

WARID: **Mozambique (Renamo) 1977–1992**

STARDATE: **1 January 1977**

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Related cases: none

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Conflict overview

Only one year after the anti-colonial and socialist movement Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo) replaced the colonial rule of Portugal in Mozambique with a socialist one-party regime, war emerged once again. The new opponent of the Frelimo government was originally founded by the regime of Rhodesia, Mozambique's European-ruled neighbor state. Rhodesia had to face the ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) guerrilla, which operated from Mozambique and enjoyed the support of Frelimo. To counter this insurgency, it recruited a guerrilla force among Mozambicans discontent with the new socialist regime, the MNR (Mozambican National Resistance). Its primary purpose was to fight the ZANU rebels within Mozambican territory and also to attack economic targets. The MNR proved to be autonomous enough to survive the collapse of the Rhodesian regime in 1979. After one year of low-scale fighting, MNR changed its name to Renamo (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana) and shifted its support base from Rhodesia (then Zimbabwe) to the apartheid-regime in South Africa. Its bases spread from the Mozambican borderlands throughout the whole country. Until the mid-1980s, Renamo developed from a small unit of a few hundred ex-colonial soldiers and special forces to an insurgency of 20,000 men, consisting of discontented peasants, former traditional authorities and forced recruits from rural Mozambique. It achieved notoriety for its highly violent behavior against non-combatants, responsible for at least 80% of civilian deaths during the war. The Frelimo government countered with increased military strength and support troops provided by Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania. However, in 1989 – likely with the waning of Soviet assistance –, the government decided to change this strategy. It drafted a new, democratic constitution and offered Renamo peace talks and the status of a political party (Matonse 1992; Weinstein/Francisco 2005).

The fighting ended with the Rome Peace Agreement in October 1992, according to both the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and case experts [WARENDUC=1;

WARENDOS=1.¹ The war lasted for 189 months [**WARDUR=189**] and left at least 13,924 people dead [**FATALUC=14000**].² Included in this death toll are 1,400 civilian victims caused by one-sided violence committed by Renamo. Antonio Matonse (1992: 32) refers to a death toll of 1 million [**FATALOS=1000000**]. The population in 1976, before the war started, was 10.9 million [**PREWARPO=10900000**].³ 0.13% of the population was thus killed according to UCDP data [**INTENSUC=0.13**]. If we take Matonse's figures as a basis, 9.17% of the population was killed [**INTENSOS=9.17**].

The military balance at the end of war

When the government proposed peace talks in 1989, the war in Mozambique was in full swing, counting the highest death toll compared to previous years, according to the UCDP. Case experts speak of “the Government's inability to win a decisive military victory over the rebel forces” (Alden/Simpson 1993: 115) as one reason why the government engaged in peace talks. At the same time, Renamo experienced a steady decrease in external assistance and did not have any prospects of toppling the government in the near future (Alden/Simpson 1993: 113-115). Neither side could achieve a military victory [**VICTORY=0**].

According to Cunningham et al. (2009), Renamo controlled territory during the war. Although Renamo started out as a guerrilla organization with only brief incursions into Mozambican territory, it changed this strategy during the 1980s; thereafter, it held territory and implemented state-like structures with taxes, a system of food collection and civil leaders in controlled areas (Juergensen 1994: 13). This situation did not change substantially until the end of war [**REBTERR=1**].⁴ In 1992, territorial control of Renamo was estimated to be about 25% of the country, mostly located in central Mozambique (Bekoe 2005: 51). This means that the government controlled more territory [**MORETERR= -1**].

Cunningham et al (2009) assess the rebels' fighting capacity as ‘moderate’ [**REBFIGHT=0**]. According to case experts, “both sides could have continued fighting longer” (Leão 2007: 21). During the peace talks, Renamo even increased attacks against civilian targets [**CONFIGHT=0**].⁵ Neither Alfonso Dhlakama, the leader of Renamo, Joaquim Chissano, serving president of Mozambique, or any other central people were killed or captured [**LEADER=0**].

1 See for example Plagemann 2013: 2.

2 http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdata/gpcountry.php?id=111®ionSelect=2-Southern_Africa# (2 Mar 2015).

3 <http://data.worldbank.org/country/mozambique> (9 Jun 2014).

4 Weinstein/Francisco 2005: 182.

5 Matonse 1992: 32.

The military balance at the end of the war exhibits an equilibrium [**WARBAL=0**].

The military balance in the post-war period

A crucial feature of the Mozambican peace process was the dissolution and complete demobilization of both armed forces – Renamo as well as the government’s army – and the creation of a new, much smaller, joint army named the Mozambican Defense Force (FADM).⁶ However, these plans were not implemented before 1994. In January 1994, recruitment for the FADM began and, in March of the same year, the demobilization of the troops started (Alden 1995: 119-121). The cantonment of the troops in designated assembly areas commenced in November 1993 (Bekoe 2008: 39). The police forces were supposed to be depoliticized and restructured, but the Peace Agreement did not envisage an integration of former Renamo soldiers (General Agreement 1992: 22). For 1993, we consider the state’s military forces as still under full control of Frelimo since the ex-combatants did not arrive at the assembly areas before November 1993 [**STATEFOR 1993= -1**].⁷ Recruitment for FADM proved to be difficult, as the reintegration package for soldiers willing to return to civilian life was very attractive. Most former soldiers from both sides preferred demobilization (Bekoe 2008: 40; Seibert 2003: 266). By August 1994, the FADM consisted of 4,236 former Frelimo soldiers and 3,543 former Renamo soldiers (McMullin 2013: 123). This meets our criteria for substantial participation. For the following years, we do not have data on the exact number of Renamo and Frelimo soldiers in the army. Nevertheless, we know that the FADM remained much smaller than previously planned, with a total of around 10,000 soldiers instead of 30,000 (IISS 1995-2012). This number is close to the 1994 figure and we do not have any reports about the dismissal of substantial numbers of former Renamo soldiers. Furthermore, the vice army chief had been a former Renamo soldier since 1994.⁸ Although Dhlakama regularly complains about unequal representation of Renamo in the state's security forces, we conclude from these facts that representation in the state forces nevertheless meets our criteria for substantial participation [**STATEFOR 1994-2012=0**]. After demobilization was completed in August 1994, the government kept 5,000 soldiers and Renamo kept 2,000 soldiers at their disposal – “as a hedge against post-electoral crises” (Alden 1995: 119). After

6 General Agreement 1992: 15.

7 McMullin 2013: 122.

8 Until 2008, the vice chief of the army was Mateus Ngonhamo, then Olimpio Cambona, see: Mozambique army chief fired, News 24, 26 Jun 2013, online edition, <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Mozambique-army-chief-fired-20130626> and: Os tiros do General Ngonhamo - “Nunca fui membro da Renamo”, 29 Jan 2010, online edition http://macua.blogs.com/moambique_para_todos/2010/01/os-tiros-do-general-ngonhamo---nunca-fui-membro-da-renamo.html (23 Feb 2015).

the elections, Renamo leader Dhlakama kept armed guards, the exact number of which could not be obtained (Ostheimer 2001: 11). Reports about this ‘presidential guard’ kept by the Renamo leader could be found for 2001, 2005, 2006 and 2009.⁹ In 2012, Dhlakama set up camp with approximately 800 Renamo soldiers (Plagemann 2013: 5). He presumably never relinquished his armed guards and enlarged his troops in 2012. This constituted a separate force on the side of Renamo. A government paramilitary force, the provincial militia, was disarmed in 1994 (Alden 1995: 117; IISS 1994/1995). The police should also count as a separate force on the government’s side. Renamo members were never integrated into the police, which remained a source of dissent between the former warring parties (Dzinesa/Motsamai 2013: 2). Case experts concur and consider the rapid intervention forces to have been loyal to Frelimo [SEPFORCE 1993-2012=0].¹⁰ As exact numbers neither exist for the police force nor for Dhlakamas presidential guard, changes in the number of troops cannot be assessed [TROOPS 1993-2012=n.d.]. The same applies to changes in equipment [ARMS 1993- 2012=n.d.].

As previously mentioned, Renamo’s territorial control was about 25% of the country. In the peace agreement, the parties agreed that these areas should remain under Renamo’s control until the elections in October 1994 (General Agreement 1992: 30). This agreement was basically held.¹¹ These areas were spread across the whole country, with the largest concentrations in the central part of Mozambique; it included only 6% of the population. There were no major cities or important resources in these areas (Myers/Eliseu/Nhachungue 1994: 58). The areas under Renamo’s control were described as “disadvantaged” by case experts (Bekoe 2008: 35), especially compared to the government’s territory. Nevertheless, the mere size of the area under Renamo’s control and the fact that they were allowed to keep it until the elections were held should be reflected in the coding [TERRCON 1993-1994=0, TERRCON 1995-2012= -1]. As Frelimo won the elections and stayed in power, they consequently gained sovereignty over these areas [TERRWIN 1993-1994=0, TERRWIN 1995-2012= -1].

Concerning the vulnerability of the territory, we acknowledge the fact that Renamo controlled an area below the Beira corridor in 1993 and 1994. The Beira corridor connects the city Beira

9 Mozambique: Dhlakama Refuses to Disband His Guard, 6 Oct 2005, AllAfrica, online edition, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200510060517.html>; Mozambique: Renamo Guards Accuse Dhlakama, 14 Jul 2006, AllAfrica, online edition <http://allafrica.com/stories/200607170307.html>; “The war is over” - Says Dhlakama, 21 Sep 2009, AIM News, online edition, <http://clubofmozambique.com/solutions1/sectionnews.php?secao=mozambique&id=16334&tipo=one> (9 Jun 2014).

10 Baker 2003: 22-23 and 27; Cabrita 2000: 270; Ostheimer 2001: 11.

11 <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/provision/territorial-powersharing-general-peace-agreement-mozambique> (24 Jun 2015).

at the coast, Mozambique's most important commercial town, to the border of Zimbabwe. It is of central economic and strategic relevance for traffic, overland communication and commerce and was highly disputed during the last years of war (Alden/Simpson 1993: 114-119). However, in general, Renamo seems to be more vulnerable given its scattered territory and rural bases. After 1994, it did not hold any more territory [**VULNERAB 1993-2012= -1**]. With the peace agreement, armed UN troops were deployed in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and stayed until the end of 1994 [**PEACKEEP 1993-1994=0, PEACKEEP 1995-2012=n.r.**].¹² During the conflict in Mozambique, Frelimo received military aid through the Warsaw Pact and Renamo was supported by the apartheid regime in South Africa and occasionally by the United States; the scale of engagement never came close to a military intervention. Between 1989 and 1993, this support waned for both sides with the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid in South Africa, likely being an important driver for peace talks. Renamo's support from the United States ceased earlier due to the rebel's disastrous human rights record (Ostheimer 2001: 9). Therefore, an intervention in Mozambique by a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council can be excluded [**P5ALLY 1993-2012=n.r.**].

The post-war balance for 1993 is -0.33 [**POSTBAL 1993= -0.33**], then shifts with the creation of the new army to -0.17 [**POSTBAL 1994= -0.17**] and levels off from 1995 to -0.6; this displays the advantage held by the government, especially in territorial matters [**POSTBAL 1995-2012= -0.6**].

Due to the equilibrium at the end of the war, the overall value of the military balance develops as follows: [**BALANCE 1993= -0.17, BALANCE 1994= -0.08, BALANCE 1995-2012= -0.3**].

Economy

World Bank data indicates an enormous growth in the population of Mozambique from 14.9 million in 1993 to 25.2 million in 2012. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita increased until 1999, then dropped in 2000 and 2001 and recovered again from 2002 onwards. This can be attributed to the floods that devastated parts of the country in 2000, destroying harvests and severely damaging infrastructure (Ostheimer 2001: 23). Especially 2011 and 2012 experienced rapid growth due to recently discovered coal and gas reserves (Plagemann 2012: 3).¹³

12 Fortna 2008 Data table.

13 <http://data.worldbank.org/country/mozambique> (2 Mar 2015).

Table 1: GDP per capita in current USD

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population (total)</i>	<i>GDP per capita</i>
1993	14893218	136
1994	15453464	140
1995	15981571	141
1996	16463426	197
1997	16914628	225
1998	17350739	249
1999	17798102	255
2000	18275618	236
2001	18785719	217
2002	19319894	217
2003	19873460	236
2004	20438827	279
2005	21010376	313
2006	21587317	329
2007	22171404	415
2008	22762525	484
2009	23361025	459
2010	23967265	424
2011	24581367	539
2012	25203395	593

The scale of compromise after the civil war

In Mozambique, the transition from civil war to peace coincides with a transition from a one-party socialist regime to a multi-party, liberal democracy. The democratic transition already started during the peace talks. In the fall of 1990, a new constitution was adopted by the parliament, granting free elections, a multiparty system, an independent judiciary and free market economic principles (Matonse 1992: 29). Despite this democratic transition, the possibilities for Renamo to shape national politics remained few. Until today, Frelimo has always formed the government [**GOVERN 1993-2012= -1**]. As Renamo is the minority in parliament and there are no additional provisions that require consensus, it has no veto power [**VETO 1993-2012= -1; VETOSAT 1993-2012=n.r.**].

In October 1994, the first multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections took place, followed by elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009. Renamo participated in each of them and was able to transform itself from a rebel group into the main opposition party. Its share of votes declined with each election from 37.7% in 1994 to 17.7% in 2009.¹⁴ In 1999, Renamo refused to accept the election results and appealed to the Supreme Court. This dispute ended in violent clashes between Renamo members and the police force (Ostheimer 2001: 19). In 2004 and 2009, Renamo also challenged the result, but neither side resorted to violence (Dzinesa/Motsamai 2013: 2; Nuvunga 2004: 3). It is nearly impossible to verify Renamo's accusations.

14 Our reviewer indicated that Renamo won 37% of the votes in the 2014 elections and thus apparently overcame this declining trend. However, these elections are not part of our investigation period.

Most observer missions assessed the elections as generally free and fair,¹⁵ while our reviewer pointed out that it is indeed possible that Renamo won the 1999 elections and that the accusations of electoral fraud might be true. Nevertheless, we abide by the majority of assessments in this case and reflect the fact that Renamo transformed into a political party and participated in the elections in our coding. Parties other than Frelimo and Renamo played a very marginal role in Mozambican political life [**ELECT 1993-1994= -1, ELECT 1995-2012=0**].¹⁶

While some authors describe Renamo during the war as a rebel group without any political identity, especially due to its origins as a Rhodesian special force and its highly violent behavior towards the civilian population (Hall 1990: 39; Matonse 1992: 30), others point out that Renamo indeed represented an ideological opposition to the socialist state of Frelimo and fought for a liberal economy and the reestablishment of traditional power structures (Geffray 1990: 77-92). In its manifest from 1981, the central demands of Renamo were a Government of National Unity and a mixed economy (Hall 1990: 43). Renamo's struggle was definitely not about the borders of the Mozambican territory [**EXBORDER 1993-2012=n.r.**]. Although Renamo – after having lost the elections in 1999 – threatened to form separate governments in the provinces where it achieved a majority (Ostheimer 2001: 19), this was not related to any demands articulated during wartime and therefore does not qualify as a conflict over the borders between federal or other sub-state units [**INBORDER 1993-2012=n.r.**].

One feature of Renamo rule can indeed be considered a political demand: in occupied areas, Renamo immediately reestablished the local rule of traditional authorities, the so-called 'régulos'. This system of traditional leadership was banned by the central Frelimo regime, a decision that provoked resistance among the rural population (Weinstein/Francisco 2005: 168). Renamo built upon these grievances and promoted the reestablishment of traditional authorities as one of their first political aims (West/Kloeck-Jenson 1999: 460). This can be considered as a conflict about the allocation of competences among the political levels. After the war, Frelimo made attempts to decentralize the country and to recognize the authority of régulos. Efforts at democratic decentralization mostly failed (Braathen 2003: 18) and the district administrators were still appointed by the government, while locally elected governments often lacked the means of effective influence. However, the régulos were

15 Freedom House Ratings: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Country%20Ratings%20and%20Status%2C%201973-> (23 Feb 2015) and Carter Center: Post Election Statements of 1999 and 2004: <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc923.html>, <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc1950.html> (23 Feb 2015).

16 <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/mozambique-election-archive> (23 Feb 2015).

recognized in 2000 and permitted to exercise some of their traditional functions, such as conflict resolution, collection of rural taxes and community policing (Kathyola/Job 2011: 150-152). As Renamo only articulated the reintroduction of the régulos as a central conflict item and not democratic decentralization, we identify an implemented compromise for this issue from 2001 onwards [**COMPETEN 1993-2000=-1, COMPETEN 2001-2012=0**].

Concerning the economic order, it is difficult to assess whether market liberalization represented a compromise between the warring parties. In the mid-1980s, Frelimo radically liberalized the economy. Mozambique shifted from socialist planning to structural adjustment programs and loans from the World Bank and IMF (Pitcher 2006: 93). Prior to that, Frelimo had a socialist agenda that Renamo opposed. With the introduction of a liberal economic order, Frelimo fulfilled one central demand of Renamo and the party lost an important justification for the ongoing war. However, as this central conflict item de facto disappeared several years before peace negotiations started, we do not consider it as a compromise between the warring parties. By taking the initiative, the government was able to conduct the liberalization according to its own preferences. It is highly unlikely that Frelimo changed the economic order because Renamo had demanded it. In fact, Frelimo completely changed its aims rather than giving up on fully enforcing its aims [**ECOMONY 1993-2012=n.r.**]. The warring parties did not fight over special programs for the promotion of specific groups [**SPECPRO 1993-2012=n.r.**]. No other central conflict items from the war could be identified [**ISSUE 1993-2012=n.r.; ISSUE2 1993-2012=n.r.**].

During the post-war period, a central and recurring conflict item was the validity of the election results on the national as well as on the municipal level. Since 1999, election results were repeatedly rejected by Renamo leader Dhlakama, accusing Frelimo of electoral fraud. In 2000, following the elections of 1999, this led to the occupation of the town of Montepuez and violent clashes between police forces and former Renamo combatants. This incident resulted in at least 25 deaths and was followed by police raids against Renamo members, arbitrary detentions and severe mistreatments by the police that led to the death of several Renamo members (Ostheimer 2001: 19-22). In 2004 and 2009, Renamo also rejected the election results, but the call for protests did not resonate among Renamo supporters and the situation remained calm. As described above, the International Community considered each election as generally free and fair. The central demands of Renamo articulated on these occasions show that Renamo perceived of a general lack of participation: they demand greater representation in state institutions, particularly the national security forces, and a reform of the electoral system, especially the electoral commission. Defeat on the electoral field led

Dhlakamas into political hibernation after 2009. In October 2012, it was reported that he had set up camp in the mountains with other former combatants (Dzinesa/Motsamai 2013: 1-4). Furthermore, Renamo boycotted participation in municipal elections in 2013 (Plagemann 2013: 5). Attacks on police stations and roads by Renamo combatants increased in April 2013. In the fall of 2013, Frelimo attacked a Renamo base in Satunjira, which resulted in the declaration that Renamo would abandon the General Peace Agreement (Plagemann 2013: 5). This declaration was later withdrawn. In 2014, Renamo nevertheless participated in the elections and won a substantial share of votes (37%). This raised hopes that tensions would be solved. However, the depoliticization of the state, the integration of Renamo into the security forces and, recently, the establishment of ‘autonomous regions’ are still demands which are frequently articulated by Renamo and indicate unsolved tensions.¹⁷ The main escalation of this issue occurred in 2013, which is outside of our investigation period and has therefore not been coded. However, as we are aware of the severity of the outcome, we identify the conflict regarding participation in the political system as a crucial issue that should be reflected in the coding. Until the end of 2012, Frelimo offered negotiations but not any compromises on this issue [**NEWCON 1993-2000=n.r.**, **NEWCON 2000-2012= -1**; **NEWCON2 1993-2012=n.r.**]. The compromise regarding decentralization proved to be more favorable for the government, as it appointed most local officials and won most municipal elections [**BENEFIT 1993-2012= -1**; **BENEFIT2 1993-2012=n.r.**].

Altogether, the scale of compromise shows a total imbalance towards the government in 1993, when elections had not yet taken place, [**COMPROM 1993= -1**] that decreased during the years 1994-1999 [**COMPROM 1994-1999= -0.8**]. It again slightly increased during the conflict concerning the election results and the electoral process [**COMPROM 2000= -0.83**] and leveled off with the recognition of the régulos [**COMPROM 2001-2012= -0,67**].

The stability of peace

Until the end of 2012, the conflict had not escalated enough to achieve the threshold of a renewed war [**SAMEWAR=0**; **DATESAME=n.r.**]. Until then, Mozambique was at peace for 243 months [**PEACMON1=243**]. No other armed conflicts emerged [**ANYWAR=0**; **DATEANY=n.r.**; **PEACMON2=243**].

17 Manuel Mucari: Frelimo's Nyusi wins Mozambique elections: Provisional results, 24 Oct 2014, , <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/24/us-mozambique-election-idUSKCN0ID1GC20141024> (23 Feb 2015). Furthermore, our reviewer provided valuable information about the Renamo’s recent demands.

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