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Mechanisms of Community Reception of Demobilised Soldiers in Mozambique

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Abstract

The paper addresses the problem of rehabilitation of demobilised soldiers which is a neglected aspect of peace and reconstruction initiatives in societies emerging from conflict. Using the case of Mozambique, it discusses the problem of rehabilitation at the individual and community levels; and argues that successful rehabilitation depends on a deeper knowledge of the customs and traditions of the community; because, as shown by the Mozambican experience, a mechanism of community reception plays a crucial role in ensuring the successful rehabilitation of ex-soldiers.

Introduction

Mozambique is a former Portuguese colony situated in Southern Africa, with eleven provinces, a land area of 799,380 square kilometres, and a population of about 17,5 million, consisting of some twenty ethnic groups (all of Bantu origin), which are also distributed throughout the territories of neighbouring countries. There are also groups of European and Indian origin as a result of colonisation. In 1962, a nationalist movement was created by Mozambicans in Tanzania to liberate the country from colonial rule. After countless diplomatic efforts to reach independence by peaceful means, a military struggle was launched in 1964 lasting ten years when an agreement was signed in Lusaka in September 1974 between Portugal, the former colonial power, and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique – Frelimo – in the name of the Mozambican people. An interim government was formed with Mozambican and Portuguese politicians, and in June 1975 Mozambique became an independent country.

The signing of the Lusaka Agreement signified the end of colonial rule in the country, but unfortunately it did not bring lasting peace. In 1976, military unrest

developed in regions close to the border with former Rhodesia, and in a couple of years conflict exploded and was transformed into an armed confrontation in all but a few parts of the national territory. A movement was created outside the country, the Mozambican National Resistance – Renamo, which gradually became the military instrument for destabilising the government of Mozambique.

In 1984, as a result of the Nkomati Accord, a change of direction from the socialist model adopted in 1975 was initiated. This was followed by the adoption in 1987 of a structural adjustment programme; a decision that was partly domestic in origin and partly the result of external pressures (primarily from the Bretton Wood institutions). A process of political liberalisation was also initiated, and in 1990 a new Constitution was introduced, giving constitutional basis to economic liberalisation, and at the same time political pluralism and separation of powers.

From 1988, realising that the armed conflict could not be settled by military means, attempts were made by certain individuals and forces in civil society, the Catholic Church and various religious groups included, to establish contacts with and initiate negotiations between the warring parties. In October 1992, a peace agreement was signed in Rome between the Government of Mozambique and Renamo, through the mediation of the Catholic Church and the Italian Government.

The process of initiating an end to armed conflict is difficult and complex, and involves many levels of activity. However, an issue that receives scant attention is the situation of the ex-soldiers. What should happen to them at the end of the military conflict? These are individuals trained in the art of war, often with little or no education or job skills, hardened by a bitter and often mindless war that made no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. It did not matter that these individuals themselves often had no clear commitment to the struggle, and little choice as to whether to leave it or change it. Once demobilised from the army they lose not only their corporate identity and sense of belonging, but their social status as well, and may feel lost and disoriented in civilian society.

There is also the problem of how the community would see these demobilised soldiers, many of whom may have committed atrocities. Social reintegration is thus critical for peace maintenance, but is often neglected in signed agreements. Brito & Mussanhane (1997: 3) define reintegration as follows:

we understand social reintegration as the reinsertion in the family and community, and the mental elimination of the perception of being (member of) a specific group; by economic reintegration, we understand the involvement in sustainable activities producing revenues, and the elimination of special material needs (to be provided by others).

In Mozambique, a good deal of emphasis was placed on economic (re)integration with the development of training and occupational skills programmes, but little, if anything at all, was officially done to address the psychological needs of the ex-

combatants, and prepare them for a return to civil life. Secondly, peace agreements do not provide a comprehensive basis for reconciliation, which is apparently not considered an "essential" part of peacekeeping mechanisms. For a community-state like Mozambique, where social order within community life and between neighbouring communities is important for the social reproduction of the existent mode of life, healing and reconciliation after a conflict, between individuals, social groups, and communities, is not only important but essential.

Resettlement After Demobilisation

After the signature of the peace agreement in Rome, a process of demobilisation was launched in Mozambique. Soldiers were gathered in selected assembly areas, given severance pay, subsidies, food, and assistance with transportation to a place of choice. There were altogether about 92,000 soldiers from both sides, and 49 assembly centres (29 for the Government and 20 for Renamo). The majority resettled in their place of origin (see Table 1), reflecting continuing attachment to those particular communities even after years of killing, rape, pillage, ironically often occurring in those very places of origin. However, many soldiers mainly from

Table 1: Percentage of Total Demobilised: Origin, Place of Military Service, Resettlement

Province	Region of Birth	Military Unit	Resettlement
Cabo Delgado	9.07	5.35	7.30
Gaza	6.65	5.52	5.10
Inhambane	10.19	5.31	7.08
Manica	8.01	7.91	9.73
Maputo	1.76	7.21	4.20
Nampula	13.70	9.65	12.99
Niassa	9.81	9.31	9.26
Sofala	12.11	18.15	13.75
Tete	6.89	8.17	5.90
Zambezia	10.14	14.36	16.64
City of Maputo	1.67	9.06	7.97
No Information ¹	00,00	00.00	00.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Barnes; 1997:12.

Renamo's army, were unable to return home and resettled elsewhere. Ex-soldiers, settled in the province of Zambezia and interviewed by Mbilana (see Baptista Lundin *et al.*, forthcoming), mentioned the existence of a 'clause' (in the peace agreement?) forbidding return to their original homeland, possibly as a result of atrocities committed there.

Forgiveness and reconciliation is part of the African cultural heritage. Not surprisingly, therefore, these values are being recovered and reinforced in Mozambique today. Knowing the importance of the principle of reconciliation, the religious leaders who played a key role in initiating the peace process held an ecumenical service in public in 1993, in the two most important cities – Maputo and Beira – in order to celebrate the first anniversary of the peace agreement. The Churches also had "peace education programmes" which functioned at community level. The most significant activities, however, were those organised by the communities themselves. Rituals of (re)integration in the various places where ex-soldiers chose to settle, were conducted by the communities as part of the reception extended to these individuals. These rituals sought to reconcile the individual in three stages: first, with him/herself, to purge the spirit of war and aggression from the heart and soul of the ex-soldier, a kind of exorcism to reorient the former combatant socially and psychologically; second, with the community and community life; and third, with his/her former enemies.

Reintegration in the Communities

There are community mechanisms of reintegration in rural and urban zones, with particular characteristics for different regions and localities. At all sites these mechanisms functioned autonomously, as "cultural elements of reintegration" dispensing with financial help from outside the community.² The evidence suggests that these mechanisms worked better in rural areas than urban centres.

Rural Areas

Although the rural space still belongs to different communities, local tradition allows strangers and others to settle on community and lineage land, a practice undertaken to strengthen the local capacity for social reproduction. Strangers may settle in new places often through marriage, but the process of settlement always involves adoption by a "godfather", who will answer for the social behavior of the newcomer. This tradition is still in force in spite of the impact of "modernity". These traditional practices allowed ex-soldiers, regardless of origin, to settle and farm in any rural community throughout the country. Because the traditional work in rural areas consisted of agriculture, hunting and fishing, no special training was required to enable an ex-soldier to fit into the rural occupational structure. Reintegration was also facilitated by the fact that the majority of demobilised personnel had a rural background and had passed through initiation rites to adult

Table 2: Educational Background of the Demobilised Soldiers

Schooling ³	Total Number of Demobilised	% of the Total	Adjusted %
None	26,434	28.26%	31.79%
Primary, 4th Grade	16,863	18.16%	21.56%
Primary, no specification	8,528	9.17%	10.89%
6th Grade	12,057	12.98%	15.41%
7th Grade	4,921	5.30%	6.29%
8th Grade	3,087	3.32%	3.39%
9th Grade	3,689	3.97%	4.72%
10th Grade	534	0.57%	0.68%
11th Grade	1,536	1.65%	1.96%
12th Grade	127	0.12%	0.16%
Superior ⁴	271	0.29%	0.35%
Other	185	0.20%	0.24%
No Information	14,659	15.78%	
Total	92,881	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Barnes; 1997:13.

life. These were crucial considerations, since the average educational level of the ex-soldiers was very low (see Table 2). The percentage of total soldiers demobilised with no schooling was 31.79%; for ex-Renamo soldiers, the percentage was much higher, 41% (Barnes;1997:44).

Subsistence in rural areas is primarily based on agriculture, with every family having a collective right to cultivate a plot of land. Cash economy is not yet a regular pattern of economic life. During the war it became even less so, with money almost disappearing from some areas of the country. After demobilisation all soldiers received subsidies, cash provided by the Reintegration Support Scheme (RSS). However, the programmes funded by different agencies favoured the demobilised with higher education, who tended to stay in urban/peri-urban areas (Barnes 1997: vi), the reason being perhaps that some international agencies feared greater risk of explosion of conflict in these areas. Also, such programmes benefited ex-Government soldiers proportionately more than ex-Renamo (*Ibid.*:

44-45). In a report prepared for the UNDP, Barnes observed that: "DS [demobilised soldiers] spend most of the cash subsidy within the district where he/she resides"; funds were used in acquiring "basic utilities, housing, agricultural inputs/animals [and] supporting small business" (*Ibid.*:27). However, such payments did not have a substantial impact on the local economy. Disbursement of funds in small tranches, and difficulties in collecting payment owing to distance and scarcity of transportation, and the problem and expense of dealing with bureaucrats as well as different banking agencies, diluted the impact of these payments (Baptista Lundin *et al.*, forthcoming). Much of the money was spent with no substantial improvement in the life of the communities or the ex-soldiers themselves. The most important reason for this subsidy apparently was not development, but to keep the peace; and peace was indeed kept!

In the rural areas, donor assistance tended to take a different form, focusing more on development projects that were meant to benefit the community as a whole. But these projects were often on a minor scale and yielded poor results. In these rural zones, where socio-economic differentiation between the host community and ex-soldiers tended to be minimal; given the pervasive poverty, similarities in economic circumstances and shared concerns about immediate survival functioned to diminish the risk of major conflict between ex-soldiers and the local population. Agriculture and rural life will most probably remain, at least in the immediate instance, the most sensible and secure alternative for ex-soldiers. According to Coelho & Vines (1996: 58), agricultural activities have provided an economic refuge for "those who do not know what to do in the future, or are uncertain of the opportunities they will get in life ... many demobilised ex-combatants started cultivating small plots (or encouraged some of their relatives to cultivate) while searching for other opportunities". However, land disputes have already become a problem in certain areas of the country, although these do not always involve or affect the demobilised. There have been cases of refugees and displaced people returning home to find their land occupied by those who stayed behind during the war. Economic reforms have also opened up land to urban elements and foreigners, giving rise to another source of conflict between rural communities and outsiders. The new Land Act approved in July 1997 by the Mozambican Parliament, states clearly that land belongs to the State, while giving local communities certain rights. It is doubtful, however, that this protection will be adequate.

Urban Zones

The situation is different in the urban areas (even though these are not without their own forms of community solidarity), primarily because the rapid transitions which Mozambique is undergoing (particularly in the economic arena) are most clearly reflected here. The economic situation in Mozambique is critical, owing to the

armed conflict, as well as drought, floods and the effects of bad management. A process of privatisation launched since 1991 has also aggravated the urban unemployment situation, as new owners of privatised enterprises, many high in the party or government, have laid off labour, either because the new owners lack adequate capital and management skills to resuscitate the business, or, as is frequently the case, because the former state enterprises were hopelessly over-staffed. Hence, openings in the formal sector are extremely limited, particularly for people without marketable skills (such as most demobilised soldiers) and so rapid (re)integration through formal employment and official channels is almost impossible. Assistance provided by a well-connected relative may be the only alternative to breaking into the formal sector (public or private). Self employment and the informal sector are virtually the only avenue open to this group. In addition, salaries are very low in Mozambique. To illustrate: a member of Parliament draws an official salary of about US\$800 per month, and that was considered a 'scandal' at the time it was approved, given that the minimum wage is around US\$30 per month (in May 1998), and a University teacher earns no more than US\$500. The GDP per capita in 1996 was US\$96.40. But there have also been occasional breaks—such as when a big soft drink company offered demobilised soldiers access to a licence to sell its product in 1997, together with one hundred push carts to transport the product. On the other hand, private security companies created after the peace accord, drew on the pool of ex-soldiers. In November 1997, there were 47 security companies operating in the urban centres, mainly Maputo, Beira and Nampula. These ex-soldiers have also been known to trade, for instance, in small weapons, and participate in the organised crime that is now prevalent in Mozambique. At the other extreme, there is a process of conversion of military skills to civilian occupations: in urban areas, ex-soldiers are working or training in activities where skills acquired in military life are valued by the civilian sector, such as the case of engineers, pilots, electricians, nurses, medical doctors, and so on.

A brief description of survival strategies in the City of Maputo will help to illustrate the difficult economic situation obtaining there at present:

Because of the difficult economic situation of the last two decades (full employment with scarcity before 1987 – when structural adjustment was initiated – and a situation of plenty with high prices and unemployment from 1987 onwards), local society in Maputo has developed strategies of survival, using community mechanisms developed probably during colonial times. To deal with the crisis, the population has come to depend on forms of solidarity and social networks based upon kinship (real or fictitious), which perform the function of caring for its members in the urban environment in much the same manner as in the village context. However the urban situation is different; because of the absence of land and

agricultural products, the focal point of survival strategies was transferred to other productive sectors and activities. What happens is that: the individual may steal or “liberate” goods or service from the place of work, take bribes, or otherwise misuse private or public resources. There is also much favouritism, nepotism, and influence-peddling at higher levels of government and private corporations, where opportunities are given to relatives or close friends, bypassing proper procedures. These ties of dependency that allow the less privileged to “eat” off their connections with the powerful are captured in the local phrase “*baby goat-ism*”, which is used to express the (cynical) expectation that, much as a goat will be expected to graze around the area to which it is tethered, so public and private employees will feed off their jobs, the “baby-goat” more modestly, of course, than the “goat”. Even so, not all persons connected to someone important in politics can hope to gain access to full employment in this manner (Lundin, forthcoming).

In the urban environment, the majority of the demobilised are being reintegrated through family groups, which in turn function within the limits of the system of networks based on real or fictitious kinship.

The Role of Ceremonies in Social Reintegration

Ceremonies and rituals, provided or conducted by the communities specially for the demobilised soldiers settling in rural areas, have been the major avenues to healing. Local religious institutions, mostly of syncretic faith, as well as Catholics, Protestants and Muslims, are also engaged in the process of reconciling individuals, social groups and communities. Testimonies from ex-soldiers help to give some idea of the influence of such mechanisms for reintegration into community life.

Coming back after the war, my father took me to a traditional doctor. And that was done because in my zone there is a tradition saying that “when someone leaves the military life, ... coming home, ... in the first place, ... before eating anything, ... your father has to take you to the house of a traditional doctor to treat your head, so it may stop going round as it used to do when in the army” ... a ceremony has to be performed, in order to slow down the rhythm the heart used to beat when in the bush, to make it normal again.⁵

These rituals of social reintegration, arranged privately by an individual or family but carried out in public and witnessed by the whole community, are performed with the help of a traditional healer. The ritual is divided in three parts

(and may take the form of three separate functions conducted at different times, or a single ritual with three distinct parts). The first part is designed to help the ex-soldier overcome his acquired identity as “a killing machine” and regain a civilian identity after which he “becomes a person again”.⁶ This ceremony is meant to cleanse both physically and spiritually, so the individual first takes a steam bath, and then washes afterwards in water fortified with various herbs. The second aspect of the ritual is the propitiation of the spirits, to announce to the dead relatives that the “lost sheep” is back home. In this ceremony, thanks are given for the protection that made possible his safe return home. The third and last part of the ritual, is the reconciliation with the spirits of dead persons killed by the ex-soldier, a symbolic “encounter” with his victims.⁷ In this last moment, forgiveness is requested, and is backed by a show of remorse. Compensation usually requested by “the dead”, speaking through the traditional healer, comes in the form of cash or goods.⁸ This ritual of cleansing includes sessions where former enemies, in person or represented by relatives, are brought together and put through rituals in order to reconcile them. In some regions, a collective meal is served, and everybody eats together as a sign of reconciliation.

The significance attached to the ritual of reconciliation, can be illustrated by an incident (or set of incidents) that apparently occurred in the district of Inhassoro (in the Southern province of Inhambane), situated about 850 km North of the city of Maputo. There, a group of ex-combatants⁹ had settled after independence, far from their original home.¹⁰ The group was called back to arms during the subsequent conflict with Renamo (1976-1992), and on one occasion a commander killed a traditional doctor who, it is reported, was helping the rebels. Time passed by and no ritual was performed, not even at the end of the conflict. After a time, one member of the group died, followed by a few others in succession. So many deaths in peacetime was not considered normal by the community, and a traditional doctor was consulted for explanation.¹¹ The old man attributed the deaths to the non-fulfillment of ritual obligations which were considered necessary if the social order was to be restored. When a ceremony was eventually performed, the spirit of the dead asked for a child born from a family of an ex-combatant to take his place, to be raised by a relative. It also asked for money and a baby goat to sacrifice to propitiate the spirit of the ancestors. This was accepted, and the ceremonies duly performed.

This episode probably has a rational explanation, considering the precarious health of members of this group many of whom were advanced in age and living under difficult conditions. However, few people alluded to these obvious facts, because of the social importance attached to these rituals. The story is one more illustration of the critical role of rituals in sustaining the social order of rural communities where people live in close proximity and in relations of dependence on the spiritual world. These are people who live in very isolated communities.

Rituals reinforce collective sentiments of solidarity and social integration that the classical scholars like Durkheim (1912) and Radcliffe-Brown (1922) have emphasised. In fact, in these communities, ceremonies have to be performed after the resolution of any conflict, and only then the dispute is considered settled.¹²

The individual may, it is believed, experience psychological problems if a ritual is not performed. In fact, bad luck and failure in life (disgrace, misery, an accident, or some misfortune), is connected by many with non-fulfillment of such cultural obligations. An ex-soldier offered the following testimony:

when I came back from the war, I made a ceremony to make everyone know: "I'm back from the military service". My parents propitiated the spirits in order to say: "Our son is back home". I went to the (traditional) doctor for treatment, and my body became clean again ... I could leave the thoughts of war out and regain homely thoughts. At the time of the war, we had just one thought, to kill people every day. Not anymore.¹³

In the psychology of the people the rituals are of vital importance in re-creating social harmony in community life. By its nature, the ritual reaffirms the principle of togetherness and tolerance, making possible a life of harmony for former enemies who have to live together side by side .

The Role of Marriage in Social Reintegration

An institution that plays an important role in social reintegration, specially in rural areas and for male soldiers, is marriage. By tradition, after the settlement of a conflict, the opposing sides marry into each other's family and establish trading relations. It is a tradition still used to establish political alliances. Marriage is a ritual of passage that both eliminates mistrust and transforms the image of the ex-soldier; a man with in-laws is considered a respectable person, because, according to the local saying, "only a respectable individual has in-laws". Once the first child is born the alliance with the in-laws is sealed, and the bellicose spirit is seen to have subsided. To sum up, marriage signifies an investment in the community and its mechanisms of reproduction. A married man is viewed as a full citizen able to love and respect others, capable of giving advice, mediating in conflicts, and interceding on behalf of neighbours in need. In the eyes of the community he is regarded as a respectable chief within his own domain: the family.

The Process of Disarming Minds and Hearts

The (re)construction of a civilian identity, is of fundamental importance for the ex-soldier and the society at large. And this new civilian identity will depend upon the capacity of each and everyone; it is a collective act (Mozambican Peace Accord, Rome 1992).

After the signing of the Mozambican Peace Accord in Rome in October 1992, hostilities ceased in the field of battle. However, a state of insecurity and mistrust remained in the psyche of the people. The fact that the war had been so cruel¹⁴ and did not distinguish between combatants and non-combatants, made civilians apprehensive of what ex-soldiers would do in time of peace. These fears were reinforced by the constant intimidation of civilians by soldiers, particularly in the urban areas, and the threat that they might take up arms again. The general mistrust among the civilian population, occasioned by the brutality of the war, naturally persisted after the conflict, leading people to consider demobilised soldiers in general as a menace to society.

The reality, however, was that the demobilised were themselves often suffering from war fatigue and wanted no further part in violence. The majority hoped to be reintegrated into society, and longed for a quiet and normal existence. Nevertheless, the general fear of violence and civil unrest was justified, as was the apprehension about what might happen if society failed to reintegrate the ex-soldiers. Studies carried out by Creative Associates into this problem pointed to the risk that ex-soldiers, "not feeling adequately reintegrated would revert to theft and fraud, upon the cessation of the RSS program" which had provided them with a minimum of resettlement assistance (1996a: 20). There was the perception that lack of programmes to deal with the psychological trauma of war, disenchantment at unfulfilled promises, and the lack of reward for service to the motherland (voluntary or coerced), compounded by the frustration of their own lack of formal education and job skills, and the impossibility in some cases of returning to their place of origin made the ex-soldiers potentially volatile. In March 1997, *NOTÍCIAS* [21/03/97: 2], articulated the perception of demobilised soldiers as "creatures with a feeble and weak psychic structure, who have lost, many times, self-confidence and self-control". The weakness (and indeed non-existence) of state institutions in Mozambique magnified the danger that ex-soldiers would utilise their knowledge of weapons and military skills to solve individual or collective problems,¹⁵ and thereby disrupt the fragile climate of peace. This fear was buttressed by the prevalence and growth in urban and rural areas of violence and assaults on road travellers that can be linked to the end of the armed conflict.

In spite of this, there is an incipient optimism. Firstly, sections of civil society are contributing actively with programmes and actions to maintain peace. For example, a programme to transform weapons into ploughshares (or hoes), an idea developed and implemented by the management of the Christian Council of Mozambique, has also contributed to reducing the number of weapons in the service of crime in the south of Mozambique, and has also encouraged members of different communities to reveal the existence of weapons caches. Secondly, demobilised soldiers, at least the majority, already consider themselves civilian,¹⁶ and signs of their reintegration into civilian life are indeed visible.

The fact that Mozambique is a community-state makes community life important for individuals and social groups. For this reason, the role of community actions in the process of reconciliation is of vital importance for different segments of Mozambican society. Community action performed by local traditional elites, reflecting traditional customs and rituals, is bringing peace to the minds and hearts of individuals, reinforcing a collective culture of peace, reviving it in some places, reinforcing and recreating it as required in others.

An important lesson to be drawn from the case of Mozambique is thus the critical role that a suffering but committed community can play in healing the wounds of war and reintegrating individuals in community life. Social reintegration is a difficult process, but the existence of a mechanism of community reception has played an important role in the Mozambican situation. Community mechanisms that encourage demobilised soldiers to see themselves as citizens belonging to communities are an important asset. It is also important to think about community development when considering programmes to reintegrate ex-soldiers into civilian life: in a situation where social life and physical infrastructures have been destroyed, many groups (refugees, returnees, and vulnerable groups in general) will need help, and discriminatory treatment will not benefit the process of reconciliation.

Finally, the regional situation is of particular importance in the context of peace in Mozambique, since it had constituted part of the terrain of conflict. A report from the OECD observes that 'political circumstances in (the) neighbouring countries can have a major influence in the success and credibility of national demobilisation efforts, which must then be viewed in the wider context of political and military relations at regional level' (OECD;1997:61). Hence, the overall regional context of peace in spite of internal problems of South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia, has had a positive effect on the growth of peace and stability in Mozambique.

Notes

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- 1 This refers to a group of about 16,000 soldiers demobilised before the UNOMOZ operation was initiated.
- 2 *NOTÍCIAS*, "Como reconstruir a identidade civil dos desmobilizados de guerra" (How to Reconstruct a Civilian Identity for the Demobilised). 28/4/97. p. 3. Maputo.
- 3 Grades 1-5 > Primary Education; Grades 6-9 > Secondary Education; 10-12 > High School.
- 4 "Superior education" refers mainly to officer training received while in the military.

5. A demobilised soldier, 25 years old, in *NOTÍCIAS* (Maputo) 28 April 1997, p. 3 Maputo.
6. As expressed in the words of an elderly man, following a ceremony in 1992 on the outskirts of the town of Dondo in the province of Sofala.
7. This ceremony may be compared with the "Shona ritual" described by Gelfand in cases of "death of a person who was lost and whose relatives are unaware of the site of the burial" (1959: 198). The reference is to the Shona of Zimbabwe, the same ethnic group living in two of the four central provinces of Mozambique.
8. Interviews with demobilised soldiers in Cabo Delgado, Zambezia, Nampula, Tete, Manica and Inhambane.
9. The term "ex-combatants" is used to describe the combatants from the struggle for national liberation (1964-1974). All soldiers demobilised in 1993/1994, are called by contrast "demobilised soldiers" or ex-soldiers.
10. This pattern of resettlement differs from that following the last conflict when almost all demobilised were sent back to their region of origin.
11. By tradition, a traditional doctor is always called upon to explain the cause of death, regardless of its nature. And ceremonies are required to propitiate the spirit of the dead and "cleanse" close relatives.
12. As the Vacopi (a people originally from the South of Mozambique) would put it, *kutimela makala*, extinguish the fire and bury the ashes [of conflict].
13. *NOTÍCIAS*, 28 April 1997, p. 3. "Demobilised, 29 years old, Mueda and Mossurize, 3 August 1996."
14. In the central provinces of Tete, *Ngozi* (Armageddon) – a word of Shona origin – was often used to refer to the armed conflict of 1976-1992. (Ironically, the identical word in Ibo means "blessing's").
15. However, a study carried out by Creative Associates in September 1996, using a group of ex-soldiers in a so-called "high-risk" sample (demobilised (re)settled in groups in zones of high political tension), reported that "no evidence could be found in any visited areas, to link DS to crime" (1996b: 24).
16. In a study carried out in 6 provinces, involving interviews with 176 DS in September 1996, Creative Associates Inc. reported that "82% consider themselves civilian". In many villages, when elders were asked to identify ex-soldiers to be interviewed, they would sometimes respond: "We have in the village only sons and daughters and in-laws. Don't talk about war (with them) any more. Leave it out of their hearts!".

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- RM, Radio Mozambique.

Interviews

— with demobilised soldiers, in the provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Zambezia, Tete, Manica, Inhambane, and the city of Maputo. Other interviews were by Guilherme Mbilana.

— members of communities with (re)settled ex-soldiers.

Abbreviations

AMODEG	Mozambican Association for the Demobilised Soldiers
CAI	Creative Associates Inc.
DS	Demobilised Soldier
FRELIMO	Mozambican Liberation Front
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IRS	Information and Referral Service
MONAMO	Mozambican National Movement
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RM	Radio Mozambique
RSS	Reintegration Support Scheme
TVM	Television of Mozambique
TWH	Transformation of Weapons into Hoes
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTS	The War Torn Societies Project