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RELEASE FORM


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DECLARATION FORM

I declare that The Sustainability of Internationally Driven Peace Agreements, A Case of Mozambique (1992-2015), is my original work and that all the sources I have used or cited, have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed:............................
Date:...........October 2017
DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to my father, the late Jona and mother Gertrude. To my wife Mary and children, thank you so much for the unwavering support.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to extend my gratitude towards the Almighty God who gave me life and strength to pursue this study for a Master of Science degree in international relations. I would also like to thank the authorities and the esteemed staff at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE), specifically those of the Department of International Relations. Their continued support, during my time of study, was critical in pushing me through. To my supervisor, who helped shape my mixed-up ideas into a meaningful peace of academic work, that I am now proud to own, thank you. Without him, the study would have been an insurmountable task. My gratitude extends to all the participants who dedicated their time to respond to my questions. These include, but are not limited to, the key informants from the ZDF, ZRP, Mozambican Embassy, ordinary Mozambican citizens and diplomats in Zimbabwe representing other countries. To my beautiful wife and beloved children, thank you so much for the support.
### LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNE</td>
<td>Mozambique Electoral Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSS</td>
<td>Critical Social Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOCHM</td>
<td>Military Team of International Observers of the Cessation of Military Hostilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>Mozambique’s Liberation Front</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPI</td>
<td>The International Peace Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISS</td>
<td>Interpretive Social Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISS</td>
<td>The Institute for Security Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>Democratic Movement of Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONUMOZ</td>
<td>United Nations Operations in Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDL</td>
<td>Poverty Datum Line</td>
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<tr>
<td>RENAMO</td>
<td>Mozambique National Resistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>RGPA</td>
<td>Rome General Peace Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPTC</td>
<td>Regional Peace Keeping Training Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDPA</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Political Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>United Socialist Soviet Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>UZ</td>
<td>University of Zimbabwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDF</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Defence Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZNA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Army</td>
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ABSTRACT

Conflict management has been a major theme of scholarly research. Conflicts are a worldwide security phenomenon that requires strategic management. As such, the desire to inquire and understand the dynamics in international conflicts, gave rise to the need by this researcher, to explore the developments haunting the peace and security situation in Mozambique. The research was informed by the realisation that, despite signing numerous internationally driven peace agreements, such as the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA), there continues to be political and security instability in Mozambique. The research, thus, focused on understanding the nature of the conflict in Mozambique, assess the developments that can be argued as compromising the sustainability of the RGPA, and examining the role of the international community in crafting and monitoring the implementation of peace settlements in Mozambique. The research shows that the conflict in Mozambique is mainly linked to the civil war that was ended by the signing of the RGPA which left a number of political differences unsolved between and among the major stakeholders to it. The research was informed by the detailed inquiry into various perceptions from different individuals, organisations and literature guided by the Interpretive Social Science (ISS) paradigm and, basing on that, it concluded that despite the signing of the RGPA parties to the conflict and the international community have failed to thwart the threat facing the country. The research findings revealed, however, that the RGPA resulted in, among other things, the end of predictable hostilities between the warring factions but did not guarantee an end in the possibility of such clashes. The research also noted that RENAMO continue to pose serious threats to the national peace and security in Mozambique despite it having participated in the elections held in the country and becoming part of the government.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The sustainability of internationally negotiated peace agreement signed by Mozambique’s Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and Mozambique National Resistant (RENAMO), can best be understood in the context of the country’s historical background. Mozambique has a long history of colonial rule that ended through a nasty armed struggle which was followed by a long period of civil strife (Newitt, 1995). The country was subjected to the Portuguese colonial rule for approximately 400 years (Newitt, 1995). After gaining independence in 1975, the new government, led by FRELIMO, pursued a socialist policy and embarked on the nationalisation of the previously privatised means of production (Lundin, 2004). The new government made efforts to unify the multi-ethnic nation.

The developments in Mozambique coincided with the political developments in the country’s neighbouring country, then Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), where the armed nationalists were at the peak of fighting the British colonial administration (Peltola, 2010). Furthermore, the conflict in Mozambique coincided with the Cold War clashes between the eastern powers led by the United Socialist Soviet Union (USSR) and the Western countries led by the United States of America (USA). Mozambique, thus, became the ground for a proxy cold war, thereby giving the conflict an international dimension. RENAMO was then formed as a military wing fighting the newly formed government, with the support of the critics of the new government within the country as well as the Rhodesian government and the Apartheid government of South Africa. Meanwhile, FRELIMO obtained its support from USSR which was also supporting the liberation movement in Zimbabwe (Lundin, 2004).

Following the 16 years of military confrontation between FRELIMO and RENAMO, the parties opted for a negotiated settlement as a way of ending the conflict, as provided for in Chapter VI of the United Nations (UN) Charter, (Guilengue, 2014). Chapter VI (i) of the UN chapter provides that:
The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice”.

The negotiated peace settlement in Mozambique thus, had an international dimension. The negotiations lasted for two years, 1990-1992, and were hosted in Rome. The negotiations were mediated under the Chairmanship of the government of Italy and the Roman Catholic Church. Other notable international players that comprised the negotiating team, included the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the President of the Republic of Botswana, Vice – President of the Republic of Kenya, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic South Africa, Minister in the Office of the President of the Republic of Malawi and Ambassador Ahmed Haggag, Assistant Secretary General of the OAU. Also present, was an observer team, comprising the under Secretary General for Political Affairs of the United Nations, Assistant Secretary of State, for the Government of the United States of America, a representative for the Government of France, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the Government of Portugal and a representative for the Government of United Kingdom (Guilengue, 2014).

The result of the negotiations was the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA), signed on 4th of October in 1992. It provided for the military, political and humanitarian issues agreed upon by FRELIMO and RENAMO (Lundin, 2004). The presence of states and non-state actors, in the Mozambique peace agreement shows clearly the role played by the international community in shaping the RGPA. Lundin (2004) notes that, the RGPA consists of seven protocols summed up to make the final agreement as follows:

<table>
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<th>PROTOCOL</th>
<th>PROVISIONS OF THE PROTOCOL</th>
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<td>Protocol 1</td>
<td>Parties committed themselves to reach peace. RENAMO, under this protocol, agreed to renounce the use of force for political gains while FRELIMO agreed to suspend any further legislation, until the holding of multi-party democratic elections. To that effect, the parties agreed to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protocol 2</td>
<td>The protocol endorsed the need for the implementation of multiparty democracy in the country. Under this protocol, RENAMO would be recognised as a legitimate political party in Mozambique following the cease fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol 3</td>
<td>Outlined the principles for electoral reforms. Through this protocol, the government was obliged to draft electoral law after consulting RENAMO and other political parties in the country. Additionally, the protocol provided the guiding principles for the elections. International observers were to be allowed to take part during the process.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protocol 4</td>
<td>Dealt with structures of the Mozambique Armed Forces (MAF). It called for the de-politicisation of the defence force and the police of the country. Protocol 4 also established a calendar for the demobilisation of the troops on both sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol 5</td>
<td>Protocol 5 of the RGPA provided for the electoral process, focusing mainly on the electoral time table. The protocol provided that, elections were to be held within a year after the signing of the RGPA. It established the main commission for the supervision of the cease fire and provided that the government should request the UN to participate in the monitoring and implementation of the RGPA.</td>
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| Protocol 6 | This protocol provided the establishment of a cease-fire time table and its implementation in the following four stages:  
I. Cease fire  
II. Separation of forces  
III. Concentration of the separated forces  
IV. Demobilisation of troops and release of political detainees. |
Protocol 7  
This protocol was to invite international community to finance the implementation of the RGPA.

Since 1992, RENAMO has actively participated in the national elections, fielding its Presidential and Parliamentary candidates (Alusala, 2014). The party has, however, failed to garner majority votes in all previous elections. As such, RENAMO has remained an opposition political player in the country. The election of 2014 was carried out in a tense environment on the background of violent activities executed by the members of both RENAMO and the government forces. Violence was mainly witnessed in Nampula, Tete, Gorongoza and Homone (Guilengue, 2014). The violent activities in the country made it difficult to hold a peaceful election. To make matters worse, the main opposition, RENAMO, had pulled out of government and was threatening to withdraw from the election.

Afterwards, negotiations were held under the observation of five prominent figures, proposed by RENAMO and FRELIMO. RENAMO was demanding electoral reforms in which political parties were to be represented in the country’s electoral boards, the integration of RENAMO forces into the government defence and security forces. Consequently, the National Election Commission (CNE) was restructured to have five, four and one member(s) to represent FRELIMO, RENAMO and Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM) respectively (Alusala, 2014). Negotiations were, thus held with the observation of 70 Mozambique nationals equally selected by FRELIMO and RENAMO. Additionally, the Military Team of International Observers of the Cessation of Military Hostilities (EMOCHM) also observed the negotiations. EMOCHM consisted of representatives from Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa, Cape Verde, Kenya, Portugal, Italy, United Kingdom and the United States of America. It was through these negotiations that Dhlakama and his political party agreed to take part in the elections of which he lost to the ruling FRELIMO in the Presidential round. President Nyusi of FRELIMO got 57% while Dhlakama of RENAMO got 37%. FRELIMO got 141 seats and 89 seats went to RENAMO with the remaining 17 seats going to MDM (Alusala, 2014).
1.1 Statement of the Problem

Despite signing numerous internationally driven peace agreements such as the RGPA, there remains continuous recurrence of political conflicts in Mozambique. The RGPA resulted in, among other things, the end of predictable hostilities between the warring factions. RENAMO participated in the subsequent elections held in the country and became a member of the government. In 2014 RENAMO and the government engaged in peace talks to address the growing tension between the two parties which started in 2012 but ceased in 2015 when Dhlakama (the RENAMO leader) pulled out. RENAMO accused the government of attempting to assassinate its leader as well as rigging elections in six of the country’s provinces which RENAMO claimed to have won in the 2014 general elections. Fighting inevitably, resumed in Mozambique with cases of spontaneous military confrontations between the government and RENAMO forces increasing. The implications of resumed fighting are diverse. They include, among other things national insecurity, food insecurity, environmental insecurity, economic insecurity, regional insecurity culminating into possible global insecurity. Such recurrence of conflicts has raised a myriad of questions than answers with regards to the sustainability of these peace agreements. Internationally driven negotiated agreements have often received scholarly critiques as they are regarded as highly fragile and unable to sustain their purpose. It is in light of this, that a reasonable justification can be found in exploring their performance in the Mozambican context.

1.2 Aim of the Study

To examine the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

i. To explore the nature of the ongoing conflict in Mozambique.
ii. To assess the developments that have compromised the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA) in Mozambique.

iii. To examine the role of the international community in crafting and monitoring the implementation of peace settlement.

1.4 Research Questions of the Study

i. What is the nature of civil disturbances (conflicts) in Mozambique?

ii. What are the major developments that have compromised the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA) in Mozambique?

iii. What is the role of the international community in crafting and monitoring the implementation of peace settlements?

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

The study is based on the assumption that internationally negotiated peace settlements can be a sustainable tool to end war and political instability. Further, the research assumes that there are developments that occurred in Mozambique after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992, which compromised peace in Mozambique. It is also assumed that the international community has a crucial role in ensuring that terms of political agreements are upheld by parties to the conflict in question.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is being carried out in pursuance of the requirement of a Master of Science degree in International Relations. Related researches have covered widely on issues of peaceful settlement of international disputes as provided for in article VI of the United Nations (UN) Charter. However,
they remained quiet on the implications of proper timing as provided for in the ripeness theory especially in the case of Mozambique. Worth noting is that the majority of municipal and international disputes are settled through negotiations, although article VI of the UN charter which provides for military intervention, is at times opted for after the failure by concerned parties to respect recommendations emanating from negotiations.

The findings from this research will go a long way in informing parties in the Mozambique conflict. It will provide guidance to strategists in the country on the best way to manage and resolve conflict in their country. Moreover, the findings of this academic research will be of relevance to the academic field of international relations, political science, conflict resolution and management and community development because it will, from various angles, fill research gaps in these areas.

1.7 Delimitation

The focus of the study is to examine the sustainability of the internationally negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique. The research was limited only to the terms of the RGPA referred to in this research. Any other agreements entered into by FRELIMO and RENAMO may only be referred to, but will not be focal points for this research. The research is confined to the period between 1992 when the agreement was signed, and 2015, when RENAMO started pulling out of the agreement. The time was chosen as it represents the period when tensions have been high between RENAMO and FRELIMO since the signing of the RGPA in 1992.

1.8 Limitations

Limitations are conditions and or influences that the researcher cannot control (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Some of the shortcomings encountered included restricted access to classified sensitive information and difficulties in accessing certain people who had first-hand experiences on the developments in Mozambique. In certain instances there were misconceptions on the subject understudy, given that issues around National Security are highly guarded and privileged to a few.
Language barriers also affected the study, especially with Mozambican officials who do not speak English because of the fact that Mozambique is a former Portuguese colony.

To minimize the implications of the aforementioned challenges, the researcher made use of research assistants who helped in interpreting the Portuguese language. Prior authorization and permission was sought before interviewing or engaging people within government institutions and highly guarded areas. Clearly defining the objectives of the research, guaranteeing anonymity and confidentiality was also considered in order to secure maximum participation of the targeted research participants.

1.9 Definition of Key Terms

1.9.1 Negotiation

It is a process between two or more conflicting parties whose aim is to find common ground so as to reach an agreement and solve a conflict. In this study, the term is used to refer to the process leading to the signing of the General Peace Accord between FRELIMO and RENAMO leaders in 1992.

1.9.2 Civil war

Civil war is an armed struggle between organized groups within the same country. In this research, it refers to the armed conflict between RENAMO and FRELIMO forces between 1976 and 1992.

1.9.3 Peace Agreement

It is an agreement between two or more hostile parties, usually countries or governments, which formally ends a state of war or hostility between the parties in question.
1.9.4 **International Community**

A broad group of people and governments or different countries of the world considered collectively.

1.10 **Chapter Outline**

Chapter one contains the introduction to the study. The section covers mainly the background, statement of the problem, aim of the study, research objectives, research questions, assumptions of the study, significance of the study, delimitations and limitations of the study. Chapter two covers the theoretical framework and review of literature. Chapter three outlines the research methodology used in selection of samples, data collection, data capturing and data analysis. Chapter four presents the research findings and analysis while chapter five contains the research recommendations and conclusions.
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This Chapter discusses the theoretical framework as well as varying views of authors concerning the sustainability of internationally driven peace agreements. The study provides an overview of related concepts on negotiated peace agreements in the international system. The purpose of the theoretical framework and the review of relevant literature is to place the research problem within the context of related studies that guided this study in achieving its objectives. The study employed the ripeness theory pioneered by Zartman.

2.1 Ripeness Theory: Responses and Assumptions on Conflict Resolution

It has so far been established that nationalist theories of international relations, such as realism, liberalism and constructivism are not suitable to analyse the mediation process that led to Mozambique’s RGPA of 1992 (Zartman, 2008). Realism has no place for negotiation or mediation because of its deterministic precepts. However, though liberalism and constructivism have room for conflict resolution, they have failed to include negotiation or mediation in their principles (Zartman, 2008).

This section of the thesis shows that the ripeness theory is best placed to analyse the mediation approach towards the sustainability of negotiated peace agreements with the case of Mozambique being used as a basis. The theory offers some assumptions on how and when a third party, who is the mediator, should intervene in a conflict and shape the mediation process. Chinyere and Hamauswa (2013), argue that the theory also offers assumptions on the conditions that are necessary for the protagonists, to consider negotiation as a way of resolving conflict.

The study notes that Zartman is the pioneer in the research of ripeness in international conflicts (Aggestam, 1995; Pruitt, 2005). The theory was unveiled in 1985 and has been outlined in slightly
different forms in Zartman’s subsequent work (O’kane, 2006). However, in 2000, Zartman’s conceptual framework was further modified and refined by scholars such as Stephene Stedman, Richard Haas, Louis Kriesberg, Christopher Mitchel and Chester Crooker (Pruitt, 2005). It can therefore be noted that current literature on ripeness has produced four different versions or models of the ripe moment thesis, two of which arise from Zartman’s pioneering work and the other two models from the work of Stedman, Haas, Kriesberg, Mitchel and Crocker. The four models of ripeness have been identified as the hurting stalemate (HS), the imminent mutual catastrophe (IMC), the entrapment model (EM) and the enticing opportunity (EO) (Mitchel, 1995).

The concept of ripeness was developed in an attempt to identify the appropriate moment for mediators to intervene. This is when favourable conditions for a conflict settlement exist, such as in situations where there is a public plea for help. In view of conflicts where mediation is applied, ripeness also emphasizes the shape and type of the mediation process that is used to induce ripeness. Anstey (2007) indicates that types and shapes of intervention are contingent on many factors, which include the purpose of the process as defined by the parties and the mediator, the nature of the conflict as well as the forces sustaining it.

In essence, the study argues that Zartmen’s theoretical construct, offers an explanation on conflict resolution that focuses on perceptions. In other words it considers how aware the parties are of their conflict status and incentives. It also looks at how motivated they are, by increasing pain imposed by the conflict and timing, which is concerned with how they seize the existing opportunities. Ripeness can, therefore, be considered a necessary initiating catalyst to transform conflict and is said to begin with a mutually hurting process, which is the first ripe moment model to be considered (Aggestam, 1995).

2.1.1 The Hurting Stalemate (HS) Model

The model was initially suggested by Zartman and later developed by Stedman and Haas. Zartman’s original HS theory intimately interlinks the concept of a hurting stalemate, which is described as a deadlock with the idea of an imminent catastrophe, which he describes as a deadline, necessary for producing the circumstances that make a conflict ripe for a resolution effort (Zartman, 2000).
However, as recommended by Mitchel (1995), it may be reasonable to separate the two models in order to obtain a clear understanding, which is also essential for the purposes of this study. It is however crucial to look at Zartman’s original argument regarding the HS model. According to Zartman (2000) adversaries will most likely consider a negotiated solution to their conflict when they anticipate a long period of continued clashing and fighting which could be very costly. Normally, this may involve huge fatalities in military confrontations, together with a low perceived probability of achieving their goals as well as a looming disaster that abruptly threatens to further increase the cost of continued coercive strategies.

The current study thus believes that the RGPA was only reached after the parties to the conflict in Mozambique had come to this realization, making the negotiated peace settlement an arrangement of compromised sustainability. Zartman in Mitchel (1995:115) alludes that, “the mutual plateau must be perceived by both parties not as a momentary resting but as a flat, unpleasant terrain that stretches into the future, providing no later possibilities for decisive escalation or a graceful escape.” Similarly, Haas’ refinement of the HS model highlights four prerequisites which are, the existence of a mutual perception among parties on the need for an agreement, the agreement has to contain promises in order to allow parties to arrive at mutually satisfactory settlement, these compromises have to be mutual and adequate to allow the political leadership from each party in order to convince their domestic constituencies that national interests have been preserved. There has to exist a shared acceptance of the negotiation procedure by all negotiating parties (Aggestam, 1995).

Stedman’s modifications have on the other hand focused on the domestic and internal politics of the parties involved. His emphasis is on the function of internal changes such as the emergence of new leaders, their perception and the consolidation of a divided leadership (Aggestam, 1995). Stedman’s argument is that developments within the contesting parties are critical for the emergence of a ripe moment. For example, leadership change may create a new opportunity for a negotiated settlement, as it may be in the interests of the new leadership. Kleiboer (1996) therefore argues that, by implication, the political willingness of the new leadership to settle the conflict using the negotiation approach creates a ripe moment for negotiation. As such, Kleiboer (1996) notes that domestic politics, particularly domestic pleasures extended on a regime, has an influence on the realization of a ripe moment for negotiation. According to Kleiboer (1996), balance of power asymmetry between the powers in question, their shared understanding of the conflict and the international context of the
conflict, all implicate the ripeness for negotiation. Kleiboer (1996) concurs with this observation, arguing that most analysts reason that a balance of power between the disputants is crucial for a successful negotiation.

Zartman also indicates the core element of the HS model as another indicator for a way out. He considers it as a ripe moment, which according to Aggestam (1995), is less complex and controversial. Zartman (2000) argues that parties do not have to be able to identify a specific solution, only a sense that a solution is possible for the searching and that, the other party shares the same sense and willingness to share too. Without the sense of a way out, the push associated with the MHS will leave the parties with nowhere to go. Zartman (2000) sums up the component of a way out by asserting that the parties to a conflict have to perceive themselves as being in a hurting stalemate and must also perceive the possibility of a negotiated solution as the only way out.

2.1.2 The Imminent Mutual Catastrophe (IMC) Model

The IMC model is described as a ‘precipice’ in the original Zartman’s model. According to Aggestam (1995), the model offers the reinforcement or the alternative to the HS aspect of Zartman’s original scheme. The precipice is described as, “A disaster that threatens to overwhelm stalemate adversaries that are not particularly stalemated” (Zartman, 2000:97). Comparatively, a key aspect of both the HS and the IMC models is that, for circumstances to be ripe for a shift to a conciliatory mentality, decision makers on each side need to perceive independently that their own side is approaching some unavoidable catastrophe, or that they are stuck in a costly situation with a low probability of success even in the long run (Aggestam, 1995). Another crucial aspect is the existence of perpetual variables in both the HS and the IMC models, which is not mentioned in the entrapment model.

2.1.3 The Entrapment Model (EM)
The model was pioneered by Frank Edmead and Allan Teger. According to Mitchel (1995), the model differs from the HS model by arguing that leadership becomes entrapped in a continued pursuit of victory even after costs seem to have become unbearable. Underlying this model is an irrational process by which costs become transformed into investments in a conflict that cannot be considered less than complete victory (Mitchell, 1995). By implication therefore, the more costs are incurred, the more the reasons exist for continuing. It therefore follows that the greater the hurt, the more the need to continue towards victory to justify the sacrifices, both psychologically and politically. In an EM model, Mitchel (1995) notes that leaders involved in a protracted conflict go through a number of decision making process stages. The first is concentrating on the achievement of potential rewards (reward pursuit) whilst the second is a justification of expended resources via further commitments, (cost justification). The third is characterized by the increasing salience of the goals of damaging the adversary and minimizing overall losses (punishment and loss minimization). The last stage is the exhaustion of resources and the search for a way out (goal relinquishment).

2.1.4 The Enticing Opportunity Model (EOM)

The model, according to Mitchell (1995), suggests that the ripe moment occurs when leaders see an alternative way of achieving their goal, other than continuing in a struggle. The model is, thus, optimistic as compared to the three models discussed above. New opportunities are created, which cost less and offer more gains than a continued struggle. The emphasis is on creating new opportunities instead of the cost of continued fighting. Mitchell (1995) notes that in the EOM third party mediators can play a crucial role in the creation of appropriate circumstances for such resolutions. The model provides for the advent of new leaderships not committed to the goals or methods of their predecessors, a change of goals or level of commitment on the part of the adversaries’ patrons, the availability of new resources from which to construct innovative solutions and a change of priorities within elites in one or both adversaries.

2.2 Ripeness Propositions and Assumptions on the Meditation
Mediation, as a peaceful machination towards the ending of a conflict, depends on the acceptance of the third party by the adversary parties. Acceptance is crucial, as it guarantees the parties of a win possibility. An untrusted mediator will lack credibility as scepticism will lead to either rejection by suspecting parties to the conflict or even premature withdrawal leading to the failure of the mediation efforts. Proponents of the ripeness theory unanimously agree that the mediator should have impartiality, leverage and status.

2.2.1 Mediator Impartiality

As already alluded to, ripeness recognizes that this attribute of a mediator affects his/her acceptability by the parties in question and has an effect on the outcome and sustainability of the settlement (Kleiboer, 1996). In general, the issue of mediator impartiality refers to intention, consequence or appearance. Kleiboer (1996) notes that in some cases, mediator impartiality is related to a mediators’ attitude towards the conflicting parties and in other cases is related to a mediator’s stake in the substance of issues in conflict or both. There is generally an agreement across the literature on ripeness that impartiality is a fundamental principle whose effects are grave to the sustainability of the settlement.

2.2.2 Mediator Leverage

Leverage refers to the mediator’s ability to put pressure on both parties to accept proposed settlement terms (Kleiboer, 1996). This assumes that the chosen mediator has power and influence over either or both of the parties. This power can be used even after the reaching of a settlement to keep the terms solid. With the range of material resources that can be used to put pressure on the adversaries being so wide, ripeness scholarship provides that the mediator can use both positive and negative sanctions to ensure that the desired mediation goes on smoothly and bring about the peaceful settlement. Researchers such as Aggestam and Mitchel (1995), at this point argue that the sustainability of a negotiated peace settlement, therefore, depends on the ability by the mediating force to keep the sanction relevant. Positive or negative, one can notice that once the sanction loses its relevance, the parties to a conflict may resume the confrontation and cripple the agreement.
2.2.3 Mediator Status

Another important factor enhancing a mediator’s chances of success is his/her status. Status is derived from a mediator’s personal reputation, track records and special expertise (Kleibor, 1996). Status also comes from organizational factors which have been distinguished as the institutional and positional status. The RGPA was brokered by a team of four mediators whose personal and organizational status was not questionable. Two members, Andrea Riccardi and Matteo Zuppi, were members of the Community of Sant'Egidio while Bishop Jaime Gonçalves and Italian government representative Mario Raffaelli were all influential persons of the Catholic Church.

2.3 Mediation Strategies

According to Zartman (2000), ripeness within a conflict can develop within the conflict itself or be induced by external parties as third party mediators. Zartman (in Kleibor, 1996) identifies mediator strategies which he distinguishes with three principal mediator roles. The mediator is seen as a communicator, formulator, and manipulator. The communicator is a passive conduit and repository who serves as a channel of communication when contact breaks down between the parties in dispute. For example, the mediator may act as a go between to carry information, proposals or concessions back and forth between the conflicting parties (Anstey, 2007). A more active role is played by the mediator as formulator. A formulator is capable of innovative thinking and helps the parties to redefine issues or find a formula for the resolution to their conflict. If these are still not enough to bring about reduction of conflict, the mediator may have to use his leverage to manipulate the parties into agreement. In these situations, the mediator acts as a manipulator. Literature on mediator strategies has demonstrated that more active mediation strategies are operational in international mediation. Active mediation strategies can have a positive effect and be responsive to a wider variety of dispute situations than less active strategies (Zartman, 2000).

2.4 Critique of Ripeness Theory
It has been demonstrated that ripeness is descriptive and prescriptive of conflict dynamics and its resolution. However, according to Anstey (2007), the major challenge of ripeness is its conception of mediator attributes, particularly mediator impartiality and its relational concepts of mediator interests. Ripeness posits that it is normative for mediators to have interests that are either defensive or expansionist in a neighbour’s conflict and is understood to likely influence the mediation process. However, as Anstey points out, the influence can become negative when a third party with defensive interests is motivated by securing and protecting their own interests, such as trade, investments and diplomatic ties at the expense of humanitarian crises situations particularly where gross human rights abuses exist. Consequently, this may translate to sustenance of the equitable settlement to end human misery in humanitarian crises. It is however noted that in international politics, peace-making is often intertwined with less altruistic self-interests of mediators.

According to Kleiboer (1996), Zartman and Touval distinguish between defensive and expansionist motives. Defensive motives may emerge when a conflict between two states threatens a mediator’s interest. For example, a conflict between two neighbouring states may upset a regional power balance, or may provide opportunities for a rival power to increase its influence by intervening in the dispute. In this case one can note the influence that the conflict in Mozambique had for Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana as well as all other nations within the region. This might have influenced their eager participation in the peace agreement.

On defensive interests, Anstey (2007:433) adds that, “mediation by a party with interests is normative, with influence over the parties based on the mediator’s status within the relational set of the conflict.” In this regard, with their own interests at stake, a mediator’s acceptability lies less in neutrality and more in a perceived capacity to deliver a settlement. In such interventions, dyadic disputes are turned into triadic interactions with mediators adding their own perceptions, values and interests into the mix. Anstey (2007:434) asserts that, “it is normative for mediators in international relations to have interests in neighbours’ conflicts as it is understood to likely influence the process.” Partial mediators may also engage in mediation for expansionist motives driven by the desire to extend and increase their resources, influence and power. In the course of the debate on impartiality, some scholars who argue that mediator success is not contingent upon impartiality have examined whether other mediator characteristics in particular, leverage is a good predictor of more successful outcomes. The assumption behind leverage is that a mediator engages in behaviour that is designed
to elicit information and exercise influence in order to reframe issues and persuade the parties. “These tasks are best achieved not when a mediator is unbiased but when he possesses resources that either or both parties value” (Zartman and Touval in Kleiboer, 1996:370). Impartiality in other words is considered subordinate to the possession of leverage by a mediator which is the next attribute to be considered.

2.5 Literature Review

There is sizeable empirical and theoretical literature on the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements. The increased role of negotiations in the settling of civil and international conflicts globally and regionally shows the need to critically examine a number of issues related to the subject. According to the Africa’s mediator’s retreat of 2009, states, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and international partners took part in the mediation efforts recently held in countries such as Burundi, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ivory Coast, Liberia, Kenya, Sudan and Zimbabwe among others. The report indicated that despite the signing of peace settlements in the DRC, Somalia, Burundi, and Sudan, political insecurity and instability remains the order of the day, a factor prompting the current researcher to consider assessing the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements. The report noted that mediators normally face the challenges of complex situations especially when dealing with cases involving multiple players and demands.

2.5.1 Understanding the Nature of Conflict in Mozambique

The nature of conflict in Mozambique can best be understood in the context of a conflict traced back to the presumed failure by either or both of the main political parties in the country, FRELIMO and RENAMO who, following the signing of the internationally negotiated peace settlement in 1992, continue to grapple with a number of misunderstandings. The two political parties continue to clash, regardless of now being in government and participating in the general elections held since the signing of the RGPA.
The ongoing political and security fragility in Mozambique gained its momentum soon after the holding of general elections of 15 October 2014 in which the ruling FRELIMO emerged victorious. FRELIMO gained 57.03% of the votes while the main rival, RENAMO obtained 32.46 percent. Regarding the parliamentary seats, FRELIMO won 144 out of the total of 250 while RENAMO got 89 seats in the house of assembly. In third place was the Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) which polled 8.35% of the vote and 17 parliamentary seats. Its leader, Daviz SIMANGO came third in the presidential election, winning 6.36% of the vote (Alusala, 2014).

While regional and international observer missions declared the elections peaceful, free and fair, the outcome of the election became the match that lit the fire in the political and security trajectory of Mozambique as RENAMO and the MDM refused to accept the election results. The opposition alleged that the government had taken advantage of the delay that was encountered by the Mozambique Electoral Commission (CNE) in the tabulation of results as a window period to “stuff” ballots. DHLAKAMA continued to reject the verdict and made pronouncements that he will form a separatist Republic of Central and Northern Mozambique. Election results announced by CNE provides that RENAMO won outright majorities in 3 provincial assemblies, namely Sofala, Tete and Zambezia. Nevertheless, Dhlakama claims he won a majority in a total of six (6) provinces that also include Manica, Nampula and Niassa. It is interesting that the majority of Mozambique’s mineral resources are located in these six (6) provinces, (BBC, 2014).

While the political parties continue to disagree on the election outcome, the situation was worsened by the murder on 3 March 2015 of Gilles Cistac, a Mozambican of French origin, a leading opposition-aligned academic, constitutional lawyer and professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University. Cistac had played a central role in debates around the autonomy bill and the decentralisation of power (BBC, 2015). The murder of Cistac led to a new round of tension between RENAMO and FRELIMO, with Dhlakama threatening to avenge the killing.

Dhlakama continues to push for a secession of the 6 provinces he claims to have obtained majority votes from in the previous election. Former president of Mozambique, President Nyusi made steps towards easing tensions between the government and RENAMO by inviting RENAMO to submit a bill on the creation of autonomous provinces for presentation to parliament without making any commitments that the bill would be supported by FRELIMO’s majority in the Assembly. RENAMO
submitted its autonomy bill on 30 March 2015, but the Assembly subsequently rejected it on 30 April 2015. One hundred and thirty eight (138) FRELIMO Members of Parliament (MPs) voted against the bill, and ninety eight (98) RENAMO and MDM MPs voted in favour. RENAMO has urged FRELIMO to reconsider its position on the bill.

Another critical aspect of the conflict is regarding the integration of the RENAMO forces into the police and military of Mozambique. The agreement on the cessation of hostilities which was signed by former President, Armando Guebuza, and Dhlakama, on 5 September 2014 envisaged the enlisting of some of the RENAMO forces into the national army and the police force, while the rest were to be disarmed and demobilised. The Mozambican government indicated that it is willing to recruit 200 RENAMO members into the police and another 100 into the armed forces. The assumption by the government is that RENAMO has less than 400 elements that are militarily trained and armed. The implementation of this agreement was compromised mainly by the refusal by RENAMO to disclose the number, names and ranks of its members. RENAMO insisted that it would not deliver the list without what it called a “model of integration”. By this RENAMO meant that the top positions in the military and the police services were to be shared equally, a demand which had previously been dropped during negotiations. In May 2015, RENAMO submitted a list of the members that wanted to be granted senior positions in the army and the police. RENAMO also wanted equal representation in senior positions in the army and the police.

Meanwhile, the mandate of the International Observer Military Team for the Cessation of Military Hostilities (EMOCHM), which was set up to monitor the cessation of hostilities and the integration of RENAMO elements into the armed forces, the police and civilian life, was supposed to end on 18 January 2015. Nothing of consequence, however, could be done in the absence of the RENAMO list. After an extension, the EMOCHM’s mandate expired on 15 May 2015. The government has indicated that it will not agree to a further extension of the EMOCHM’s mandate. The government’s argument was that, provided RENAMO was serious about disarming, there was no reason to further extend the EMOCHM’s mandate.

RENAMO and government forces continue to clash following the 2014 election. The peace and security situation in the country is slowly attracting the attention of the regional and international
community showing the need for enhanced efforts by the parties to the conflict to ensure that hostilities are eased.

2.5.2 The Challenges of the Rome Accords

According to Hanlon (2016) negotiated peace settlements faces a number of challenges depending on the character and conduct of the parties to the conflict. In relation to Mozambique, Gentili (2013) indicated that by 2014, there had been 87 rounds of negotiations in Mozambique between RENAMO and FRELIMO since the signing of the RGPA in 1992. As a matter of fact, the continued negotiations in the case of Mozambique confirms the challenges the country faced in maintaining the peace agreement, prompting observers to conclude that internationally negotiated peace agreements are not sustainable.

One major challenge in the case of Mozambique, as pointed out by Hanlon (2016), is the hard line stance taken by the parties to the conflict. Hanlon (2016) indicated that while most negotiators enter into negotiation with maximum and minimum negotiation demands and work for an agreement within that range, the case in Mozambique is a little unique in that the parties to that conflict went into negotiation with one position, the maximum demand. The author noted that the parties to the conflict are so patient to the extent that if the maximum demand is not achieved in the negotiation they would rather wait for another presumed opportunity. For instance, in the 2010 negotiation efforts in Mozambique, the parties failed to agree on the politicization of the electoral process as RENAMO kept pushing for a military observer representation in the structures running the country’s election.

In 2009, the parties had also failed to reach an agreement after RENAMO refused to accept the offers tabled by FRELIMO. Nuvunga and Salih (2009) indicates that in the 2009 case, FRELIMO agreed to jointly appoint 6 governors and RENAMO refused demanding rather to appoint all the six governors. The deadlock in the negotiation led FRELIMO to appoint all the six governors and RENAMO appointing none. From such trends, one can safely notice that the problems facing the sustainability of the internationally negotiated peace settlement in Mozambique is also related to the hard line stance taken by the primary parties to the conflict, FRELIMO and RENAMO. The demands
forwarded by the opposition, RENAMO following the 2014 general election is a testimony to the challenges the country is facing in maintaining the terms of the 1992 RGPA.

The International Peace Institute (IPI) meeting held in 2012 analysed the challenges and opportunities that Mozambique has faced in the first 20 years of the post conflict (IPI, 2012). The report shows that the negotiated peace agreement of Mozambique, which was aided by the Community of Sant’Egidio’s facilitation efforts, transformed Mozambique from being a conflict zone to being a progressive nation. The report attributed the success of the peace agreement to the collapse of the Soviet Union (SU) the main sponsor of FRELIMO and the collapse of the Apartheid government in South Africa, the main sponsor of RENAMO. The end of the cold war and the willingness by the Roman Catholic Church to host the parties for the negotiation were all attributes to the outcome of the RGPA.

The meeting noted with concern, however, that Mozambique is facing a wide range of challenges threatening the sustainability of the peace agreement. Major factors raised at the meeting include poverty and inequality which were identified as causing the continued struggle between RENAMO and FRELIMO.

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) indicates that although Mozambique can be regarded as having progressed greatly following the signing of the RGPA, a lot of obstacles have stalled progress in the country (ISS, 2013). One of the major developments noted by ISS is that there has been holding of multiparty elections since 1994 and the armed RENAMO has been participating in the elections as a political party, an indication of its transformation from a rebel group to a political party. The publications show that the Mozambican situation demonstrates that the majority of
internationally negotiated peace settlements are not sustainable as parties to the conflict often revert to the use of force against each other. These include but are not limited to a fragile and imperfect peace building, democratization and unequal economic development. As such, the United Nations Development Programme’s Human Development Index value for 2012 ranks Mozambique at 185 out of 187 countries. The report also points out that 54% of Mozambique’s population lives below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL).

Mozambique has, however failed to completely disarm RENAMO, despite it being one of the primary objectives of the main principles of the RGPA (Hanlon, 2016). As of 2013, news reports indicates that there were approximately 300 RENAMO members who remained armed since the peace accord was signed, after efforts to integrate them into the army and police force, as set out in the RGPA and implemented through a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process, failed (BBC, 2013). The failure by the parties in the agreement to disarm RENAMO has made it a challenge for the government of Mozambique to ensure that peace prevails, as Dhlakama regularly uses the armed force to push for any reforms from the government. While elections have been timeously held in Mozambique, there seem to have been violence or threat of it prior, during and after the elections. For instance, in 1998, RENAMO boycotted the general election and voter apathy reached unprecedented levels with 85% of the registered voters abstaining from voting (The Carter Center, 2000). Two years after the election, in 2000, RENAMO held nationwide demonstrations which resulted in bloody clashes between the police and the RENAMO forces. Many people died as a result (Manning, 2002).

The economic development of Mozambique has not been spared in the aftermath following the signing of the internationally negotiated RGPA in 1992. RENAMO forces have, on several occasions threatened to destabilize the economy of the country. For instance, the armed RENAMO threatened to cut the rail line which links Zimbabwe to the port of Beira. As such, the railway line is currently operating under armed security, a development that is not only costly to the government but has also affected investor confidence (Alusala, 2014). Additionally, RENAMO has also demanded an equitable division of the country’s natural resources, specifically oil and gas. The discovery of gas in Mozambique has, therefore not made great economic sense as RENAMO continues to demand a share of the resources under its threat control. This is an indication that despite its participation in elections and having MP’s in the country’s parliament RENAMO, still wants to
enjoy notable independence from the government, running a military force and a separate economy. Such developments are, thus, among the major indicators of a compromised negotiated peace agreement.

2.5.3 **Efforts by the International Community in Monitoring the Peace Process in Mozambique.**

Following the signing of the negotiated Mozambican RGPA in 1992, the international community remained a critical instrument in the implementation of all seven protocols that made up the RGPA. The international community, comprising but not limited to the African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United Nations (UN) through its various agencies were very instrumental in the implementation of the terms of the RGPA. To be precise, protocol 5 of the RGPA provides that the government should request the UN to participate in the monitoring and implementation of the RGPA. Additionally, protocol 7 of the RGPA obliges the parties to the conflict to invite international community to finance the implementation of the RGPA.

According to Berman (1996), the UN through the United Nations Operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) was instrumental in assuring that the RGPA was implemented. ONUMOZ force was divided into political, military electoral and humanitarian sections whose core duties were arranged along those thematic areas. The political wing of the UN Force was tasked with the facilitation of impartiality in the implementation of the RGPA. The military was set to monitor and verify cease fire, complete withdrawal of forces and disbandment of private forces among other duties. The humanitarian force was set to monitor and supervise all humanitarian assistance programmes relating to the issues of helping the refugees as they await negotiations. Jet (2002) highlighted that the success of ONUMOZ was mainly dependent upon the willingness of the troops contributing countries from across the world.

Regarding protocol 3, Berman (1996) insinuated that the UN was critical regardless of the reluctance by the government of Mozambique to give the UN more space in which to participate in the peace process. The protocol provided for the establishment of an electoral environment that included legal
and logistical issues leading to the holding of multiparty democratic election in the country. Through the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA), the UN agencies as well as many other countries managed to take part in the country’s first general election. The incident set a precedent that the government of Mozambique had been adhering to till the last election held in 2014. Although nothing much has been done by SADC and the African Union in Mozambique, the member states to these organisations played a significant role in ensuring that peace prevails in the country.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework as well as varying views of authors concerning the sustainability of internationally driven peace agreements. The chapter highlighted that the ripeness theory is an applicable theory that can be used to explain the dynamics and developments on the conflict in Mozambique. The chapter describes the current challenges faced in Mozambique that can be explained using the provisions of the ripeness theory. The chapter also outlines the contributions by various authorities on the subject by looking at the background to the conflict in Mozambique, the RGPA and the role played by the international community, particularly the United Nations in reinforcing the RGPA of Mozambique.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview on how the research was to be conducted, analysed and presented. The aim of this research study is to examine the sustainability of the negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique, given that there is continuous recurrence of political conflicts in that country despite
signing numerous international driven peace agreements such as the RGPA. The research’s specific objective are, to explore the nature of conflicts in Mozambique, to assess the developments that has compromised the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA) in Mozambique and to examine the role of the international community in crafting and monitoring the implementation of peace settlements. Therefore this chapter will provide instruments and procedures to collect, interpret, analyse and present data obtained from the field.

3.1 Research Paradigm

Lincoln and Guba (2000) define a paradigm as the net of one’s ontological, epistemological and methodological premises. To Neuman (2014), there are five research paradigms, namely positivist social science (PSS), interpretive social science (ISS), critical social science (CSS), feminism and postmodernism. These philosophical worldviews lead social researchers towards different methodological orientations (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This research sought to come up with an in-depth understanding of the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements with particular reference to the case of Mozambique. To achieve this, the research was informed by the detailed inquiry into various perceptions from different individuals, organisations and literature guided by the ISS paradigm. The study made knowledge claims based primarily on how the reality on the phenomenon understudy was interpreted by others and not as it presents itself out there (Harding, 1987; Yanow, 2007).

The ISS worldview as rooted in dialectical and hermeneutical traditions is based on the belief that the knowledge claims by individuals on social reality, is socially and mentally constructed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Therefore, this study as informed by this paradigm focused on interpreting, from other people’s standpoints, the deeper meanings, perceptions, attitudes and opinions relating to the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements, regardless of the changing nature of international relations. In this respect, this ISS study is based on the belief that social science research should be qualitative in nature so as to reveal multiple realities (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Basically, there are three research approaches, namely quantitative, qualitative and mixed or combined approaches. Given the vertical orientation of this ISS study seeking to understand the in-depth nuances relating to conflict management and conflict resolution in international relations, this
study utilised the qualitative research approach. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world.

Qualitative research methodology turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. The researcher thus made use of qualitative research techniques considering the complexity of the political, economic and security developments in Mozambique since the signing of the internationally negotiated RGPA in 1992. Qualitative research provides detailed description and analysis of the quality, or the substance, of the human experience (Marvasti, 2004).

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a single descriptive case study approach by focusing on the case of Mozambique in assessing the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements. Case study research approach allows the researcher to investigate into a contemporary phenomenon, within some real-life context when answering ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions, where the researcher has limited control over events with which an in-depth understanding is the primary goal (Neuman, 2014; Stake, 2005). This approach was considered suitable for this study because of the need of an in-depth understanding of the experiences of Mozambique since the signing of the RGPA in 1992. This is largely because “the essence of a case study, is to illuminate a decision or set of decisions as to why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm, 1971). Thus, as observed by Rowley (2002), a case study was considered by this researcher to be the best approach of assessing the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements with particular reference to Mozambique.

3.3 Target Population and Sample
A population, is all the individuals or units of interest in a study (Hanlon and Larget, 2011). The data for this research was collected from a target population who had knowledge about the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements, with particular reference to Mozambique. These included Diplomats from regional countries, officials from Ministries of Defence and Home Affairs in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, senior officers from the President’s Department, senior members from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) who offered their insights and experiences regarding the developments in Mozambique. Some of them took part in assisting the government of Mozambique during the civil war and even after the signing of the negotiated peace settlement. Members from the Ministry of Home Affairs particularly police officers who operated in the eastern provinces of Zimbabwe and have the experiences and know how regarding the activities in Mozambique were also part of the target population.

The total number of people in the sample was 15. It comprised of two people from the President’s Department and Ministry of Home Affairs from Zimbabwe respectively, three senior officers from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), two ordinary Mozambicans, and three diplomats from regional countries, two intellectuals and one member from the SADC Regional Peace Keeping Training Centre (RPTC).

3.3.1 Sampling

Sampling has been defined as the process of selecting a part from the population representative enough for the whole (Boyce and Neale, 2006).

3.3.2 Purposive Sampling

Given the qualitative nature of this study, purposive sampling technique was used in the selection of participants for in-depth interviews and documents for analysis. According to Babbie (2010) purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique with a selection process of units of analysis based on the researcher’s judgement about their knowledge, experiences and expertise. On this Lincoln and Guba, (1985) concur that purposive sampling is a deliberate attempt to select certain
participants with unique features in the research process. Participants in the key informant interviews were identified respondents from Ministries of Defence and Home Affairs who participated in the study in their personal capacities. Senior members from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) offered their insights and experiences regarding the developments in Mozambique as some of them took part in assisting the government of Mozambique during the civil war and even after the signing of the negotiated peace settlement. Members of home affairs particularly police officers who operated in the eastern provinces of Zimbabwe also had similar experiences regarding the activities in Mozambique. Purposive selection of respondents was found to be crucial considering the nature of the subject under study.

On documents used, the researcher purposively selected literature that serves the objectives of the study from among various series of official and non-official communications. These also included media reports from both government and private media in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

3.4 Data Collection Methods and Research Instruments

As case studies respect multiple sources of evidence, Yin (2009) observed six most commonly used data collection techniques, namely documentary analysis, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, archival records and physical artefacts. However, for the purposes of this study, the researcher used interviews and documentary analysis.

3.4.1 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews involve interviewing selected individuals who are chosen on the basis of their expert knowledge and are likely to provide needed ideas, insights and possible solutions on the subject under study. Interviews are defined by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Centre for Development Information and Evaluation (1996) as, qualitative, in-depth interviews of 15 to 35 people selected for their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest. The interviews are loosely structured, relying on a list of issues to be discussed. Key informant interviews resemble a conversation among acquaintances, allowing a free flow of ideas.
and information. Interviewers frame questions spontaneously, probe for information and takes notes, which are elaborated on later. Interviews are one of the most significant sources of case study data as most case studies are about human affairs (Yin, 2009). In-depth interviews, however, targets informed participants who in most cases are members of the community occupying positions of influence in the decision-making system. The participants are professionals who work with the group under study or a member of the target audience. In-depth interviews were used in this study to get insights into the real experiences of Mozambique after 1992 so as to assess the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements. In-depth interviews provided participants with an opportunity to respond to open-ended questions while giving the researcher an opportunity to examine the participant’s thoughts, feelings, opinions, perceptions, viewpoints and perspectives regarding the security and political developments in Mozambique.

Interviews were conducted with key informants who were purposively selected basing on their lived experience regarding the subject under study, the research, thus, targeted those people who took part in the negotiation processes and the organisations that operated in Mozambique, before, during and after the signing of the RGPA. Interviewees were, thus, from the Mozambican embassy in Zimbabwe, Ministry of Defence, Zimbabwe National Army, Ministry of Home Affairs, RENAMO officials, Ordinary Mozambicans, diplomats from regional countries and regional and international organisations such as the Regional Peace Keeping Training Centre (RPTC) among others.

Furthermore key informant interviews allowed for a face-to-face interaction between the researcher and the respondents, which allowed the researcher to capture non-verbal communications such as facial expressions, which are essential for deeper understanding. Physical encounter with individual respondents allowed the researcher to deeply explore the nuances regarding the challenges that Mozambique has faced in ensuring the sustainability of peace following the signing of the RGPA in 1992. Finally its interaction orientation, allowed knowledge generation depending on ideas, perceptions or feelings given by the respondents (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). This technique also allowed the researcher to make some relevant observations as a non-participant observer.

The technique had its own inherent weaknesses that the researcher made sure would not compromise the research findings. It is prone to bias because respondents would be aware that they are being interviewed, hence they are bound to behave unnaturally and may simply express what they think
the interviewer wants to hear. Additionally, it was difficult to generalize findings to the larger population as purposive sampling might have left out some potential respondents. To circumvent these weaknesses, the researcher corroborated the data gathered using this technique with that gathered using documentary analysis so as to cross validate the data.

3.4.2. Documentary Review

Mogalakwe (2006) defined documentary analysis as a qualitative data collection technique which focuses on investigation of various textual data from different primary and secondary sources from both the private and public domain. It is one of the major qualitative data collection techniques (Merriam, 2009) and mostly used in case studies (Yin, 2009). In utilizing this technique, this study made use of primary data sources. In this case the primary documents used in doing so include the seven protocols making up the RPGA, agreed upon and signed, by the parties to the conflict in Mozambique. The researcher also used a series of resolutions, official speeches, official video and audio transcripts, policy documents and policy declarations, official correspondences, ministerial policy statements, administrative reports, newspapers and letters, memoranda, communiqués, announcements and minutes of meetings relating to the internationally negotiated peace agreement of Mozambique.

This source of information was used to solicit data relevant in answering the following research questions of this study; what were the key terms of the RGPA? What were the motivating factors behind the RENAMO and FRELIMO’s participation and finally agreeing to the terms of the agreement? What has been the major factors affecting the sustainability of the RGPA since 1992 in Mozambique? How had internationally negotiated peace settlements in other countries within the SADC region and beyond performed? What are the prescribed and suggested strategies that can be adopted to ensure that future internationally negotiated peace settlements are sustainable?

3.5 Data Presentation and Analysis Methods
Data analysis entails the examination, categorisation, tabulation or otherwise the combination of evidence to address the initial propositions of a study (Yin, 2009). This study used qualitative data analysis techniques, namely thematic and qualitative content analyses.

3.5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is defined by Bryman (2004) as "the longest established method of text analysis among the set of empirical methods of social investigation". According to Mayring (2014) this technique is about hermeneutical and dialectical interpretation of textual data through systematic coding of major themes, clusters, categories and or cases in an endeavour to extract deeper meanings and patterns within a written work. In this study, data collected through documents was analysed by coding the data into themes.

This technique was used in this study because its hermeneutical and dialectical lenses helped in extracting major themes, patterns and meanings from different texts relating to the major experiences that Mozambique went through since the signing of the peace agreement in question. Thus, the researcher used this technique to analyse data drawn from artefacts of social communications such as pieces of legislations, reports, and newspaper articles, official video and audio transcripts relating to the post RGPA political and security developments in Mozambique.

3.5.2 Thematic Analysis

In this study, the data collected through in-depth interviews relating to the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements was analysed through thematic analysis. To Rice and Ezzy (1999) thematic analysis is about identifying themes through careful reading and re-reading of the collected data. The technique involves examining and recording patterns of emerging themes from the data collected. The themes formed categories for analysis. In this respect, the data collected through in-depth interviews was grouped into themes through a system of coding or indexing of the data with similar characteristics and then analysed on a theme by theme basis (Lacey and Luff, 2001).
Before analysis, the researcher first familiarized himself with the collected data by immersing himself into it through reading and re-reading the transcribed data. Data transcription was done so as to come up with major themes, patterns and meanings. Therefore, when analysing these qualitative data, the researcher had to organise the data in a logical way, followed by its categorization into meaningful groups, then interpretation so as to establish major themes, patterns meaning and finally to generalize (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). Thus, in this study, the data collected through in-depth interviews mainly related to the experiences faced by Mozambique following the signing of the RGPA.

These cases were further broken into different categories of similar elements. Similar cases were combined to form categories of similar elements and these were further combined to form major themes of similar characteristics. This helped in providing useful insights, patterns and meanings relating to the subject under study.

3.6. Validity and Reliability

According to Creswell (2007), validity is the process of establishing the authenticity, credibility and accuracy of findings of the research. To ensure internal, external and construct validities this study used various strategies developed by Creswell and Miller (2000). Triangulation of methods of data collection is one of these strategies. It is about the usage of different theories, techniques of data collection, researchers and methods so as to corroborate evidence (Creswell, 2007). This study used multiple data sources such as document analysis and in-depth interviews to establish credibility, authenticity and accuracy of the research findings. According to Eisner (1991) this is called structural corroboration which means usage of multiple data sources to support or contradict the interpretation. In his words, Eisner (1991:112) asserts that “we seek a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility and allows us to feel confident about our observations, interpretations and conclusions”
Additionally, peer debriefing or review strategy was used in this study to ensure validity. The researcher submitted the findings to peers for their review about the validity of methods, meanings, interpretations, conclusions and feelings employed by the researcher in the compilation of findings (Creswell, 2007). This maximised validity in the sense that peers would ask objective, hard and honest questions relating to these issues.

To maximise validity the researcher also had to clarify his background since researcher reflexivity has greater implications on the interpretation of findings (Merriam, 2009). Thus, the researcher clearly demonstrated his prejudices, past experiences, assumptions, biases and orientations that have the probability of influencing data interpretation. Further, validity was ensured through member checking by soliciting the views of participants about the credibility and authenticity of the findings and their interpretations (Creswell, 2010; Stake, 2005). This strategy is about taking back the gathered data, their interpretations, analysis and conclusions to the interviewees about the widespread inconsistencies, contestations and complexities affecting the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements with particular reference to the case of Mozambique.

To Stake (2005) this strategy of giving participants the major role to play in the validation process is most critical in ensuring credibility of findings. The study also provided a rich and thick description of findings which allows readers to make decisions relating to the transferability of these findings to other different settings (Creswell, 2010). This is due to the analytical generalizations suggested by this study since a detailed description and explanation about the phenomenon understudy and participants was provided. Thus, by using these detailed descriptions and explanations readers can establish patterns of behaviour and shared characteristics, (Stake 2005) which are useful for transferability and extrapolation of findings to a totally different setting. On reliability check, the focus was on the repeatability of findings and conclusions if a similar research is to be carried out by another investigator in the same unit of analysis using similar methodology (Yin, 2009).

3.7 Ethical Considerations
Research ethics provide guidelines for the responsible conduct of social research. The researcher proceeded to conduct the study after securing permission from responsible authorities. The researcher was guided by the obligations of carrying out the study in a way that was not going to harm the respondents while achieving the desired objectives. In carrying out the inquiry, the following key research ethics were observed: informed consent, voluntarism, right to privacy and protection from harm. The researcher made an undertaking to the effect that all the obtained data was for academic purposes only.

3.8 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the research paradigm, approach, philosophy, research design, sampling procedure, and data collection methods and data analysis. The chapter established the population under study and highlighted the sample and sampling techniques, which is, purposive sampling. The ethical values upheld by the researcher have also been presented. The chapter articulated how data was to be analysed and this will be seen in the data presentation section.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings of the subject under study. The findings were found to be critical in assessing the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace settlements. This chapter shows that the conflict in Mozambique during the period under study compromised the social, economic and political situation in the country and the neighbouring countries. The chapter is guided
by the objectives of this study and from that, themes were established. The thematic sections are, however more than the objectives as the researcher considered related themes from the responses obtained from interviews.

4.1 Demography of Key Informants

The research findings presented in this section were guided by the responds obtained from the key informant interviews conducted by the researcher. This section provides a demographic overview of all the 15 key informants to the research. Demographic characteristics of key informants are a critical element in social science research as it assists in understanding the background experiences influencing the opinions of respondents (Sonkarley and Peter, 2009). This research focused on respondents’ gender, age and educational qualification. Fig 4.1-3 below gives an insight into the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Fig 4.1: Distribution of respondents by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field work (2017)

Fig 4.1 indicates that 60% of the key informants interviewed were male while the remaining 40% were females. The distribution may have been mainly influenced by the nature of the sectors from which the respondents were drawn. The security sector and the diplomatic industries seem to be dominated by men. It was also noted that, of the people who claim to have been actively involved in the debacles in Mozambique, most of them were men.

Fig 4.2: Distribution of respondents by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (years)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field work (2017)
The age distribution of respondents pointed out that the age range of 50-59 dominated the respondents, constituting 53.33% of the total. The age range of 20-29 and that of 60 years and above had a lower representation. The researcher discovered that the age distribution was affected by a number of challenges which among them is the fact that the research targeted senior officials in the security sector and the diplomatic services. The reason for a lower representation on those above 60 years suggest that the majority of these people could have retired since the retirement age in both the public and private sector is +/-60 years.

Fig 4.3: literacy level

![Pie chart showing level of education (%)](chart)

Source: Field work (2017)

Information displayed in fig 4.3 shows that 2/3 of the total respondents had received tertiary education while the remaining 1/3 had either stopped at primary or secondary education. The nature of the subject and the purposive sampling technique used influenced this distribution greatly. It can be noted that the embassy staff, senior military and police personnel, relied upon by the researcher, are occupants of their office by virtue of having the necessary academic qualifications. Other people like the ordinary Mozambicans in Zimbabwe, however, dominated the section of the least educated key informants. These seem to have been affected by relocations and lack of proper documentation which blocked their continued education.
4.2 What Caused the Conflict in Mozambique

The conflict in Mozambique is, perhaps, the longest post colonial civil crisis in the SADAC region. Although the conflict features mostly the ruling FRELIMO and the main opposition party, RENAMO, there is a wide range of causes to the instability in that country.

4.2.1 Post-Colonial Civil Conflict

Data obtained from both primary and secondary sources unanimously pointed to the civil conflict that engulfed Mozambique from 1976 to 1992 as being the main source to the ongoing political crisis in the country. While responses could vary in one way or the other, the research found out that the main difference could be on who to blame between the ruling party, FRELIMO and the main opposition political party, RENAMO. A senior officer at the embassy of Mozambique in Harare revealed that:

“...FRELIMO and RENAMO continued to clash regardless of them being in government and participating in the general elections held since the signing of the RGPA”.

The comments pointed clearly that the political parties in Mozambique contributed, to some extent, to the crisis in that country. It became clear that the conflict of Mozambique cannot be approached with a simple eye if one needs to explore its roots. In accordance with the propositions of the ripeness theory the continued clashes between FRELIMO and RENAMO may be construed to mean that the negotiated peace settlements in Mozambique were pre-maturely done.

4.2.2 Electoral Disputes

This research found that the political differences between FRELIMO and RENAMO escalated prior, during and after every general election held since 1992. In an interview with a senior officer in the Zimbabwe Republic Police based in Harare, the research also noted that the ongoing political and security fragility in Mozambique gained its momentum soon after the holding of general elections
on 15 October 2014 in which the ruling FRELIMO emerged victorious. One academic respondent from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) had this to say:

“...The major problem with African politics is that political leaders are generally unwilling to accept results of an election that they would have lost”

This notion was, however, refuted by a senior lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe who argued that, most African elections are characterised by external interferences from the developed world who, through trans-national corporations (TNCs), NGOs and other humanitarian organisations, pursue self-interests that create the spirit of mistrust in African politics and elections. For instance, Azikiwe (2013) noted that TNCs played a crucial role in influencing the voting patterns in Kenya in an election won by the incumbent President, Uhuru Kenyatta.

These responses weaved well with the literature which highlighted that FRELIMO gained 57.03% of the votes while the main opposition, RENAMO obtained 32.46 percent, a development that led to the ongoing conflict in Mozambique (Alusala, 2014). While the elections are regarded as the source of the ongoing conflict in Mozambique it is surprising to note that regional and international observer missions declared the elections peaceful, free and fair (Alusala, 2014). To this end, the researcher was convinced that the squabbles occurring in Mozambique after the election are similar to those occurring in most countries on the continent, only that the intensity and the finer details differ.

4.2.3 Secessionist Impulses

Secessionists are individuals or groups of people advocating for their withdrawal from a group or a larger entity to create their own autonomous one (Crawford, 2006). This study obtained that secessionism is one of the key elements that might be influencing the activities of the parties to this conflict, particularly RENAMO.

During an interview with a senior academic practitioner at the University of Zimbabwe, it was insinuated that there was more to the escalation of hostilities between the government and opposition political parties, particularly RENAMO. It was revealed that the demands by RENAMO point much
to the desire by the opposition to secede from the mainland. One respondent from the SADC RPTC who supported this notion had this to say:

“...Mozambique is going through what Robert Kaplan theorised in his greed and grievance dichotomy. While RENAMO has some notable grievances emanating from the RGPA, these do not warrant Dhlakama’s secessionist agenda. He is just too greed for power”.

The findings, in this regard, tallied with the literature reviewed by this researcher. The literature indicated that while regional and international observer missions declared the 2015 elections peaceful, free and fair, the outcome of the election became the match that lit the fire in the political and security trajectory of Mozambique as RENAMO and the MDM refused to accept the election results. The opposition opined that the government had taken advantage of the delay that was encountered by the Mozambique Electoral Commission (CNE) in the tabulation of results as a window period to “stuff” ballots. Dhlakama continued to reject the verdict and made pronouncements that he will form a separatist Republic of Central and Northern Mozambique (BBC, 2014). Election results announced by CNE provide that RENAMO won outright majorities in three provincial assemblies, namely Sofala, Tete and Zambezi. Nevertheless, Dhlakama claims he won a majority in a total of six provinces that also include Manica, Nampula and Niassa.

It is interesting that the majority of Mozambique’s mineral resources are located in these six provinces claimed by RENAMO. From this claim, the research concluded that, central to the continued escalation of violence in Mozambique is what Karl Marx referred to as the fight for access and control of the means of production. For Karl Marx the root cause of conflict in society is mainly hinged on the notion of one’s access to and control of resources (Karl, 1859). Hence RENAMO’s secessionist demands to control Mozambique’s mineral rich provinces.

4.2.4 Political Insecurity

Political security generally refers to the guarantee that an opponent in a political struggle, or anyone of a perceived divergent political ideology is given by parties to the conflict (Campos and Nugent, 2002). In most cases, victors in conflict victimise their opponents in the post conflict period. In some
cases, the perceived losers or weaker parties are denied political space, a case that leads to weaker groups resorting to continue fighting.

In the case of Mozambique a diplomat stationed at the embassy of Botswana in Harare postulated that:

“...The political differences between RENAMO and FRELIMO were intensified by the fears that gripped the opposition political formations. The fears are mainly a result of the threats perceived and threats received by the leaders of the opposition political parties.”

Majority of the respondents to the interviews pointed to the attempted assassination of the leader of RENAMO, Dhlakama, and the murder of Gilles Cistac, a Mozambican of French origin and a leading opposition-aligned academic, constitutional lawyer and professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University, on 3 March 2015. Cistac had played a central role in a number of debates around the autonomy bill and the decentralisation of power (BBC, 2015). Information obtained through 15 key informant interviews cemented this argument as it was reiterated that tension between FRELIMO and RENAMO worsened after the incidents. From that, it can be reasoned that Dhlakama justified his pull out of government and his stay at Gorongoza since 2015 on the same reasons.

4.2.5 Accommodating Former Fighters

Fighters in civil conflicts refer to the militants who take up arms to fight for the agreed cause. Although these people are provided with military requirements during the struggle at the end of hostilities authorities normally consider the future of these people in the post conflict period. The RGPA of Mozambique was not unique in any way. The arrangement provided for the integration of the former fighters, a development that later led to a number of clashes between the government and RENAMO as the government continued to resist the incorporation of the former fighters from the RENAMO camp.
A senior Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) officer also revealed that following the civil conflict featuring the government forces and the then RENAMO rebels for 16 years, the RGPA did not “holistically accommodate the military trained members of the RENAMO”, a development that had a great chance of putting the life of RENAMO leadership at danger. Furthermore, it was revealed that after signing the RGPA in 1992, the leaders of RENAMO had pressure from their trained personnel as their exclusion in the new arrangement was interpreted as a selfish move meant to benefit the leadership at the expense of RENAMO fighters and sympathisers. This was mainly linked to the agreement on the cessation of hostilities which was signed by former President of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza, and the leader of the opposition, RENAMO, on 5 September 2014 but the two parties had numerous differences on the working method. As such, RENAMO forces remained outside the mainstream security force.

From this, one can argue that the strife in Mozambique has a lot to do with the fight for survival by the RENAMO forces. This is mainly because fighting has become part of their life and, if not incorporated into the mainstream military, they would find it difficult to cope with life. The situation is worsened by the fact that some of the RENAMO militants are known in their neighbourhood and may also be afraid of prosecution in the event that their leaders reach an agreement that leaves them outside its terms.

Pursuant to that, the research noted that participants, particularly those from the security sector in Zimbabwe, concurred greatly on the dangers associated with the failure to incorporate some of RENAMO’s forces into the mainstream security forces indicating that there is a possibility of RENAMO trying to remain with its reserved military personnel even after the incorporation of its force into the main stream. One respondent from Zimbabwe’s ministry of state security had this to say:

“...Throughout the history of armed conflict the effects of failing to properly integrate former combatants are too gustily to contemplate and are a permanent threat to national and international security”.

The observation weaves well with scholars who argued that in 2014, the Mozambican government indicated that it was willing to recruit 200 RENAMO members into the police and another 100 into
the armed forces with the assumption that RENAMO had less than 400 elements that are militarily trained and armed. The implementation was compromised by the refusal of RENAMO to disclose the number, names and ranks of its armed forces insisting that the senior post in the military and police were supposed to be shared equally. In May 2015, RENAMO submitted a list of the members it wanted to be granted senior positions in the army and the police indicating that it wanted equal representation in senior positions in the army and the police. Commenting on that reasoning, a senior analyst in the President’s Department insinuated that the logic behind such an argument leaves a lot to be desired. The following reasons were the main raised:

I. “RENAMEO has a small force compared to the Mozambique Defence Force;  
II. RENAMO forces never received mainstream training as compared to their counter parts making it difficult for them to be given equal senior post; and  
III. Some of the senior officers in the RENAMO force were in the post retirement age as majority of them are ex combatants of the civil war that ended in 1992”.

A closer look into the above mentioned arguments points to the fact that the demands made by RENAMO in the security sector reform can hardly be met. In fact, the government of Mozambique should, if possible, look closely at the social and political welfare of all the military elements linked to the 16 year civil conflict regardless of the side they fought along. The findings can be interpreted to reflect some of the challenges facing the regional countries like Lesotho in which the military and the police force remain a decisive sector in the country’s politics, a development that made that country ungovernable.

4.3 The Rome Accords and Peace Efforts in Mozambique

The RGPA of 1992 forms the basis for the political interaction between the main political formations in Mozambique. The weaknesses and the challenges faced by the agreement manifests itself in many ways.

Information obtained by the research revealed that the RGPA faced multiple challenges since 1992 when it was concluded. Key informant interviews with regional diplomats based in Harare agree with Hanlon (2016) who indicated that negotiated peace settlements face a number of challenges depending on the character and conduct of the parties to the conflict.
4.3.1 Fragile Political Agreements

Internationally negotiated peace settlements are expected to, among other things, bind for the longest possible time. In most cases, however, these agreements face a number of challenges mainly because parties to the agreement rush into committing themselves after over compromising. Such compromises are characteristics of the ripeness theory’s hurting stalemate dimension. In most cases, parties to negotiated agreements backtrack and compromise the sustainability of such agreements.

A senior lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe pointed out that internationally driven peace agreements are often pregnant with controversy which leads to their breaching by the parties concerned. This notion was supported by a South African diplomat based at the country’s embassy in Harare, who noted that:

“….the challenges in Mozambique were also faced in Madagascar, Lesotho and Zimbabwe following the involvement of international community to settle internal political misunderstandings”.

In relation to Mozambique, Gentili (2013) alluded that by 2014, there have been 87 rounds of negotiations in Mozambique between RENAMO and FRELIMO since 1992. As a matter of fact, the continued negotiations in the case of Mozambique confirms the challenges the country faced in maintaining the peace agreement in the country prompting respondents to conclude that the RGPA of Mozambique was not clear. This leads to the conclusion that internationally negotiated peace agreements are not sustainable if parties keep pursuing their individual interests.

The resurgence of RENAMO banditry activities in Mozambique is a clear indication that internationally driven peace agreements do not have a holistic prescription of ending complex political differences. While it is acknowledged that the United States of America (USA) played a key role in South Sudan’s long journey to independence through session, it is sad to note that peace is yet to come to South Sudan. The same goes with the RGPA which failed to bring everlasting peace to Mozambique, reflecting the fragility of internationally driven peace agreements. Thus further escalation of violence and insecurity in countries where conflicts were resolved in line with the
dictates of the ripeness theory is reflective of the complications associated with the applicability of the theory.

4.3.2 Hard-line Bargaining

While excessive compromising in negotiation compromises the sustainability of the agreement, it can be noted that failure to compromise is also another ill fate to the sustainability of negotiated agreements. Adopting a hard line stance normally delays the process. There is, therefore need for parties in a conflict to strike a balance between compromising and bargaining.

On the same note, one key informant from the Zimbabwe Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), revealed that FRELIMO and RENAMO failed to compromise in most of the cases making it difficult for both parties to play their part in ensuring peace. In his own words the official from MoFA said that:

“...The parties in the Mozambican crisis are maintaining a hard-line stance”.

Another academic key informant from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) indicated that:

“....neither FRELIMO nor RENAMO had the space to, at least, go for negotiations with minimum acceptable and maximum expected conditions”.

Both parties, therefore, went for the negotiations without any flexibility. One key informant interviewed at the University of Zimbabwe added that:

“...the stalemate reached in 2010 when FRELIMO and RENAMO failed to agree on the constitution of the electoral commission when RENAMO refused to accept anything other than their initial position, politicization of the electoral process. Earlier on in 2009, FRELIMO went on to appoint all governors after RENAMO refused to take part in the process insisting that it wanted to appoint all the six governors as opposed to the proposal by FRELIMO that the six be jointly appointed”.

45
One ordinary Mozambican interviewed had this to say:

“...the problem with our political leaders is that they don’t want to compromise and as a result our country has no peace since the signing of the RGPA”

From this hard line bargaining by the parties to the RGPA, the research concluded that, there is strong lack of political will among the political leaders in Mozambique. Allied to the aspect of lack of political will is the issue of lack of political tolerance amongst the parties to the conflict.

4.3.3 Political Intolerance

Political Intolerance is the unwillingness to extend basic rights and civil liberties to persons and groups whose viewpoints differ from one’s own (Gibson and Amanda, 2002). A key informant based at the Mozambican embassy in Harare highlighted that:

“...the RENAMO–FRELIMO tragedy did not end with the signing of the RGPA as members of the two parties remained political enemies and could not accept each other in the new political arrangement of inclusiveness”.

With regards to political intolerance, one Mozambican citizen had this to say:

“...As Mozambicans we are not united because day in day out we are fighting and killing each other. Dhlakama’s political ambitions have ruined our nation.”

From that, this research noted that there were adequate pointers showing that members of RENAMO and those of FRELIMO had bad memories of the civil fissure which gripped the country since 1976. The existence of such memories can be argued as one of the major reasons leading to the acute political intolerance in that country. As such, the people of Mozambique may take longer than anticipated to accept each other politically. Furthermore, the continued clash between the RENAMO and the FRELIMO politicians may suggest that the experiences of Mozambique may be passed on from one generation to the next only to further prolong the conflict.

In addition to that, one ordinary Mozambican citizen residing in Zimbabwe submitted that prominent political figures who became ministers and members of parliament from both FRELIMO and
RENAMO had lost their relatives, properties and other valuables during the conflict. One academic from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) suggested that it was going to be better, had the international community supported one side of the conflict and help it outweigh the other, than to go for negotiated peace settlement. This is an indication that despite its participation in elections and being part of the government, RENAMO still wants to enjoy notable independence from the government, running a parallel military force and a separate economy. Such developments are, thus, among the major indicators of a compromised negotiated peace agreement. Looking at such bad war memories the research suggests that the Mozambican authorities must set up a peace and reconciliation commission. Zimbabwe’s experiences leading to the signing of the Unity Accord of 1986 could be used as a model of building national unity.

4.3.4 Disarmament of Nongovernmental Forces

Civil conflicts normally take long time to quell even after the actual fighting. This is mainly because there are always some armed pockets that will continue to destabilise the government each time they feel that their desires are not being attended to. Experiences in countries such as Uganda, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo show that these people normally turn into nasty rebels. Hence the experiences of Mozambique are no exception.

A senior officer in the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) attributed the challenges facing Mozambique to the failure by the government to disarm RENAMO. The respondent indicated that, “the failure by the government of Mozambique and the international community to disarm RENAMO forces regardless of the signing of the RGPA in 1992 whose provisions included the disarmament of RENAMO and the turning of the group to a civil political party was a key reason behind the political and security fragility in that country. Additionally, although RENAMO participated in all the multi-party elections held in the country since 1994, there is evidence that RENAMO remained armed and used its armed members to, in most cases, force the electorate in some parts of the country to vote in their favour”.

The submission tallies with a number of scholars who noted that as of 2013, there were approximately 300 RENAMO members who remained armed since the peace accord was signed,
after efforts to integrate them into the army and police force, as set out in the RGPA and implemented through a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process, failed (BBC, 2013). The failure by the parties to the agreement to disarm RENAMO has, thus made it a challenge for the government of Mozambique to ensure that peace prevails as RENAMO regularly uses the armed force to push for whatever reforms from the government. To this effect, another key informant from the ZRP indicated that the election boycott of 1998 and the nationwide violent demonstration of 2000 are among such incidents. The ZRP officer said that:

“...Notable cases in this regard include the election boycott by RENAMO in 1998 where its forces blocked people from going to vote and threatened to kill those that took part. It was indicated that the voter apathy in that election was recorded to be as high as 90%”.

The actions by RENAMO combatants are indicative of the dangers associated with failure to disarm combatants at the end of hostilities. The danger is that the former warring parties will be tempted to take up arms once their demands are not met. This was confirmed by Dhlakama’s easy return to his Gorongoza Base and the resumption of fighting.

4.3.5 Political Instability and Economic Growth

While political and economic developments can be treated as being different elements, evidence showing in politically destabilised zones indicates that there is a nexus between the two. Political stability, normally allows for economic development. In this way, this research also looked into the existence of the political developments in Mozambique and the economic developments in the same country.

On the implications of the instability on Mozambique’s economy, one economist at the UZ indicated that:

“...while Mozambique is ranked to have one of the largest liquefied gas and coal deposits, the country has realised less, if any, benefits from that as there is low investor confidence. This low investment confidence is mainly linked to the perceived or real threats regularly displayed by RENAMO. The country has, therefore, realised lower rates of economic contribution from the mining sector regardless of the discovery of vast coal reserves in Tete and Niassa provinces and the discovery of large natural gas deposits in the Rovuma basin.
For instance, the armed RENAMO threatened to cut the rail line which links Zimbabwe to the port of Beira. As such, the railway line is only operating with an armed security, a development that is not just costly to the government but has also affected investor confidence in the country”.

From the above contribution, one can conclude that the spongy security and fragile political situation in Mozambique has a ripple effect on other sectors of the country. This can be the reason why the conflict has become one of the biggest in the region in which the SADC has spent most of its time trying to resolve.

4.4 The International Community Involvement in Mozambique

The role of the international community does not end only in ensuring that a peace agreement has been signed. The international community usually plays a critical role in the implementation stage where technical, financial, military and even emotional help is ceded to ensure that negotiated peace agreements are sustainable.

One key informant from the MoFA highlighted that following the signing of the negotiated RGPA in Mozambique, the international community remained a central element in the implementation of the protocols making up the RGPA. The international community comprising, but not limited to the Organisation of African Union (OAU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United Nations (UN) through its various agencies, were instrumental in the implementation of the terms of the RGPA. To be precise, protocol 5 of the RGPA provides that the government should request the UN to participate in the monitoring and implementation of the RGPA. Additionally, protocol 7 of the RGPA obliges the parties to the conflict to invite international community to finance the implementation of the RGPA.

It was also noted that the UN played a crucial role in monitoring the implementation of the RGPA in Mozambique. The observation tallied with the assertion by Berman (1996) who insinuated that the UN, through the United Nations Operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) was instrumental in assuring that the RGPA was implemented. Berman (1996) further noted that political, military
electoral and humanitarian forces of ONUMOZ, in their distinct setups, helped in preventing Mozambique from falling into the civil trap experienced up to 1992. Gentili (2013) highlighted that the success of ONUMOZ was mainly dependent upon the willingness of the troops contributing countries from across the world.

Commenting on the role played by the International Community in Mozambique a respondent from the RPTC had this to say:

“...While the International Community is acknowledged for making efforts to stop the armed conflict in Mozambique through the RGPA, its major weakness was that it was a western prescription that lacked the input of the Mozambican people themselves. Most of the Western countries that took part in the RGPA have permanent political and economic interests in Africa and are known for sponsoring rebel groups in a number of African countries with arms of war and Mozambique is no exception”.

This respondent’s views interlink with the literature that revealed that, it is normative for mediators to have interests either defensive or expansionist in a neighbour’s conflict as it is understood to likely influence the mediation process (Anstey, 2007). RENAMO’s capability to stand and fight against government forces with modern weapon systems is a clear indication that there may be some governmental and nongovernmental organisations from abroad that may be covertly supplying them with arms of war for either political or economic gains. Thus internationally negotiated peace settlements can be viewed as a fertile breeding ground for hostile nations to further their political, military and economic selfish agendas.

A respondent from the President’s office indicated that the government of Mozambique, with the aid of the international community has, since 1992, continued to:

“...make efforts to ease the tensions between the worrying parties in the Mozambique conflict”.
There has been a wide range of efforts to bring peace in Mozambique following the escalation of hostilities in 2015 when the leader of RENAMO, Dhlakama, left the capital and went into hiding in Gorongoza. The researcher obtained insights into the developments in Mozambique along this line.

A diplomat from a Southern African Country based in Harare indicated that:

“RENAMO and FRELIMO entered into peace talks in early August 2015. The peace talks were mediated by a team chaired by Botswana’s former President Quett Masire and comprised representatives from the Catholic Church, the European Union (EU) and South Africa. But while the talks continued, the country was engulfed in a fresh wave of violence. This followed the position that Dhlakama continued to push for a secession of the 6 provinces he claimed to have obtained majority votes from in the previous election.”

Another respondent from the Southern African Parliamentary Support Trust (SAPST) further highlighted that the former President of Mozambique, Philippe Nyusi, made steps towards easing tensions between the government and RENAMO by inviting RENAMO to submit a bill on the creation of autonomous provinces for presentation to parliament without making any commitments that the bill would be supported by FRELIMO’s majority in the Assembly. The Assembly subsequently rejected the bill. The respondent linked this incident to the taking up of arms by RENAMO after they had realised that there was no room for a democratic push for their desired end.

A respondent from the Mozambican embassy in Harare revealed, however, that:

“....there is hope for an end to the political tension in Mozambique”.

Cited to back this argument was the announcement by RENAMO leader, Dhlakama, in August 2017 that he was hoping that the two parties would sign an agreement in November 2017. Though not clear of what the terms of the agreement would be, key informants from the security sector of Zimbabwe generally concurred that RENAMO seem to have realised that there will be no progress while its leader is in hiding. On the other hand, the ruling FRELIMO is feeling the complications associated with the continued struggle between government forces and RENAMO. The implications of this struggle include the compromised investment in gas and coal as well as increased number of refugees fleeing the country into Malawi and Zimbabwe. These factors seem to have greatly
influenced the government’s position. From that, it can be deduced that there is a hurting stalemate in the Mozambique crisis, hence the applicability of the ripeness theory to this conflict.

4.5 Mozambican Conflict and Regional Peace and Security

The conflict in Mozambique remains of great concern to the regional security situation. This is, perhaps, one of the major reasons behind the active participation of regional countries, mainly Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe in ensuring that peace prevails in that country. The implications of the crisis in Mozambique on the regional security were frequently referred to by both primary and secondary sources used by this researcher. The research, however, noted that, although the crisis in Mozambique affected the whole of Southern African Region, Malawi and Zimbabwe were the most affected.

On Mozambique and Malawi, a key informant based at the embassy of Malawi in Zimbabwe revealed that:

“...the geographical location of Malawi makes it closer to the Central and Northern provinces of Mozambique which RENAMO claimed victory. As such, the conflict in these provinces displaced thousands of civilians who then sought refuge in Southern parts of Malawi. Additionally, Malawi is a landlocked country depending on Nacala and Beira corridors through Mozambique. The political and security instability in Mozambique, thus, compromised the survival of Malawi”.

Regarding the implications of the conflict on Zimbabwe, a government official from Mutare shows that Zimbabwe’s South East Province of Manicaland contains some territories which RENAMO claims to be part of Mozambique. As such, RENAMO forces, even before the signing of the RGPA, regularly crossed the Mozambique-Zimbabwe boundary and fight Zimbabweans. Besides, Zimbabwe also depends on the Beira corridor as one of its major access points to the Indian Ocean. The rail and pipe line linking the two countries are, thus, of critical concern to the landlocked Zimbabwe. Information obtained by the researcher, thus, points out that the political and security
situation in Mozambique, mainly affected Zimbabwe and Malawi as compared to the other countries in the region.

To this end, it can be noted that the conflict in Mozambique has a spill over effect which therefore justifies the need for regional and international efforts in keeping the threat level low. The cultural characteristics of the country’s border communities make it difficult for the conflict to be contained in Mozambique. There is, therefore, need for the government of Mozambique to invest in bilateral and multilateral efforts to resolving the conflict. Issues of border security have to be given attention as well.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the research findings which were presented using a thematic analysis. The findings show that Mozambique is reeling from a number of challenges that need continued engagement of the main political parties in the country, FRELIMO and RENAMO. The chapter also shows that there is hope for the settling of scores in the country. Furthermore, the chapter indicated that the regional and international community remain critical in resolving the conflict in that country.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the research, recommendations generated from the literature review and the research findings. The recommendations are part of the research rationale which included coming up with recommendations on how to manage and subdue the conflict in
Mozambique. It should be noted that the recommendations in this chapter are, none other than the researcher’s discretion on the subject with the aid of the research findings.

5.1 Summary of the Research

The overall aim of this study was to examine and analyse the sustainability of internationally negotiated peace agreements using Mozambique as a case study. The objectives of the study were to explore the nature of conflicts in Mozambique, to assess the developments that have compromised the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement (RGPA) in Mozambique and to examine the role of the international community in crafting and monitoring the implementation of peace settlements.

The research sought to assess the sustainability of negotiated peace settlements, the role played by the international community, examine the compliance by the parties to the conflict and to explore the security and socio–economic impact of the negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique and the region. The study used the ripeness theory by Zartman.

The study was informed by the qualitative research method. The qualitative method was chosen because it provides a detailed inquiry into various perceptions from different individuals, organisations and literature guided by the interpretive social science paradigm. The study found out that internationally driven peace agreements have both negative and positive impacts on national and regional peace and security. The target nations face the risk of being consumers of peace agreements that are brokered by hostile nations whose main agenda will be that of pursuing self-interests. Regional nations face the risk of being recipients of large volumes of refugees should the negotiated peace agreement fail to yield the desired results. In the case of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi are the most affected.

Regardless of the aforementioned shortcomings of internationally negotiated peace settlements the study found out that the RGPA played a significant role in scaling down the level of violence that Mozambique was entrapped in, prior to its signing.
In as far as the layout is concerned, Chapter 1 was presented as the research overview, outlining the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, justification, assumptions, limitations and the summary. Chapter 2 reviewed the literature identifying the gap and also situating the problem under investigation. Chapter 3 was specifically dealing with methodological procedures used in data gathering, presentation and analysis. Chapter 4 was premised in data presentation and analysis. Chapter 5 finally presents the summary of the research, conclusions, recommendations and areas of further research.

5.2 Conclusion

This research concludes that despite the signing of the RGPA parties to the conflict and the international community have failed to thwart the threat facing Mozambique. The research findings revealed, however, that the RGPA resulted in, among other things, the end of predictable hostilities between the warring factions but did not guarantee an end in the possibility of such clashes. The research also noted that RENAMO continues to pose serious threats to the national peace and security in Mozambique despite having participated in the elections held in the country and becoming part of the government. Furthermore, the research noted that in 2014, RENAMO and the government engaged in peace talks to address the growing tension between them which started in 2012 but the talks broke in 2015 when Dhlakama pulled out. In the same vein, it was further noted that the dispute in Mozambique goes beyond the election linked fallout and included the alleged assassination threats on the leader of RENAMO by the government security forces. The implications of continued struggle between RENAMO and the government forces include among other things national insecurity, food insecurity, environmental insecurity, economic insecurity, regional insecurity culminating into global insecurity. The research realised that such recurrence of conflicts has raised a myriad of more questions than answers with regard to the sustainability of these peace agreements. The case of Mozambique, as presented in this research shows that internationally driven negotiated agreements can be regarded as highly fragile and unable to sustain their purpose.

5.3 Recommendations
After considering the insights from the primary and secondary sources of research, this study recommends that:

- The political players in Mozambique, particularly FRELIMO and RENAMO should make use of every negotiation platform to reach a lasting political solution to the conflict. In this case, the parties should keep engaging regional leaders from South Africa, Botswana and Zambia as they have done before to settle the scuffle in 2017.

- The citizens of Mozambique should be encouraged to tolerate each other regardless of their divided political difference. There is need to avoid a situation like the one prevailing where people from the South and Western provinces of Mozambique cannot safely be in the RENAMO controlled North East provinces of Mozambique.

- The government of Mozambique should intensify its bilateral security efforts with the country’s neighbours. For instance, the threat posed by RENAMO forces along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border can easily degenerate into a regional conflict. The same applies to the country’s border with Malawi where the same is going on. Bilateral joint operations will help the government to localise the conflict and prevent it from spilling into neighbouring nations.

- RENAMO and FRELIMO should desist from maintaining a hard-line stance when it comes to negotiation. There is need for these political parties to, at least, compromise in some cases as a way of managing the situation. There will never be a point when the interests of both FRELIMO and RENAMO can be maximally accommodated in the desired peace agreement.

- Parties to the RGPA that were tasked with the role of implementing the protocols making up the RGPA should fulfil their mandate. This aspect is mainly critical on protocols dealing with the disarmament of RENAMO and the incorporation of its forces into the national police and military force.
• The government of Mozambique should ensure there is a reasonable representation of all political parties in the election management. This recommendation is anchored upon the arguments usually forwarded by the opposition as they complain and reject the election results in the courts.

• Mozambique should work to enhance its effectiveness in election management systems. These include registration of voters, the casting of votes and the counting of votes so that its election results are objectively authentic.

• The international community should guarantee the peace agreements made by FRELIMO and RENAMO and restrain any party deemed to be violating the terms of such agreements. For example, Mozambique can be in a new era if both parties respect the peace agreement that FRELIMO and RENAMO promised to sign in November 2017.

5.4 Further study

Having looked at the sustainability on internationally negotiated peace agreements focusing on Mozambique, this study can be used as a basis for a wide range of studies. Possible areas of interests for further studies include, but are not limited to the following:

• The role of international organisations in negotiating peace agreements.

• The opportunities for peace in a seceded North Eastern Mozambique as demanded by RENAMO.

• Political developments in nations with a civil conflict background.
- The effectiveness of regional organs on defence and security.

References


APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT, SECURITY AND REGIONAL EMBASSIES OFFICIALS

Letter of Introduction

Please accept my kind request for information to enable me to complete a Master of Science in International Relations (MSc. IR) Degree research component. I have chosen interview as part of the methodology. The interview will focus on the examination of the sustainability of negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique. The research will be limited to the time frame between 1992 when the agreement was signed and 2015 when RENAMO started to pull out of the agreement. My key
informant interview targets intellectuals, the security personnel, diplomats, ordinary Mozambican citizens in Zimbabwe and members of the civil society organisations that directly or indirectly relates to the experiences of Mozambique. Interviewees to this interview are thus purposively selected based on that.

The interview is interactive and will take up to 20 minutes. I understand that your office is busy, but you can confirm the day and time flexible to you through my email.

It is mandatory for all students to carry out a research study in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Science in International Relations Degree at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE).

I am studying with the BUSE and my dissertation topic is “The Sustainability of Internationally Driven Peace Agreements. A Case of Mozambique (1992-2015)”.

I promise to use the information purely for the purpose of this research study. I will therefore treat your information with the confidentiality it deserves. Please find enclosed in this letter, some of the questions I will ask.

Your knowledge will be very valuable and greatly appreciated for the completion of this project.

**Structured Interview questions for Zimbabwean Government, Security and Regional Embassies Officials**

1. How does your academic and or work experiences relate to issues of international peace and security?

2. What do you understand about the civil conflict that Mozambique went through between 1976 and 1992?

3. What do you consider as the main factors compromising peace and security in Mozambique since the signing of a peace agreement between RENAMO and FRELIMO forces in 1992?

4. In your view, what is the role played by the international community in relation to the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement of Mozambique?
5. What recommendations can you suggest, in ensuring that peace prevails in that country?
6. What can other countries experiencing instability learn from Mozambique’s experiences?

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MOZAMBICAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS

Letter of Introduction

Please accept my kind request for information to enable me to complete a Master of Science in International Relations (MSc. IR) Degree research component. I have chosen interview as part of the methodology. The interview will focus on the examination of the sustainability of negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique. The research will be limited to the time frame of between 1992 when the agreement was signed and 2015 when RENAMO started to pull out of the agreement. My key informant interview targets intellectuals, the security personnel, diplomats, ordinary Mozambican citizens in Zimbabwe and members of the civil society organisations that directly or indirectly relates to the experiences of Mozambique. Interviewees to this interview are thus purposively selected based on that.

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Your knowledge will be very valuable and greatly appreciated for the completion of this project.

**Structured Interview Questions for Mozambican Embassy Officials**

1. What do you understand about the civil conflict that your country went through between 1976 and 1992?

2. What do you consider to be the main factors compromising peace and security in Mozambique since the signing of a peace agreement between RENAMO and FRELIMO forces in 1992?

3. What do you see as the role played by the international community in relation to the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement of Mozambique?

4. In your own view, do you not see the hidden hand of external forces in the conflict that your country is facing?

5. What recommendations can you suggest in ensuring that peace prevails in your country?

6. What can other countries experiencing instability learn from Mozambique’s experiences?
APPENDIX: 3 INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ORDINARY MOZAMBIKAN CITIZENS

Letter of Introduction

Please accept my kind request for information to complete a Master of Science in International Relations (MSc. IR) Degree research component. I have chosen interview as part of the methodology. The interview will focus on the examination of the sustainability of negotiated peace agreement in Mozambique. The research will be limited to the time frame of between 1992 when the agreement was signed and 2015 when RENAMO started to pull out of the agreement. My key informant interview targets intellectuals, the security personnel, diplomats, ordinary Mozambican citizens in Zimbabwe and members of the civil society organisations that directly or indirectly relates to the experiences of Mozambique. Interviewees to this interview are thus purposively selected based on that.

The interview is interactive and will take up to 20 minutes. I understand that your office is busy, but you can confirm the day and time flexible to you through my email.
It is mandatory for all students to carry out a research study in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Science in International Relations Degree at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE).

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I promise to use the information purely for the purpose of this research study. I will therefore treat your information with confidentiality it deserves. Please find enclosed in this letter, some of the questions I will ask.

Your knowledge will be very valuable and greatly appreciated for the completion of this project.

**Structured Interview Question for Ordinary Mozambican Citizens**

1. How does your academic and or work experiences relate to issues of international peace and security?

2. What do you understand about the civil conflict that your country went through between 1976 and 1992?

3. How has the conflict affected the livelihoods of ordinary Mozambicans?

4. In your own view, do you think the political leaders in Mozambique are committed to creating an environment conducive for peace and tranquillity in the country?

5. What do you consider to be the main factors compromising peace and security in Mozambique since the signing of a peace agreement between RENAMO and FRELIMO forces in 1992?

6. What do you see to be the role played by the international community in relation to the sustainability of the Rome General Peace Agreement of Mozambique?

7. What recommendations can you suggest in ensuring that peace prevails in that country?

8. What can other countries experiencing instability learn from Mozambique’s experiences?