Introduction

The Party of Renamo was founded to bring a new prosperous and free democratic era to post-colonial Mozambique. An era of democratic principles and good government, which prioritises human rights and individual liberty founded on a market economy; where the state is the referee under the rule of law and where there is a strong sustainable private sector.

Mozambique is a country rich in people and natural resources – our potential to prosper is enormous. There has now been ten years of multi-party experience in Mozambique and the whole country has built a capacity and a will to strive for peace, economic development and political stability. However this capacity has not been effectively harnessed by the present Government. Frelimo has failed Mozambique. Failed to lower inequality, failed to reduce social exclusion and intolerance and fundamentally failed to make the achievements needed to further consolidate peace and democracy in Mozambique.

We believe that enough is enough. Frelimo has had the opportunity to deliver its promises but it is now clear that it is failed Mozambique. It is time for a change. Time for Mozambique to have the Government it deserves.

This manifesto outlines the new kind of government that Renamo will deliver for the people of Mozambique. A Government based on Five Principles for Five Years of Government:

1 Dignity
2 Opportunity
3 Prosperity
4 Security
5 Justice
1 Dignity and Respect for the Individual

Renamo believes that the individual is at the centre of the development of Mozambican society. The dignity of Mozambique will be forged on the basis of valuing the individual and the family. We will respect identity in its multiple dimensions: civil, political, economic, cultural and religious.

Mozambican independence meant the liberation of the country but not of the people because Frelimo was against all forms of freedom and made the will of their Party indistinguishable from that of the state. Frelimo destroyed the authority of parents, of religious leaders, of traditional leaders and of the government itself through the imposition of a system of communes and well as through strong mechanisms of control and oppression against the family and the individual.

In Mozambican society women usually have no access to health, education and employment and do not participate on an equal basis with men in decision making and in determining their own destiny and that of Mozambique. There is a greater incidence of poverty amongst women and this translates into the mass participation of women and children in the informal economy. Employment is important for self-esteem and human dignity. However, unemployment in Mozambique is increasing for young people. Renamo believes that the restoration of dignity for Mozambique rests on the moral authority of the family.

Frelimo has undermined dignity…

Their so-called policy of ‘Operation Production’ led to people being indiscriminately arrested and deported to education camps. Many people disappeared and many families were destroyed.

… And prevented individual expression

By suppressing the traditions of Mozambican society Frelimo has also prevented individuals from being themselves, and thus denied to them their own existence in all its cultural, social and philosophical dimensions.
**Our Vision:** To restore dignity to the individual first. We believe that the restoration of dignity to Mozambique depends on the recognition of the individual as the centre of human development.

**Renamo will:**

- Establish and protect civil and political rights
- Establish and protect economic freedom
- Restore professional pride, with promotion on the basis of merit
- Restore pride in cultural and tribal identity
- Re-establish social values and respect for others
- Restore religious freedom
- Restore the moral authority of the family
2 Opportunity for All, Without Discrimination

Renamo believes that opportunity for all means opportunities in education, health care and business and is dependent on the freedom to create or join associations, political parties and religious groups.

Frelimo has undermined opportunity. Until 1990 there was no opportunity for people to work privately, or for their families. Other political parties could not operate. Opportunity only existed if you identified with Frelimo. Although some rights were established in 1990 people still remain unable to fulfil their true potential.

Frelimo promised to extend opportunity and to end discrimination…

Article 43 of the constitution states that ‘the state promotes and supports active participation of national entrepreneurs in the framework of development and consideration of the country’s economy.’

Article 77 states that ‘citizens enjoy the freedom of creating and joining political parties.’

… But has failed to deliver in practice

The Frelimo government has never enacted the promised law which would have encouraged and supported entrepreneurs in the national economy. In 2000 President Chissano stated that ‘what the nation needs are workers loyal to Frelimo.’

Renamo will:

- Extend private business by ensuring that banks provide credit on the basis of good business practice rather than political connections.
- Grant scholarships and benefits to students on the basis of merit and need.
- Improve the system of education so that the opportunity to have a decent education is not only available to those who can afford to study abroad.
3 A Prosperous Future for Mozambique

Agriculture is the basis of the Mozambican economy and more than 70% of the population works on the land, which is all state owned. A Renamo Government will provide and encourage more investment in private and family farms, the backbone of the agricultural sector.

We will create a business environment which enables foreign investment to be spread more evenly throughout the country and stimulates the creation of an enterprise economy in Mozambique.

Under Frelimo there has been limited economic growth but no economic development. The vast majority of foreign investment is directed at Maputo and Sofala provinces in the South. Zambezi valley in the centre and Niassa in the far north are the provinces with the least investment. There are few linkages between foreign investment and the domestic economy with the result that it has only limited impact on the economy as a whole.

Frelimo won’t privatise land…

Two years ago, Helder Muteia, the outgoing Minister of Agriculture, suggested that some land should be privatised as to serve as collateral for farmers in search of bank credit. Yet again Frelimo haven’t delivered.

… The result is increasing pauperisation of farmers

As farmers have no assets they cannot secure credit to modernise their farms. This leads to declining productivity in agriculture. Failure to support the agricultural sector undermines the whole economy, causing to an increase in the number of people living below the poverty line.

Renamo will:

- Put in place policies enabling small farmers to gain ownership of their land
  So that they can invest in their land
  Resulting in an increase in output and productivity
  Thus revitalising the agricultural sector
  This will in turn reenergise the whole economy
  Thus diminishing the number of people under the poverty line
Frelimo do not support entrepreneurs, the creators of wealth…
There are no incentives for young entrepreneurs. Potential entrepreneurs have no access to business training and are stifled by government corruption and bureaucracy.

… The result is limited economic growth without economic development
Important local industries such as the processing of cashew nuts have been destroyed through Frelimo’s mismanagement. There is little linkage between capital intensive foreign investment and the rest of the economy. The result is a lack of innovation and increasing unemployment.

Our Aim: To establish conditions which facilitate the creation of wealth in Mozambique, thus ending the cycle of poverty

Renamo will:
- Give incentives to private producers and local entrepreneurs
- Scrap red tape and wasteful state investment
- Channel resources to productive sectors
- End the dollarisation of the economy
- Encourage the emergence of a savings culture to boost domestic investment
- Encourage Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in labour intensive areas, thus promoting employment
- Encourage FDI in the centre and north of the country, thus minimising regional asymmetries
- Break the poverty cycle by ending the brain drain
- Encourage the establishment of vocational and professional training centres
- Encourage the opening of higher education institutions in each province
- Decentralise the current taxation and spending system to give districts and provinces a say in how revenues are spent.
- Establish a bank of agricultural development
Renamo’s vision is to provide security for everyone in contrast to Frelimo’s practice of repression of the people and of providing security for themselves.

At present the people have no security. The current policy is focused on providing security for the Frelimo Party and its leaders. The police are not trusted by general citizens and not even by the Government, which relies on their special police force. The special police force only answers to the Frelimo Party President. The Government does not even trust the army because it is apolitical.

Frelimo’s lack of regard for the safety of its citizens is reflected in the extremely low level of resources allocated to the army and the police. Without adequate government support the police and army are denied the opportunity to develop and professionalise their operations.

Frelimo only believe in security for themselves…

Only the special police, charged with protecting the Government and the Frelimo Party, are properly resourced.

…The result is a lack of security for the people

Drug trafficking, corruption and organised crime have been allowed to flourish, with the result that Mozambique has been turned into the drug corridor of Africa.
**Our aim:** A secure future based on the establishment of professional security forces

**Renamo will:**

- Complete the Peace Accord
- Make national service in the army voluntary to encourage the professionalisation of the armed forces
- Modernise, train and equip the army and the police and provide them with reasonable salaries, good working and living conditions and other incentives to do their job.
- Make the police aware of international protocols and agreements. They will be trained to use only appropriate force and to be apolitical.
- Encourage communities to monitor their areas and to work hand in hand with the local police.
- Protect and control national borders, and protect national resources, such as fish stocks, from illegal exploitation.
- Transfer control of the security forces to the judiciary with the objective of establishing operational independence.
Renamo understands that genuine justice is only possible if the judiciary is made independent from political interference and control. In practice this means an independent system of appointment with no political interference in the judicial budget. The justice system will only be truly independent when there is effective separation of power between party, the executive and the judiciary.

Under Frelimo the rule of law has been undermined. The law applies to some but not to others. It is only consistently enforced against the poor and/or those who have no links with the ruling party. There is also an endemic culture of bribery and intimidation. This frequently leaves the ordinary citizen defenceless and with no recourse to justice.

**Frelimo provides limited access to justice…**

The courts are so jammed that many cases will never be heard. In many parts of the country a legal system simply does not exist.

**…The result is a system in chaos**

The Government cannot even fulfil its responsibility to provide essential state documents needed for daily living for its citizens such as ID cards and driving licences because there is too much bureaucracy and state incompetence.
Our aim: A system of justice that people can trust based on the rule of law

Renamo will:

- Promote the combination of traditional and modern law in order to empower community courts and promote cooperation with modern courts.
- Extend the system of tribunals for small cases set up by communities to reduce the log jam in the courts. At present these courts have only been established in Maputo City; we will extend them throughout Mozambique.
- Promote legal assistance to disadvantaged Mozambicans through subsidies to civil society institutions such as the Institute to Promote Legal Assistance (IPAJ) and the Human Rights League.
- Adhere to the AU Charter of Human Rights which institutes habeas corpus.
- Privatise services providing ID cards, driving licences and other forms of identification, allowing local community stores to render these services in order to provide a more efficient system.

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