting natural resources more efficiently and, above all, exercising greater control over Mozambique (Hoppe 1970). As a consequence, commercial activity in Mozambique experienced strong growth in the following decades, with gold, ivory and the slave trade playing a leading role in the colonial economy.

Advancing in the timeline, it is observed that the historical evolution of Mozambique in the nineteenth century necessarily involves the understanding of two facts that occurred in the IS and how they manifested themselves in Mozambican territory: 1) the industrial revolution; and 2) the Berlin conference.

With regard to the industrial revolution, it can be seen that it did not have the strength and reach necessary to influence the actions that were taking place in the Mozambican colony, since neither the industrial revolution nor the actions carried out by the British in the IS with the intention of ending the slave trade were able to eradicate this practice in Mozambique. In fact, what was seen was an increase in the slave trade in this period, which jumped from an annual average of 13,000 slaves in the first decades of the

nineteenth century to an annual average of 20,000 slaves in 1860, numbers that remained until the mid-1880s, even being considered a clandestine activity at the time (Curtin et al 1978). The increase in the slave trade was directly associated with the *modus operandi* adopted by the Portuguese to obtain slave labour, which sought to stimulate rivalries between local tribes, a practice responsible for the increase in revolts in Mozambique, which influenced the formation of the *ethos* of the Mozambican people, planting the first seeds of nationalist sentiment (Zonta 2011).

Regarding the Berlin conference, held between 1884 and 1885, it is noted that it had the strength and scope that the industrial revolution did not have. Among the issues deliberated at the conference, the ones that most influenced Mozambique were the ratification of the end of slave labour and the demarcation of new borders for the African continent. Not coincidentally, the slave trade in Mozambique underwent a progressive decline in the following years until it was completely extinguished at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries (Marques 1989). It was not by chance that Mozambique's borders were gradually defined in a diplomatic manner after that conference, to the point of reaching their current borders in 1891.

Having in mind the deliberations of the Berlin Conference and the diplomatic agreements signed in the following years to establish the border limits of Mozambique, the Portuguese were forced to effectively occupy the colony at the beginning of the 20th century. To do so, Portugal has allocated 1/3 of Mozambique's territory to be managed by private companies. On the other hand, these companies should return 10% of their revenues to the Portuguese coffers. Known as *majestic companies*[5], they had paramilitary forces, financial autonomy, exercised authority over the local population and became the main responsible for the concrete occupation of Mozambican territory (Carvalho 2012). It was in this way that commercial activity and territorial occupation were structured in the African colony at the beginning of the 20th century.

However, the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929 once again moved the pieces of the strategic board and their effects were also present in Mozambique. Affected by the crisis and looking for solutions to get out of it, Portugal instituted the colonial act of 1930 in an attempt to make the greatest possible profit from its colonies. In summary, this action reinforced the nationalist character in the Portuguese domains, a fact that generated immediate effects in Mozambique, since much of the political and commercial activity was outsourced, as they were conducted by private companies (Min-

---

5 Named after the sovereign authority received by the portuguese crown in the territorial part in which they administered (Gentilli 1998).

doso 2017). Thus, the pendulum went to the other side, with the Portuguese government assuming the conduct of all political and economic activities in the colony. However, the way in which the Portuguese colonial administration was implemented from the 1930s onwards, segregating the African population from the key functions of local society, caused discontent among Africans, leading to the emergence of the first associative movements in Mozambique, such as the *African Association*[6], the embryo of the anti-colonial movements that emerged in the country during the 1960s.

Years later, the world witnessed the outbreak of the World War II in 1939. More than a warlike conflict of global proportions, the outcome of the World War II has completely reconfigured the pieces of the strategic board on the planet. Belonging to the IS, Mozambique was not exempted from this fact and the reflections of this change could be seen on Mozambican soil.

From World War II to independence (1945 - 1975)

Devastated on the occasion of the World War II, the European countries suffered a strong decline and could do nothing in the face of the rise of the United States of America (USA) and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to the positions of global powers. This reorganization of forces led to the Cold War, a historical period that began shortly after the World War II and ended symbolically with the fall of the Berlin Wall, in which Americans and Soviets fought for global hegemony in various fields of power (Hobsbawn 1995). Concomitant with this scenario, the trauma generated by the occurrence of two world conflicts in thirty years caused society to pressure the IS in order to create a supranational institution that was effectively able to maintain acceptable levels for the maintenance of peace in the globe, pressure that resulted in the creation of the UN in 1945 (Soares 2011).

Between this reality and under the seal of the Cold War, the African continent inaugurated a process characterized by the independence of several countries, which were previously considered European colonies and by the second half of the twentieth century, began to be recognized as independent states by the UN (Oliveira 2009). However, this fact was not noted in the Portuguese colonies located in Africa, where Mozambique was located. Under pressure from the United Nations, the Portuguese only revised their constitution and changed the political *status* of the Mozambican colony, which was renamed the Portuguese overseas province in 1951, changing nothing in the

---

6 Created in 1938, this movement was composed by Mozambicans and aimed to spread African nationalism in Mozambique, opposing the arbitrariness committed by Portuguese settlers in that period (Neves 2009).

dynamics of relations between Mozambique and Portugal.

The Bandung Conference held in 1955 boosted the African national-ist sentiment that was in place on the continent. Known as Pan-Africanism, this ideology sought to unite African peoples to face the challenges that exist on the planet. Fuelled by Pan-Africanism and under the Cold War, Mozam-bican associative movements gained strength and established themselves as anti-colonial movements in the ending of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s. Among all the anti-colonial groups that emerged during this period, the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) stands out, the main movement that acted in the Mozambican independence process (Gomez 1999).

Founded in June 1962, the history of FRELIMO goes through the un-derstanding of three groups that preceded it: 1) MANU (*Mozambique African National Union*); 2) UDENAMO (*National Democratic Union of Mozambique*); and 3) UNAMI (*African National Union of Independent Mozambique*). Created in 1959 in Kenya, the MANU was a movement that arose from the union of Mozambicans living in Kenya and the surrounding region of Lake *Tanganyi-ka*[7]. Led by *Mateus Mhole*, the group wanted to make Mozambique independ-ent (Neves 2012). UDENAMO was conceived in 1960, in Rhodesia. Under the leadership of *Adelino Gwambe*, the group was composed of Mozambicans residing in Rhodesia and aimed to free Mozambique from the Portuguese yoke. UNAMI, in turn, was founded in 1961 in Niassaland[8]. Like the previous ones, the main cause of the movement was the Mozambican independence and, to this end, the group was composed of Mozambicans from the northern region of Mozambique and were led by Baltazar Cachonga. Thus, as a result of the merger of these three groups and under the auspices of the President of Tanzania, FRELIMO was created on 25 June 1962 in the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. With the former UN official, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, as its leader, the construction of the group took place entirely in foreign territory, a fact that showed the strength of Pan-Africanism in the region.

This architecture shows that it was not by mere chance that all of Mo-zambique's neighboring countries obtained their independence in this peri-od, more precisely between 1961 and 1968, a fact that once again reveals the strength and transnational breadth of Pan-Africanism. The only exception to this group was South Africa, which had become independent in 1910 but was under the *apartheid* regime. Fearful of the regional political moment,

---

7 Second largest lake on the African continent, located in the north of Zambia, which serves as a natural border between Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi and Zambia.

8 British colony that became independent in 1964, being renamed Malawi (Souto 2013).

the South Africans decided to get closer to the Portuguese and, in the 1970s, signed a military partnership with the lusitanians, characterized by military exercises and support aimed at defending a Southern Africa against the effervescent pan-Africanism in the region (Barroso 2013).

Even with this South African contribution, Portugal failed to keep Mozambique under their domain for much longer. The oil crisis, which erupted in 1973, was the beginning of a series of events that culminated in the independence of the Mozambican country in June 1975. Given Portugal's dependence on oil, the country has entered a severe economic crisis. Unsatisfied, the Lusitanian media issued heavy criticisms to the Portuguese administration, especially in the high cost demanded of the Portuguese government coffers to maintain their overseas territories (Coggiola and Martins 2006). It was with this atmosphere that the Portuguese military overthrew the Estado Novo regime and decreed the Carnation Revolution in April 1974, a fact that generated immediate recognition of Mozambican independence.

Thus, Portugal and FRELIMO signed the *Lusaka* Agreements in September 1974, in Zambia. This agreement recognised Mozambican independence and established a progressive model of political transition to FRELIMO, determining the day of Mozambique's independence: 25 June 1975, the same date as the creation of FRELIMO. In spite of the decisive role of the oil crisis in the Mozambican outcome, it is noted that the independence process in Mozambique had great participation of the neighbouring countries throughout its course. The place and date of the Lusaka Agreements were not randomly chosen, but only politically ratified before the IS, the influence of the states of the region on the Mozambican independence process.

From independence to the General Peace Agreement (1975 - 1992)

The occurrence of the Mozambican and Angolan independence in the same year changed the balance of power in southern Africa and weakened the white bloc in the region (South Africa and Rhodesia). In this context and under the leadership of Samora Machel, the Mozambican government adopted a bold foreign policy soon after independence, which had a direct impact on the civil war that broke out in the country afterwards: 1) on the one hand, FRELIMO was in solidarity with the peoples who wanted to free themselves from the colonial yoke and fought against the minority regimes established in Africa, a fact that was reflected in Mozambique's support for the anti-colonial movements in Rhodesia and the groups that fought against *apartheid* in South Africa; 2) on the other hand, the country chose to strengthen its ties with the former USSR, redirecting the initial concept of FRELIMO, which

became characterized in the IS as a movement of Marxist-Leninist nature (Cau 2011).

The neighbors' retaliation came at once. The South Africans quickly made efforts to put pressure on the struggling Mozambican economy. Internally, South Africa has developed an aggressive package of economic measures, with a focus on the mechanisation of mining production. In the external sphere, South Africans articulated and carried out actions to redirect the flow of regional production, which was even flowed through the ports of Mozambique. Rhodesia, through its secret services, supported the creation of the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). Composed of Mozambican soldiers from the special forces of the Portuguese Army and Portuguese settlers who left Mozambique and lived in Rhodesia, RENAMO was a group of an anti-communist nature that had the purpose of opposing FRELIMO politically and ideologically (Mosca 2005).

And it was with this climate that the civil war was established in Mozambique in 1977. The country has been plunged into a serious internal crisis, which has lasted for more than two decades in the country. On the one hand, under the leadership of *Samora Machel*, FRELIMO represented the Mozambican government and was supported by the former USSR. On the other hand, being led by a former FRELIMO dissident, *André Matsangaissa*, RENAMO was supported by Rhodesia.

This dynamic was kept until the beginning of the 1980s, a period in which there was a new movement of pieces from the strategic table in the Mozambican case. In 1979, Rhodesia began a process of independence from the United Kingdom, which culminated in 1980 with the recognition as a sovereign state by the IS, being renamed Zimbabwe. In addition, RENAMO leader *André Matsangaissa* died during a fight with Mozambican forces in 1979 in *Sofala* province. These two episodes were a severe blow to RENAMO's claims (Cau 2011). However, *Ronald Reagan*'s assumption of power in the U.S. has redirected the country's foreign policy and its focus has shifted to the bipolar confrontation. This foreign policy stance led the Americans to immediately support RENAMO, a conduct that was also followed by South Africa, giving new impetus to RENAMO. In other words, while RENAMO was weakened by the death of its leader and the loss of support in Zimbabwe, it found two major supports in the early 1980s: the USA and South Africa.

By the mid-1980s, Mozambique was economically weak and with the decline of the former USSR, it was no longer receiving the Soviet financial support it once did. Under pressure from the population, FRELIMO abandoned its ideological convictions and signed the *Nkomati* agreement with the South African government in 1984 in South Africa. In summary, this agree-

ment provided for the termination of the support provided by South Africa to RENAMO, in the same way as it required the end of the support provided by Mozambique to groups fighting against *apartheid* in South Africa. In 1986 there was another fact that further removed the Mozambican country from Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is the death of the president of Mozambique, *Samora Machel*, due to the crash of the plane that was carrying him in South Africa (Darch 2018). These episodes made it possible to initiate major political transformations in Mozambique, which resulted in the country's rapprochement with the capitalist system, in the same way that they made it possible to initiate dialogue between the government and RENAMO.

In any case, a fact that occurred outside the African limits, proved to be central to Mozambique's plans. It is the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which reconfigured the game of forces on the world stage and decreed the symbolic end of the Cold War, elevating the United States to the rank of the only global superpower and unlocking the actions of the United Nations on the international scene. With the end of the bipolar confrontation, among other elements, *apartheid* lost one of its main motivations in South Africa and thus South Africans were able to initiate a gradual process aimed at ending this practice, which began with the release of *Nelson Mandela* from prison in February 1990. For the same reasons, Namibia became independent from South Africa in 1990, just as the UN succeeded with UNAVEM I[9] in Angola, which closed in 1991 (Krška 2007).

The changes made internally in Mozambique, associated with the new global and regional environment, created an extremely favourable environment for the end of the civil war and the consequent start of the peace process led by the United Nations in Mozambique. As a result of this scenario, in October 1992, the president of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, and the leader of RENAMO, *Afonso Dhlakama*, signed the General Peace Agreement in the city of Rome, Italy.

The Peace Process in Mozambique (1992 – 1994)

As a consequence of the General Peace Agreement, the UNSC issued Resolution No. 782 in October 1992, authorizing the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations and the deployment of 25 UN military observers to conduct studies on the costs and feasibility of a peace operation in Mozambique. In December 1992, with the studies completed, the UNSC issued Resolution No. 797, establishing ONU-

---

9 *United Nations Angola Verification Mission I*

MOZ, a peace mission that was created with the purpose of implementing the proposals established in the General Peace Agreement.

In spite of the weakened social and economic condition that Mozambique was in, with a sensitive internal political scenario, resulting from more than two decades of civil war, the UN found a country that allowed the development of its activities and that, combined with the favorable international situation, generated satisfactory conditions for the beginning of the work of the United Nations in Mozambican soil.

ONUMOZ (1992 - 1994)

With an initial mandate of 10 months, ONUMOZ began its work in December 1992 on Mozambican territory. Due to some internal factors, its mandate was extended a few times, being symbolically closed on December 9, 1994. The main objective of ONUMOZ was to achieve the goals established by the General Peace Agreement and, to this end, the focus of the peace mission was based on four distinct axes: 1) political; 2) military; 3) humanitarian; and 4) electoral. From all four fields, it can be inferred that the political aspect was a priority, as it allowed the creation of an environment of trust in the country, thus enabling the disarmament of a good part of the population and structuring the new Mozambican Armed Forces with members of RENAMO and FRELIMO. The military axis was sensitive, as it implied a clear and adequate mandate that would enable the development of field activities and would not cause major legal and operational disruptions. In this way, it would be possible to use blue helmets anywhere in the Mozambican territory, enabling humanitarian support to the entire unassisted population in Mozambique. The electoral question complements the previous axes and symbolically represented the end of the reconstruction of the UN in Mozambique.

During the course of UNOMOZ, UN activities took place in a climate of relative stability, with the exception of a few episodes that occurred in March 1994. By that time, 50,000 RENAMO members had already been demobilized and were occupying the provisional settlements set up by the members of the United Nations in Mozambique. In view of the uncertainty as to whether they would be reincorporated by the new Mozambican Armed Forces, there were problems involving this public in some areas of the UN camp, such as riots, rebellions, looting of stores, cases of rape, seizure of UN officials and vehicles, among others of smaller size (Malachi 2007). In any case, these incidents were promptly repressed and the climate of stability could be maintained in Mozambique, ensuring an adequate environment for holding general elections in the country (Pureza et al 2007).

An interesting aspect of the mission of onusian peace in Mozambique rests on the main external extra-continental actors. Regarding Russia, it appears that it could do nothing in the case of Mozambique, because it was facing the constitutional crisis of 1993, in which the Russian parliament decreed the *impeachment* of the then Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who did not respect this decision, making the country more unstable (Segrillo 2012). About Portugal, it is observed that it had enormous difficulties in adjusting to a new phase experienced by the Portuguese, more precisely in meeting the goals imposed by the Maastricht Treaty, a fact that limited the Lusitanian country in actions at the external level. The Americans, in its turn, decided to leave the African continent due to the internal wear and tear caused by their participation in the conflict in Somalia, when they suffered heavy criticism from the US media. Thus, it is observed that the peace process conducted by the UN in Mozambique has not been influenced by the main extra-continental countries in its course.

However, a fact that occurred at the regional level proved to be fundamental to the course of the actions carried out in Mozambique. This was *Nelson Mandela*'s victory in the South African general election in April 1994. More than a mere coincidence, the rise of Nelson Mandela to the position of President of South Africa represented the victory of Pan-Africanism in the region's leading country, making it the first time that South Africans have had a black president in their history. This episode was not limited to South Africa, but the opposite, it somehow went beyond South African limits and reached *Maputo*, generating a climate of optimism and confidence also in Mozambique, particularly among the FRELIMO members, who were ideologically opposed to the practice of *apartheid* in South Africa.

In any case, the work done by the UN in Mozambique, which found a country devastated by a long civil war and which did not even have solid institutions, should not be minimised. With investments of US$ 1 billion, the United Nations did not underestimate the size of the challenge imposed and managed very well the actions in the field, leading the Mozambican peace process to a successful conclusion (Malachi 2007). Highlight should be given to the onusian leaders in the tactical field, in the strategic field and in the political field. As far as the tactical field is concerned, the leadership exercised by the *Force Commander* of the mission, a position held by Brazilian Brigadier General Lélio Gonçalves Rodrigues da Silva between February 1993 and February 1994 and by Major General of Bangladesh, *Mohammad Abdus Salam*, between March and December 1994, who knew how to lead their troops in the midst of the hostilities they suffered in Mozambique and lead to the successful continuation of the peace mission (United Nations 2018). In the strategic

field, the political skill with which the UN Special Representative and Head of Mission, *Aldo Ajello*, demonstrated on the occasion of the incidents that took place in the provisional bases prepared by the United Nations, quickly articulating with the local government on the fate of the demobilized members of RENAMO, can be observed. And in the political field, it is noted that the visit made by the UN Secretary-General, *Boutros Boutros-Ghali*, in October 1993 in Mozambique, generated an extremely positive impact in the country, insofar as it revealed the concern that the highest level of the United Nations had with the ongoing actions in the African country, an aspect that gave solidity and credibility to the performance of blue helmets in Mozambican territory (United Nations 2018).

And it was in this climate that the general elections in Mozambique were held in October 1994. Under the supervision of UN professionals, the elections took place without major disturbances and the results were released in November 1994, giving victory to the president who was already in office: *Joaquim Chissano*, of FRELIMO (United Nations 2018), a fact that was ratified by the members of RENAMO and the United Nations. Thus, ONUMOZ's mission was symbolically concluded on December 9, 1994, when *Joaquim Chissano* assumed the new presidential mandate in the country.

Final Remarks

The final phase of this research begins by summarizing the purpose of this article: to understand the peace process triggered in Mozambique, correlating it with the main facts that occurred in the IS that influenced this process. Thus, the first finding of this study is that the Mozambican peace process is complex in nature and did not begin with the UN. The participation of the United Nations since 1992 represents only the final part of a process that began in the 8th century, with the establishment of trade with the Arabs and ended with the holding of general elections in the country in 1994:

Graph 1 - The Mozambican Peace Process
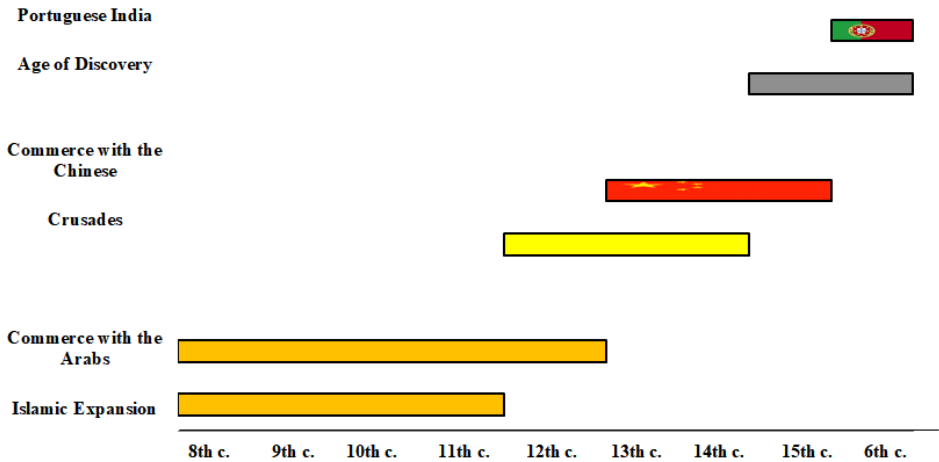

Evolution of the Mozambican Peace Process
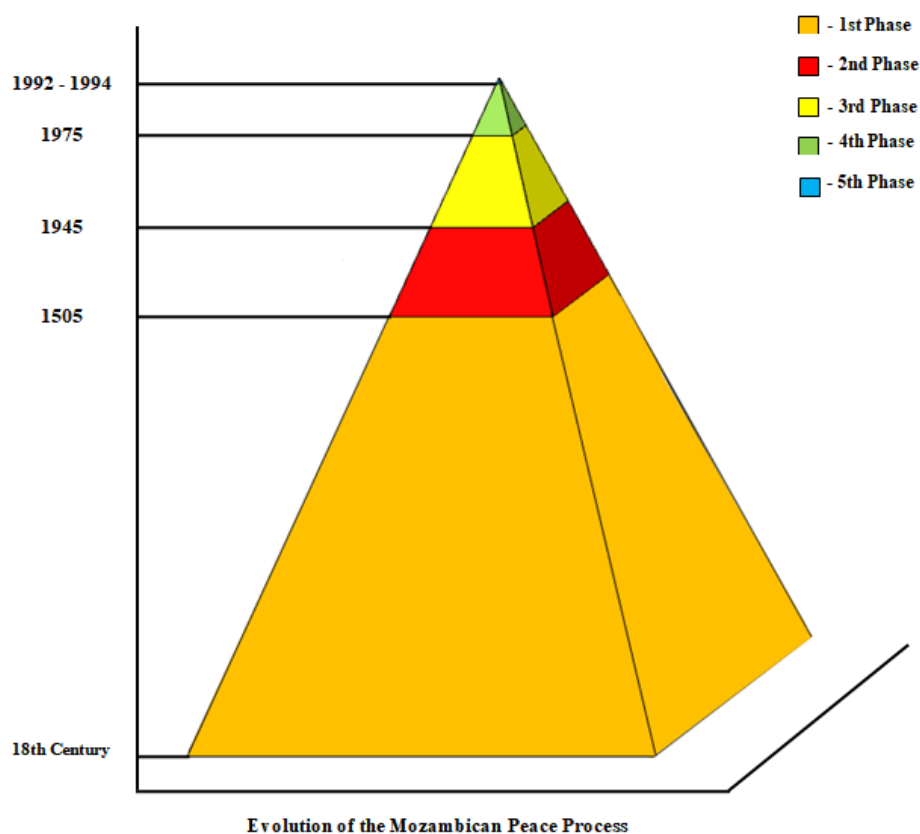
Source: own elaboration, 2019.

In summary, Graph 1 shows that the peace process in Mozambique is divided into five periods: 1) the first is the largest of all and is at the base of the pyramid, being coded by the color orange and has about eight centuries of duration. It began with the establishment of trade with the Arabs and Persians in the eighth century and ended with the founding of the Portuguese State of India in 1505; 2) the second period is 440 years long and is coded by the color red. It started with the foundation of the Portuguese State of India and ended with the end of the II WW; 3) the third period is represented by the yellow color and is 30 years long, starting soon after the II WW and ending with the Mozambican independence in 1975; 4) the fourth period is represented by the green color, happened in 27 years and covers from the Mozambican independence to the General Peace Agreement, signed in 1992; and 5) the fifth

period is the smallest of all and is being represented by the almost imperceptible blue color at the top of the pyramid, comprising only the temporal cut in which the UN was present in Mozambique: from 1992 to 1994.

Given the long duration of the Mozambican peace process and the difference in form, context, extent and composition with which each of the periods has influenced the country throughout history, each phase needs to be analysed individually. Thus, with almost eight centuries of duration, the first period is marked by longevity and stability. Focusing on commercial activity, the Arabs did not subjugate the local population, modus operandi that was also followed by the Chinese, who became more present in the region from the occurrence of the crusades. The 700 years that local African tribes have had contact with other peoples, making exchanges and not having their cultures subjugated, help to explain the way in which Pan-Africanism was so strong in this region, an aspect that directed the country's course in the second half of the 20th century.
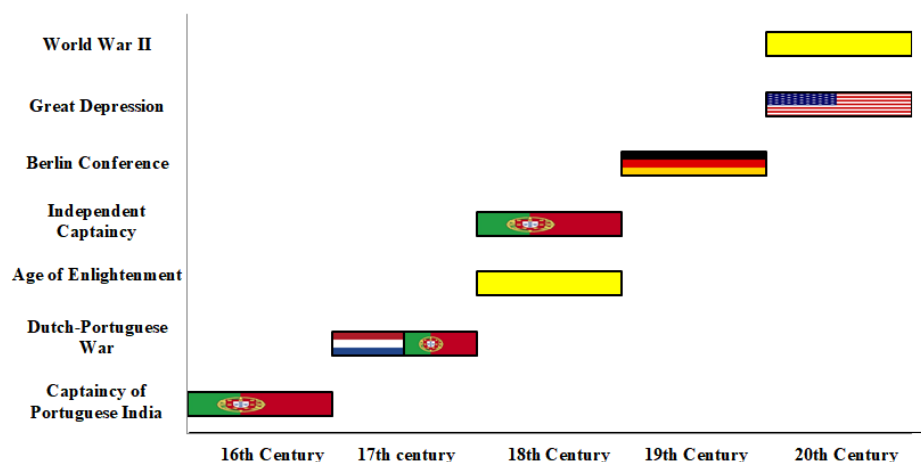
Graph 2 – The 1st Phase of the Mozambican Peace Process

Source: own elaboration, 2019.

Moving on to the second phase of the Mozambican peace process and considering that the Luso-Dutch war had little impact on Mozambique, it is noted that the Mozambican country had under strong portuguese influence while it was a captaincy of the Portuguese State of India. As of the change from threshold to independent captaincy, Mozambique was more strongly inserted in the international context, receiving more influence from other actors and facts in the IS:
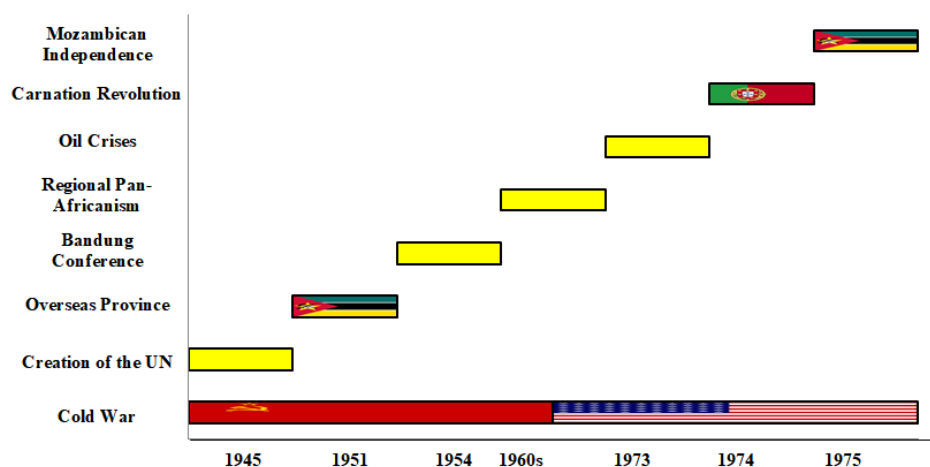
Graph 3 - The 2nd Phase of the Mozambican Peace Process

Source: own elaboration, 2019.

With regard to the 3rd phase of the Mozambican peace process, it is noted that it began after the end of the II WW and ended with independence in 1975. Following the trend pointed out from the change in Mozambique's political status in 1752, the 3rd phase was also not detached from the IS:

**Graph 4 - The 3rd Phase of the Mozambican Peace Process**

Source: own elaboration, 2019.

Graph 4 shows that throughout the period, the Mozambican peace

process was under the influence of the Cold War. The creation of the UN in 1945, which legitimized the independence of all African countries at that time, should not be overlooked. The central aspect of the 3rd phase of the peace process rests on the strength of African nationalist sentiment in the Mozambican independence, a fact that was evidenced by the Bandung Conference and by the robust manifestation of the ideology of pan-Africanism in the surrounding countries of Mozambique, region where FRELIMO was formed. In the following decade, the oil crisis triggered a cascading movement, triggering the Carnation Revolution in Portugal in 1974, and Mozambican independence in 1975.

With regard to the 4th phase, it should be noted that it began with the independence of the country and ended with the General Peace Agreement signed between the President of Mozambique and the leader of RENAMO, in Rome. As in the previous phase, the peace process during this period continued to be influenced by the current international situation, with the special participation of regional actors:

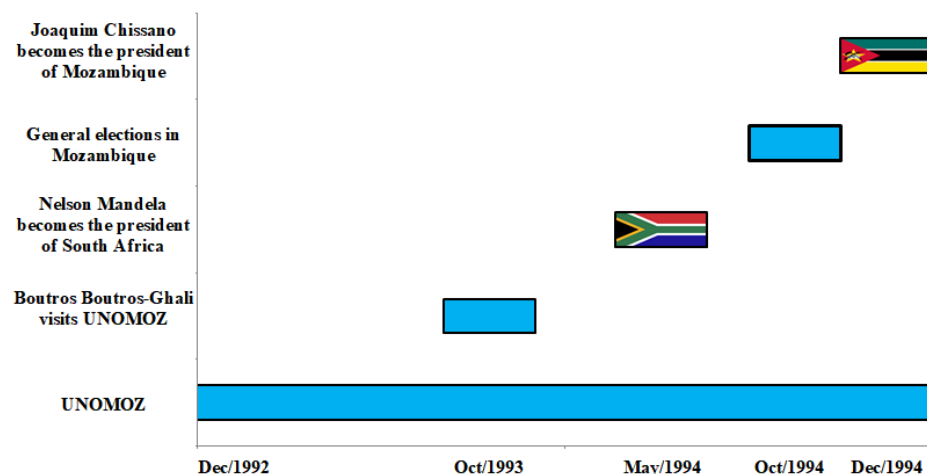## Graph 5 - The 4th Phase of the Mozambican Peace Process
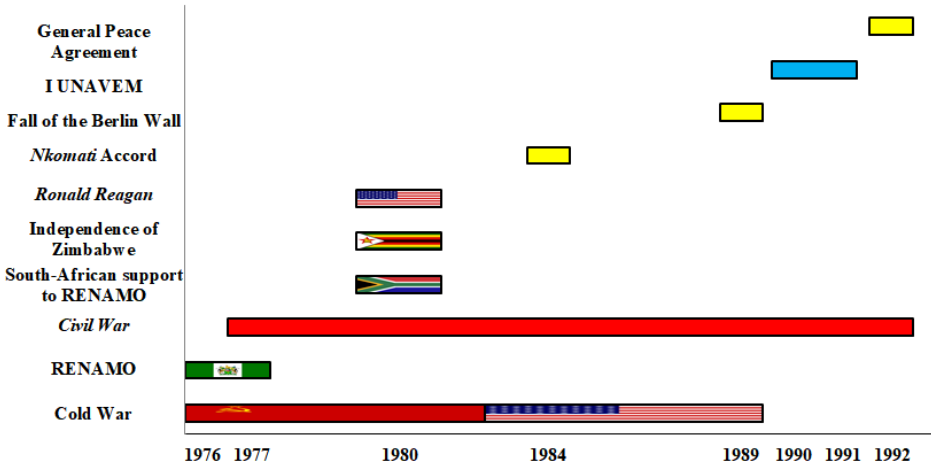
Source: own preparation, 2019.

The fourth phase of the peace process in Mozambique was the period when regional rivalries were most present in Mozambican territory. Under the umbrella of the Cold War, RENAMO was created in Rhodesia, thus initiating a long civil war in Mozambique. With Ronald Reagan's rise to power in the USA, Zimbabwe's independence and South African support for REN-AMO, the strategic framework of the peace process in Mozambique took on

new forms in 1980. Economically asphyxiated, Mozambique had to sign the Nkomaki Agreement with South Africa in 1984. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 triggered a series of events in the IS, which made it possible to conclude the General Peace Agreement in 1992.

Regarding the last phase of the Mozambican peace process, it is noted that it began with the performance of ONUMOZ in Mozambique and ended symbolically with the assumption of Joaquim Chissano as president of the country, comprising the entire period of performance of ONUMOZ:

Graph 6 – The 5th Phase of the Angolan Peace Process

Source: own preparation, 2019.

The last phase of the Mozambican peace process reveals the protagonism of the United Nations on Mozambican soil. Without underestimating the challenge it had in Mozambique, the UN spared no effort and invested about US$ 1 billion in a period of just two years. But the reason for the success does not lie only in the resources applied by the institution. Unique emphasis should be given to the leadership exercised by UN professionals at all levels (political, strategic and tactical), without which, the course of actions in the field could take another direction.

Another aspect that should be considered is the strong influence that regional actors, especially South Africa, had in the case of Mozambique from the second half of the 20th century onwards. The election of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa in 1994 was the spark of motivation and hope for the Mozambican people, who went to the polls in October of the same year and legitimized the peace process that was underway. With this climate, the

general elections in Mozambique took place in a climate of stability, register-
ing few occurrences, which were not able to bury the electoral process that
was in progress.

Joaquim Chissano's assumption of the country's presidency, on De-
cember 9, 1994, ended the long peace process experienced by the Mozam-
bican country, which began with his insertion in the IS, in the 8th century,
and ended in 1994, with the Mozambican population democratically electing
its leader.

REFERENCES

Barroso, Luís Fernando Machado. 2013. "Da Desconfiança à Aliança: Portugal
e a África do Sul na defesa do Reduto Branco". *Journal of the Associa-
tion for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 38 (1): 176-199.

Bousquet, Antoine; Curtis Simon. 2011. "Beyond models and metaphors:
complexity theory, systems thinking and international relations".
Cambridge Review of International Affairs 24 (1): 43-62.

Cairney, Paul. 2012. "Complexity Theory in Political Science and Public Poli-
cy". *Political Studies Review* 10 (3): 346-358.

Carvalho, Carlos Delgado. 1998. *"A política exterior do Império"*. Brasília: Sena-
do Federal 1.

Carvalho, Nuno Fernandes. 2012. *"Libras, Escudos, a Companhia de Moçam-
bique e a cidade da Beira"*. Gabinete do Patrimônio Histórico da Caixa
Geral de Depósitos.

Cau, Hilário Simões. 2011. *"A construção do Estado em Moçambique e as relações
com o Brasil"*. Tese (Doutorado em Ciência Política, Universidade Fed-
eral do Rio Grande do Sul, 2011). Porto Alegre.

Coggiola, Osvaldo; Martins, José. 2006. *"Dinâmicas da globalização: mercado
mundial e ciclos econômicos 1970-2005"*. São Paulo: Instituto Rosa Lux-
emburgo.

Creswell, John W. 2010. *"Projeto de Pesquisa: métodos qualitativo, quantitativo e
misto"*. 3ª Edição, Porto Alegre: Artmed.

Curtin, Philip; Feierman, Steven; Thompson, Leonard; Vansina, Jan. 1978.
"African History". Boston: Little Brown.

Darch, Colin. 2018. *"Uma história de sucesso que correu mal? O conflito moçam-
bicano e o porcesso de paz numa perspectiva histórica"*. Maputo: Frider-
ich-Ebert-Stifung.

Dodge, Ernest Stanley. 1976. *"Island and empires: Western impact on the Pacific and east Asia"*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota.

Gentilli, Annamaria. 1998. *"O leão e o caçador: uma história da África sub-sahariana dos séculos XIX e XX"*. Maputo: Arquivo histórico de Moçambique.

Gomez, Miguel B. 1999. *"Educação Moçambicana: história de um processo 1962-1984"*. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane.

Hobsbawn, Eric J. 1995. *"Era dos extrêmos - O breve século XX: 1914 - 1991"*. Tradução feita por Marcos Santarrita. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Hoppe, F. 1970. *"A África Oriental portuguesa no tempo do Marquês de Pombal (1750-1777)"*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.

Júnior, Hilário Franco. 2001. "A Idade Média, nascimento do Ocidente". 2ffi Edição, revista e ampliada, São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Krška, Vladimir. 1997. "Peacekeeping in Angola (UNAVEM I and II)". *International Peacekeeping* 4 (1): 75-97. DOI: 10.1080/13533319708413652.

Malaquias, Assis. 2007. "The UN in Mozambique and Angola: Lessons learned". *International Peacekeeping* 3 (2): 87-103. DOI: 10.1080/13533319608413614.

Marques, João Pedro. 1989. "Manutenção do tráfico de escravos num contexto abolicionista: A diplomacia portuguesa (1807-1819)". *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 10: 65-99.

Mindoso, André Victorino. 2017. *"Os assimilados de Moçambique: Da situação colonial à experiência socialista"*. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia, Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2017). Curitiba.

Mosca, João. 2005. *"Economia de Moçambique: século XX"*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget.

Neves, Olga Iglésias. 2009. "O movimento associativo africano em Moçambique: Tradição e luta (1926-1962)". *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Africanos* 2: 179-214.

_____. 2012 "O poder e o impacto do islão no norte de Moçambique (séculos XIX-XXI)". *Atas do Congresso Internacional Saber Tropical em Moçambique: História, Memória e Ciência*, 2012. Acessado em 12 dez. 2018, https://2012congressomz.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/t03c02.pdf.

Oliveira, Ricardo Soares de. 2009. "A África desde o fim da Guerra Fria". *Relações Internacionais* R:I 24 (dezembro): 93-114.

Oidtman, Christoph Von. 1958. "O porto de Sofala e o problema do Zimbábue". *Boletim da Sociedade de Estudos de Moçambique* 27(108): 5-2Z.

Ricks, Thomas M. 1970. "Persian Gulf seafaring and East Africa: 9th-12th centuries". *African Historical Studies* 3 (2): 339-357.

Pureza, José Manuel; Simões, Mónica Rafael; José, André Cristiano; Marcelino, Carla. 2007. "As novas operações de paz das Nações Unidas: os casos de Angola, Timor Leste e Moçambique". *Oficina do CES* 290: 1-34.

Segrillo, Angelo. 2012. "A questão da democracia na Rússia Pós-soviética". In: *O Renascimento de uma potência? - a Rússia no século XXI*, organizado por André Gustavo de Miranda Pinelli Alves, 97-128. Brasília: IPEA.

Sicker, Martin. 2000. *"The islamic World in Ascendancy: From the Arab Conquests to the Diege of Vienna"*. New York: Praeger.

Soares, Carina de Oliveira. 2011. "A proteção internacional dos refugiados e o sistema brasileiro de concessão de refúgio". *Revista Âmmbito Jurídico* 88, ano XIV, maio.

Souto, Amélia Neves de. 2013. "Relações entre Portugal, África do Sul e Rodésia do Sul e o Exercício Alcora: elementos fundamentais na condução da guerra (1960 - 1974)". In: *As guerras de libertação e os sonhos coloniais*, organizado por Maria Paula Meneses e por Bruno Sena Martins, 143-170. Coimbra: Almedina.

United Nations. 2018. *"Department of Peacekeeping Operations - ONUMOZ"*. Acessado em 12 dez. 2018. https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/onumozF.html.

United Nations. 2016. *"Department of Field Support - Geospatial Information Section"*. Acessado em 02 dez. 2018. http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/mozambiq.pdf.

United Nations. 2018. *"Resolução nº 782, do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas"*. Acessado em 12 dez. 2018. http://undocs.org/es/S/RES/782%20(1992).

United Nations. 2018. *"Resolução nº 797, do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas"*. Acessado em 12 dez. 2018. http://undocs.org/es/S/RES/797%20(1992).

Visentini, Paulo Fagundes. 2012. *"Os países africanos: diversidade de um continente"*. Porto Alegre: Leitura XXI/Cebrafrica/UFRGS.

Wagner, Ana Paula. 2007. "A administração da África Oriental Portuguesa na segunda metade do século XVIII: Notas para o estudo da região de Moçambique". *História Unisinos* 11 (1): 72-83.

Zonta, Diego. 2011. *"Moçambique" e o comércio internacional das oleaginosas (1855 c. - 1890 c.)*. Dissertação (Mestrado em história, Universidade de

Lisboa, 2011). Lisboa.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to understand the peace process in Mozambique, as well as to identify the main events that occurred in the world, which were reflected in the respective peace process. Therefore, this article is structured as follows: initially, the theme is set out, highlighting some relevant geographical and historical characteristics of Mozambique. In the second section the methodology is defined, in the same way that the limits of this investigation are informed. The third section revisits the process of historical evolution that took place in Mozambique between the 8th century and the years of 1992, discussing it in five subperiods. The fourth section analyzes the participation of the UN in Mozambique between 1992 and 1994. In the last section, it is verified that the main events of the international system are positively and negatively reflected in the peace process conducted in Mozambique.