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# **Constructing Institutional Measures: Indicators of Political and Property Rights in Mozambique, 1900-2005**

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# Constructing Institutional Measures: Indicators of Political and Property Rights in Mozambique, 1900-2005

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## Abstract

In this paper we focus on the role of political and economic institutions in Mozambique's development. We produce a set of institutional indicators for Mozambique for the period 1900 through to 2005. The first index tracks political freedoms and is unique in its duration and complexity. The second index is a measure of property rights for Mozambique and such a measure has not existed previously and certainly not for this length of time. The construction of these indices is a painstaking process through historical records but it provides us with a richness of institutional data previously not available. The new institutional indices will allow us to explore the role of the institutional environment in determining economic growth and development in Mozambique over time.

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## 1 Introduction

New institutional economics has highlighted the role of institutions in economic processes. In a strict neoclassical world of perfect information and costless transactions, institutions largely can be ignored but, in the real world, where these conditions are lacking, we are forced to create institutions to mitigate risk and facilitate transactions. These institutions are the rules of the game that spell out the roles and responsibilities of the various economic players. These rules can either be formal (laws, contracts, etc.) or informal (customs, beliefs, cultural behaviour etc.) (North, 1990), but by spelling out these conventions we enable transactions and economic activity. The vast literature on economic growth has established the possibility of an impact of institutions on long-term economic development (see Fedderke and Luiz, 2008). However, almost all these studies have relied on cross-sectional data with the associated limitations thereof. Time series analysis allows one to disentangle the dynamics of growth but requires intensive data on individual countries. Whilst pure economic data is generally available (although of varying quality for developing countries), institutional measures are limited. For example, most growth studies rely on the political rights indices produced by Freedom House, but this has several limitations:

- First, the series only goes back to the mid 1970s at the earliest, whilst for some developing countries only from the 1980s.

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- Second, the series relies on a scale of civil and political liberties from 1 (most free) to 7 (least free) and this simply does not give enough of the variation in political institutional development required in historical growth modelling.
- Lastly, the series are constructed without in-depth knowledge of individual countries and rely on secondary sources which become particularly problematic in time series analysis.

We overcome these problems by constructing new indicators relying on the in-depth study of an individual country and its long-term political, social and economic history. In this paper we focus on the role of political and economic institutions in Mozambique's development. We produce two sets of institutional indicators which are generally considered important for economic growth:

- An index measuring de jure political and civil liberties from 1907 to 2005
- An index measuring de jure property rights from 1907 to 2005

We conclude with thoughts about what the case of Mozambique reveals about our current thinking and theory on institutions, and future directions that we need to address.

Another contribution lies in our choice of country, particularly because Lusophone countries have been largely neglected in the study of African economies, which is dominated by Francophone or Anglophone studies. Mozambique is however an interesting case for several reasons: first, it was one of the later African countries to rid itself of colonial rule and the uncoordinated process of decolonisation reflected the turmoil at the time in its colonial ruler following its own military-inspired 1974 Carnation Revolution; second, its economic and political history is closely attuned to that of its hegemonic neighbour South Africa, a country which experienced an extraordinary history during the twentieth century under a system of racial estates; and third, Mozambique's post-independence political economy is unusual in that it has been ruled by the same party under a system of Marxist-Leninism and autocratic rule at the start, and then transformed itself gradually into a market-friendly democratic structure, all whilst engaging in a brutal civil war and a low-intensity war with South Africa.

## 2 Literature Review

The early literature in Development Economics relied on purely technical economic relationships to account for the underdevelopment traps in which poor countries found themselves. Models like the Harrod-Domar and Solow-Swan illustrated that economic growth was a function of getting the right combinations of savings and capital accumulation and that this would drive economic performance. Unfortunately developing countries were unable to save, which was a necessary condition for economic growth, because of low income levels, which in turn was dependent on growth. As a result international bodies, like the World Bank, focused on policies to increase savings or to push capital through aid transfers. This was supported by the success of the Marshall plan in Europe post 1945. However, despite massive transfers of aid and other forms of capital to developing countries, very little impact was felt and this has led to several prominent authors denouncing the focus on aid and calling for a more transparent approach which focuses on governance (Easterly, 2006).

The proliferation of endogenous growth literature from the 1980s onwards has resulted in economists thinking about the process of growth in a much more holistic manner. Explanations have included: ethno-linguistic fractionation, state structures, demography, geography, bad economic policy, poor human capital, external conditions, initial conditions, colonial history, heavy dependence on primary products, lack of financial depth, poor public service provision, etc. (Easterly and Levine, 1997; Englebert, 2000; Collier and Gunning, 1999, Sachs and Warner, 1997). Although there is debate as to the exact contribution of these various factors, almost all economists are in agreement that we need to pay much greater attention to non-economic factors in our explanations

of underdevelopment. It is understood that even getting the economics right and seeing significant capital inflows can still leave a country facing poverty. This can be largely explained by the institutional structures which govern economic relations in developing countries. Institutions matter because they affect how resources are allocated in either productive or non-productive activities. Far too many developing countries have squandered large capital inflows on non-productive, rent-seeking activities which have perpetuated the existence and protection of political and economic elites to the detriment of the development process.

Rodrik et al. (2002) argue that that the ‘quality of institutions “trumps” everything else’, and certainly the importance of institutions has been a dominant theme in new growth theory. Once we have accounted for all the standard rationalisations of poor growth in developing countries, there is still a substantial unexplained residual and this has increasingly been attributed to the role of institutions in its various guises which we explore below. It is clear that market economies are underpinned by institutions: a clearly delineated system of property rights; a regulatory apparatus curbing the worst forms of fraud, anti-competitive behaviour, and moral hazard; a moderately cohesive society exhibiting trust and social cooperation; social and political institutions that mitigate risk and manage social conflicts; the rule of law and clean government – these are social arrangements that economists usually take for granted, but which are conspicuous by their absence in poor countries’ (Rodrik, 2000: 4).<sup>1</sup>

The recognition of the role of institutions in growth has led to a plethora of articles debating which institutions matter in particular. It lies beyond the scope of this paper to examine that literature in detail, but we will highlight the three most prominent and relevant schools of thought in this regard. The first has its origins in early theories of modernisation which developed out of the political science literature and which argued that all good things go together. The theory’s basic tenet is that an overall economic expansion (measured in GNP per capita, the degree of industrialisation and urbanisation, and level of education) would lead to the complete transformation of society which, in turn, would give rise to a democratic dispensation. As countries become more prosperous they are better able to sustain democratic institutions; at the same time the pressure for democratic reforms become more pressing (Lipset 1960).

The second school of thought focuses on first getting the political institutions in place. It examines the process of democratisation in developing countries and how this in turn facilitates economic expansion by constraining the corrupt actions of political elites (see Diamond, 1989).

The last school of thought emphasises getting the economic institutions right as this would encourage further development and capital flows. In particular it focuses on the importance of property rights as a precondition for economic development. The argument is that investment in productive activities will not occur as long as ownership of resources and their fruits remain contested. Unclear property rights encourage corrupt behaviour because they focus energies on the contestation over the economic output and the relative shares of various actors rather than focusing on the expansion of economic opportunities and output. North (1990: 11) explains it as follows: ‘Third World countries are poor because the institutional constraints define a set of payoffs to political/economic activities that do not encourage productive activity’. If institutions are defined as the formal and informal rules and norms which shape our behaviour, then by definition institutions determine the rules of the economic game. By laying out the broad parameters of what we as players can and cannot do, they can constrain our actions and can induce specific behaviours.

Good institutions are therefore those that provide incentives for growth-enhancing activities by inducing productive behaviour from economic players. In economic terms good institutions are characterised by the following (Acemoglu, 2003: 27): first, enforcement of property rights for a broad

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<sup>1</sup>The evidence supporting the importance of institutions and particularly property rights in promoting economic growth is overwhelming. For example, Knack and Keefer (1995) test for the role of institutions and show that the ability of poor countries to catch up is determined in large part by the institutional environment in which economic activity is occurring. They particularly test for the risk of expropriation and contract repudiation and find that both variables employed are significant determinants.

section of society, so that individuals have incentives to invest and partake in economic activities; second, constraint on the actions of elites, politicians, and other powerful groups, so that these people cannot expropriate the incomes and investments of others or create a highly uneven playing field; third, some degree of equal opportunity for broad segments of society, so that individuals can make investments, especially in human capital, and participate in productive economic activities.

This paper explores the role of these institutions (political and property rights) which emerge in terms of primacy in these three schools in the context of one of the world's poorest countries, Mozambique. We do this by developing two sets of institutional indicators from scratch, by unpacking the complex colonial and post-colonial history of this country and its impact on these institutions. This is a valuable exercise as it will allow for time series exploration of economic growth dynamics in a case study context and will also allow us to investigate for possible feedback loops through various webs of association.

### 3 Methodology

We replicate the methods used in Fedderke et al. (2001) and Gwenhamo et al. (2008) in line with the overall goal of producing comparable data-sets. Information is collected on changes in the constitutional and legal framework of Mozambique over time, and this information is assessed against a set of standardised criteria to assign ratings to the changes. In this way, annual scores for political liberties and property rights are obtained.

This approach is associated with two main problems: the ratings thus constructed aggregate large quantities of information, resulting in the standard loss of information associated with aggregation (Fedderke et al., 2001); and the criteria used and ratings given are subject to the biases of the writer, resulting in less precise ratings (Bollen and Paxton, 2000). The former can be mitigated by the reporting of the ratings for each sub-component in addition to the comprehensive rating and by making the information used in the rating process available. Thus, changes to particular aspects of the rights and the effect of specific changes on the index can be observed. The latter problem cannot be wholly compensated for, but, following the technique used in Gwenhamo et al. (2008), it can be limited. This technique involves defining the criteria used in the ratings process prior to the collection of information, rating sub-components to create an overall score and presenting these results to experts on Mozambique. In this way, the theoretical underpinnings of the index are insulated from the constructor's knowledge of the country's situation, and the outcomes are compared by independent authorities to the known situation. Thus, the influence of the author's biases is kept to a minimum. The indices thus constructed are based on information about the *de jure* legal situation in the country. The rules of the game, rather than the outcome, are assessed.

### 4 Political Rights and Civil Liberties

Political rights consist of the power to participate, directly or indirectly, in the establishment or management of government and thus provide a check on indiscriminate government power. The 'ideal' system of political rights is one of full participatory democracy, with universal franchise in regular fair and free elections and in which the state and state officials are legally accountable for their actions. Civil liberties are positive fundamental rights and freedoms which belong to an individual that ensure equal treatment and non discrimination and which are seen as essential to the functioning of a liberal democratic system – these include their rights to pursue their own interests including such rights as freedom of speech, of association, of movement, and of the press. In the interests of comparability, the same criteria and weightings are used here as in Gwenhamo et al. (2008). As such the components of political liberties used are: voting rights, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, extent of arbitrary executive power, independence of the judiciary and the legislature, government secrecy or indemnity, the due process of laws, freedom of

movement, academic freedom, religious freedom and a residual category. The first eight components are each assigned a weight of 10, and the last four are each given a weight of 5. These weights indicate the relative importance of the various categories in the overall index. In this paper, the residual category is used to capture changes in the ‘political atmosphere’, and reflect the levels of tension or animosity among political institutions. The information used to create the ratings systems is obtained from a variety of secondary sources.

Increases in the score indicate a move toward the full recognition of the right, and decreases indicate a move away from the ideal. A country which achieved a score of 100 would be the ideal participatory democracy with full protection of all civil liberties. A country with a score of 0 is theoretically possible only in a state of nature. As soon as a political or social system exists, at least one individual will have de facto rights, raising the score above zero. A score between 13 and 37 indicates a state whose rights structure grants great arbitrary power to the state, and which has discriminatory franchise conditions. If the arbitrariness of state power is more constrained, a country will fall between 38 and 50. Scores between 51 and 74 are associated with countries which allow reasonable levels of procedural justice, and thus have considerable restraints on arbitrary state action, and which recognise most civil and political rights to a reasonable extent. Such states will still have limits on personal freedoms and may well include discriminatory laws related to various freedoms, including franchise. A score between 75 and 87 indicates a country with entrenched limits on state action, and thus firmly recognised rights to procedural justice, freedom of association and assembly that are subject to fewer constraints. Scores from 88 to 100 would indicate proximity to or even an ideal liberal democracy with de jure protection of all personal and political freedoms, limited only by other individuals’ rights. It is worth noting that this approach to measurement of rights does not consider second- or third-generation rights, which are not part of the traditional conception of a liberal democracy.

#### 4.1 Interpretation of the Political Freedom Index

Earlier we described the in-principle construction of our Political Freedoms Index but there are a number of additional points that need to be raised with specific reference to Mozambique:

1. This is a de jure index, meaning that we focus on the written law which may not always coincide with what occurs in practice.
2. During the colonial era, the general conclusion is that the Political Freedom Index was more affected by the lack of formal respect for fundamental freedoms and rights than by the actual functioning of the political system.
3. In relation to the colonial era, we regarded as positive change the increase of decentralisation of formal political power to the colonies.
4. Immediately after 1975, there was a significant period of arbitrariness in formal political action, which explains the largest decrease in the index and its subsequent dramatic rise from the mid-1980s, with the first liberal reforms.

The Portuguese first arrived in Mozambique in 1498 and established a number of trading posts on their way to the East. Only towards the late nineteenth century was the interior brought under administrative control and the country’s borders determined. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Mozambique’s political governance reflected Portugal’s political instability and policy changes in the aftermath of the October 1910 republican revolution that abolished the Portuguese monarchy. Not surprisingly, colonial policy under these conditions was marked by considerable lags between promises and effective implementation, while colonial administration was markedly disoriented (Wilensky, 1971 and Newitt, 1997: 344). Also at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century much of the country’s economic governance had been entrusted to large private companies, mostly

British, which had developed the railway infrastructure to supply cheap African labour to the mines of the neighbouring British Colonies, especially South Africa. These companies enjoyed considerable powers, often even tax collection (Newitt, 1997). Politically, on the other hand, Mozambique experienced centralised political organisation during most of this period, where power was effectively exercised from Lisbon. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the general thrust of colonial policy was actually towards greater decentralisation, which was accomplished partially with the 1920 Constitutional Revision that created the post of High Commissioner, who enjoyed considerable legislative, military and fiscal powers (see Figure 3).

The Portuguese colonial system was in the abstract reasonably well-designed relative to some aspects of a liberal democratic political system; for instance, separation of powers was granted between political and judicial power. However, the freedom and rights of the inhabitants, especially of natives (the vast majority of Mozambique's population), were far from being complete. Therefore, our index starts in the lower middle range of our scale (see Appendix 1).

The first significant evolution happens in the period of 1911-13, where the index increases from 46 to 54 points. This occurs mainly due to the decentralisation of colonial political powers granted by the 1911 Constitution which increased the rights, protection and powers given to traditional authorities by the Native Labour Act and the Worship and Religion Freedom Act. Through to 1926 there are no significant changes, except for a sudden drop in 1918, during the Sidónio Pais dictatorship, which lasted less than 8 months.

Meanwhile, in 1926 there is a sharp decline in the index which continues with a descending trend until 1944. The political instability of Portugal's First Republic eventually fashioned the conditions that led to a military coup in 1926 and the subsequent creation of a military-controlled government. In turn, this regime later gave rise to an authoritarian fascist one, known as the New State (*Estado Novo*) marked by the political ascent of António Oliveira Salazar, who governed Portugal as a dictator during the period 1932-1968. Salazar's main objectives was to re-establish political and economic stability, especially with respect to public finances, and to restore Portugal's pride in itself. He thus sought to tighten control over state affairs and to reaffirm Portuguese sovereignty and identity. These ideas were very popular among the new political and economic elite of the time and, in terms of colonial administration, resulted in a move towards greater centralisation (see Figure 4). Salazar also regarded the Portuguese Empire as an example of Portugal's greatness. In line with this thinking, Mozambique was considered to be an indivisible part of this Empire, an overseas province that was as Portuguese as any other.

In terms of Mozambique's political and civil governance, the key policy changes were the pursuit of Portugal's "civilising mission" towards native populations and also the introduction of censorship in the colonies (Newitt, 1997: 390-1 and Wilensky, 1971). Regarding the former, the dictatorial regime followed through on the Berlin Conference's spirit of civilising Africa by passing the Colonial Act and also by ensuring that the New State's 1933 Constitution reflected this perspective. In practice, this implied maintaining the legal distinction between natives and non-natives. However, natives could acquire the status of non-natives if they proved to be fully integrated into Portuguese culture through a process known as assimilation. The government exercised effective censorship of all Mozambican media to the extent of shutting down newspapers seen as threats to law and order. Furthermore, the Fascist regime suppressed non-Catholic religions because of the role it attributed to the Catholic missions in the civilising mission ideology that it pursued at the time.

After the Second World War, Portugal reinforced its presence in its African colonies in response to increasing pressure by the international community for it to grant them independence. In addition, the process of assimilation was relaxed and several political powers were delegated to Mozambican authorities. These legal and political changes are clearly reflected in our index, which increases from 40 to 50 between 1952 and 1955.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, while many European nations were granting independence to their colonies, Portugal sought to maintain and reinforce the colonial status quo. Mozambique's governance during this period was characterised by three aspects: First, the speeding up of the

assimilation process of non-natives. This was achieved, on the one hand, by actively encouraging Portuguese citizens to immigrate to Mozambique, where they were expected to settle in the rural areas that were sparsely populated in terms of a European presence.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the assimilation process itself became less rigorous and actually culminated in the scrapping of the native/non-native distinction in 1961. Second, civic control and military presence steadily increased throughout the 1950s with the construction of several military bases. Moreover, the Portuguese secret police (better known by its Portuguese acronym, PIDE) also began operations in Mozambique as of 1956. Finally, there was a wave of liberalisation and decentralisation at the political and economic level. Forced cultivations and labour practices were ended while political reforms were pursued with the objective of increasing the representation of colonial interests within relevant governing bodies back in the homeland (Wilensky, 1971).

During the 1960-61 period, there is a decisive break that establishes the level of political freedom until independence. Several regulations which resulted in improved labour conditions (namely, the end of forced labour) and greater participation in state administrative functions advanced the conditions and equality among inhabitants. Above all, on September 1961, the status of native and non-native was abolished and everyone became full Portuguese citizens. The Africans still had the option of living under African common law or Portuguese civil law, although the last choice was a definitive one. As a result of these changes, our index increased from 42 to 54. Despite these changes, the drive for Mozambican independence increased and in 1962 several anti-colonial political groups, meeting at Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), formed the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). FRELIMO initiated an armed campaign against Portuguese colonial rule in northern Mozambique (Newitt, 1997: 454-460).

The biggest shock in this index happens during the independence process period. A military coup on April 25, 1974, brought an end to Portugal's dictatorship under Salazar and opened the doors to independence in the Portuguese colonies. Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975. FRELIMO created a single party authoritarian regime allied to the Soviet bloc. There, the index falls from 51, in 1973, to 14 in 1976. Even without counting typical de facto manifestations of the political and social processes, the suppression of most basic freedoms and rights, like *habeas corpus*, as well as the repression of political pluralism, and religious educational institutions, clearly diminished the rule of law in Mozambique. In addition, all the political processes came under FRELIMO's control, in such a way that there was a great confusion between what was the party structure and what was the state apparatus. For instance, the 1975 constitution was fully developed and approved by FRELIMO's Central Committee. With the adoption of Marxism-Leninism as its central tenet, FRELIMO sought to create a centrally planned economy, resulting in large companies and cooperatives tasked with managing land usage. FRELIMO also implemented other socialist-inspired reforms, ranging from land and housing nationalisations to wage and price controls. As a result, foreign investment evaporated with the exception of various cooperation protocols signed with the Eastern Bloc countries. Many white settlers also left, taking with them their skilled labour (see Hall and Young, 1997: 150-2).

There is a flat zone of around 20 until 1986. During this period, despite some positive measures, like the recognition of the right of people to vote in assemblies in 1977, they were offset by negative changes, like the creation of the Revolutionary Military Tribunals, in 1979, classified by most authors as oppressive and arbitrary institutions. Civil war had broken out and the government was only firmly in control of the capital city. An estimated 1 million Mozambicans perished during the civil war, 1.7 million took refuge in neighbouring states, and several million more were internally displaced. In the third FRELIMO party congress in 1983, President Samora Machel conceded the failure of socialism and the need for major political and economic reform (Pereira, 2009).

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<sup>2</sup>However, the Portuguese population in Mozambique was never that large, numbering about 250,000 at the time of independence in 1975 (U.S. Department of State, 2010). Moreover, it was mostly concentrated around the capital city, then known as Lourenço Marques.

In 1986, the change of leadership in FRELIMO to Joaquim Chissano opened the doors towards a more democratic framework. Important measures, like the constitutional revision and the creation of a National Institute for Juridical Assistance, created a higher degree of independence between the party and the state and eased general citizens' access to justice. An election also took place for the Popular Assembly, which results in an increase in the index between 1985 and 1986 from 23 to 44.

From that year on, the index begins a dramatic upward trend towards its current levels. FRELIMO introduced a series of political economic reforms which saw significant opening up and liberalisation. From 1986 until 1994, the year of general elections, the index increased from 44 to 78, with a spike in 1990, in which FRELIMO created a new and democratic constitution. This last document was part of an extensive set of legislation that increased overall civic and political rights of the citizens. Moreover, it opened doors to a more independent state structure in relation to FRELIMO's party machine. Mozambique then embarked on a process of consolidating the creation of a more market-oriented economy and sought to attract growing levels of foreign direct investment into the country.

## 5 Property Rights

The ratings and weighting used here are those identified by Gwenhamo et al. (2008), which used the ideal set of property rights laid out by Honore. However, Gwenhamo compresses Honore's 11 components to 7 criteria: the right to possess; the right to use; the right to manage; the right to capital; and the right to security; the power to transfer; and the liability to execution.

The right to possess is simply that; the right of an individual to own property, unrestricted by limitations on what or how much can be purchased. The right would be limited in cases in which land in certain areas cannot be bought by certain classes of individual, or when there are quantity limits on purchases. The right to use property is the right of the owner to do as he or she sees fit with their property, including not to put it to use – for instance, in the case of patents – and to any income derived from using the property. It should be noted that the right to use property includes the right to dispose of income or products of the property; thus, a landowner's right to sell his crops as he chooses is included in the right to use, whereas his right to choose his crops falls under his right to manage, as would decisions over others' use of the property. The right to capital refers to the owner's rights over the capital value of the property, while the right to security is the right to security against expropriation. An owner's power to transfer is his right to cede his property to another individual or agent, and liability to execution means that judgements against the owner can be executed on the property.

Following Gwenhamo, the weights given to the criteria are as follows: the right to possess is assigned a weight of 20; the next four components each have a weight of 15; and the last two criteria, transmissibility and liability to execution, have weights of 10 each. As the protection of a right approaches the full and ideal scenario, the score awarded to a criterion increases.

### 5.1 Interpretation of the Property Rights Index

Earlier we described the in principle construction of our Property Rights Index but there are a number of additional points that need to be raised with specific reference to Mozambique:

1. This is a *de jure* index meaning that we focus on the written law which may not always coincide with what occurs in practice.
2. Our focus is on land policy, which has been the major driver of economic matters in Mozambique, although given the relevance of labour issues in the Mozambican economy this was also taken into account in the index's rating.

3. We focus on African rights, given that they always represented the population's vast majority, unlike South Africa or Zimbabwe, where there were significant European and Asian settler communities.

The index begins in the middle range of the rating scale (46) due to the Law Charters of 9 May 1901. On the one hand, the Law Charters were very restrictive by demanding every legalised property be incorporated under Portuguese law, but on the other hand, this was part of an effort to systematise property rights law which would set the foundation for future property rights developments.

During the period 1911 to 1914, the index jumps to 50, mainly due to the 1911 Native Labour Act and Laws 277 and 278 (see Appendix 1). This resulted in more power being given to traditional authorities and more protection of native rights. However, this is followed by a sharp drop in 1918 which lasts until 1929 (a fall to around 40), mostly due to Decree 3983, in which full property rights are taken away from natives and there is a great power transfer in terms of land allocation that is given to central government.

In 1929, we see a dramatic rise in the index (to 51), as a result of Decree 16474, which not only recognises the right of each tribe to regulate property through its own laws but also strengthens and clarifies native rights and duties in court. However, shortly thereafter in 1932, we see a sharp fall in the index (to 32) because of the beginning of forced crop policies. Moreover, especially during the 1940s, there is a systematic policy of forced movement of natives and the first large-scale expropriations for incoming white settlers.

Only in 1953 do we start seeing significant property rights improvement. The publication of the new Organic Law for Overseas Portugal begins an increasing trend that only stops in 1967. That document granted more protection to natives in relation to expropriation by Portuguese nationals and resulted in monetary compensation in case of expropriation. In the next year, Decree 39666 puts indigenous land under Portuguese civil law with special clauses to protect agricultural transactions with non-natives. The index reaches 50 when the forced crops policy ends in 1960 and hits 58 when the distinction between natives and non-natives disappears in 1961. It gets to its final value of 66 in the colonial era, when in 1967 the Portuguese Civil Code, which regulates almost every aspect of property rights, is equally extended to every Overseas Province.

The process of independence in 1975 and the years thereafter result in erratic policy and we see the largest drop in the index, falling to 20. In the context of the adoption of Marxism-Leninism, private property practically disappears with a series of land nationalisations during 1975-76 and it formally disappears with the 1975 Constitution. A series of policies, like Tanzania's Ujamaa village system, centralised land management even further smashed traditional customary law.

This index only begins to improve after the excesses of the worst years of the revolution have petered out. Law 6/79 lays the basis for what was later to be known as the Right to the Economic Use of Land (DUAT - *Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra*) by granting property titles for 50 years under a number of restrictions concerning management, possession and use of land. However, the decisive increase in this index begins in 1986, under the Chissano mandate. The first wave of liberalising policies affected agricultural markets and cultivation, increasing freedoms in farm production. In the same year the Rural Land Legislation allowed for foreign access to land and opened the doors for the regulation of land possession, while Law 2/86 created a relatively modern system for rights in terms of mining exploration. Finally, in 1987, Decree 16/87 created a new set of provisions in relation to almost every aspect of land possession and transmission, leading our index to rise to 40.

The final climb begins with the 1990 Constitution, which includes as a constitutional clause the 50-years land-use grants. In 1993, the Law on Investment 3/93 began a wave of legislation that tore down most restrictions on foreign investment, only demanding that all domestic and foreign investment decisions must have government approval. In 1997, Law 19/97 formalised DUAT and brought traditional authorities into the decision-making process of whether land may be conceded to a potential investor, taking our index to 65. A technical annex with relevant instructions about

limitations and registrations take our index to its final value of 67.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper we have developed a set of institutional indicators for Mozambique for the period 1900 through to 2005. The first tracks political freedoms and is unique in its duration and complexity. The most well-known index of political and civil rights is the Freedom House Index but this only exists for Mozambique since 1975. Its very limited scale also means that it does not pick up sufficient dynamics which is necessary for time series growth studies. Nonetheless our index correlates highly with the Freedom House combined index of political and civil liberties, with a coefficient of 0.87 from 1975 onwards, although not as high as that found in Fedderke and Garlick (2010) for Malawi. Our second index constructs a property rights measure for Mozambique from 1900 through until 2005. Such a measure has not existed previously and certainly not for this length of time. Interestingly, there is a fairly strong correlation between our political and property rights indices with a coefficient of 0.72. Again this is lower than that found by Fedderke and Garlick (2010) for Malawi, but this is largely as a result of the colonial period in Mozambique. The Portuguese government during several phases of its colonial administration went to great lengths to develop a more formal system of property rights, even whilst politically suppressing the participation of the vast majority of its population and this drives down the correlation between these two indices to 0.46 under colonialism. If we focus on the post-1975 period, the correlation shoots up to 0.93, which indicates that a deterioration in political freedom from independence onwards is associated with a lack of economic freedom and security, whilst an improvement sees a rise in economic freedoms as well.

The construction of these indices is a painstaking process through historical records, but it provides us with a richness of institutional data previously not available and will allow us to explore the dynamics of economic growth and development over time for individual country case studies and country and regional comparisons. We believe that this will be a very fruitful area for future research into economic growth. Thus far almost all studies have relied on cross-sectional work, but the development of these institutional indicators will allow us to explore these interactions in a time serious context. This will allow us to examine directions of association and feedback loops. Sifting through the political history of individual countries is a valuable exercise in itself and allowed for the development of these institutional proxies which are more robust than many of the mass-produced indicators currently used in econometric estimations. Our intention is to develop comparable indicators for all Southern African countries in time, which will enable not only time series work but also allow for innovative panel studies. The high levels of change witnessed in the property and political rights indices for Mozambique illustrate the problems of using a static cross-sectional approach to unpack the dynamics of growth.

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Figure 1 - Political Rights Index for Mozambique 1900-2005

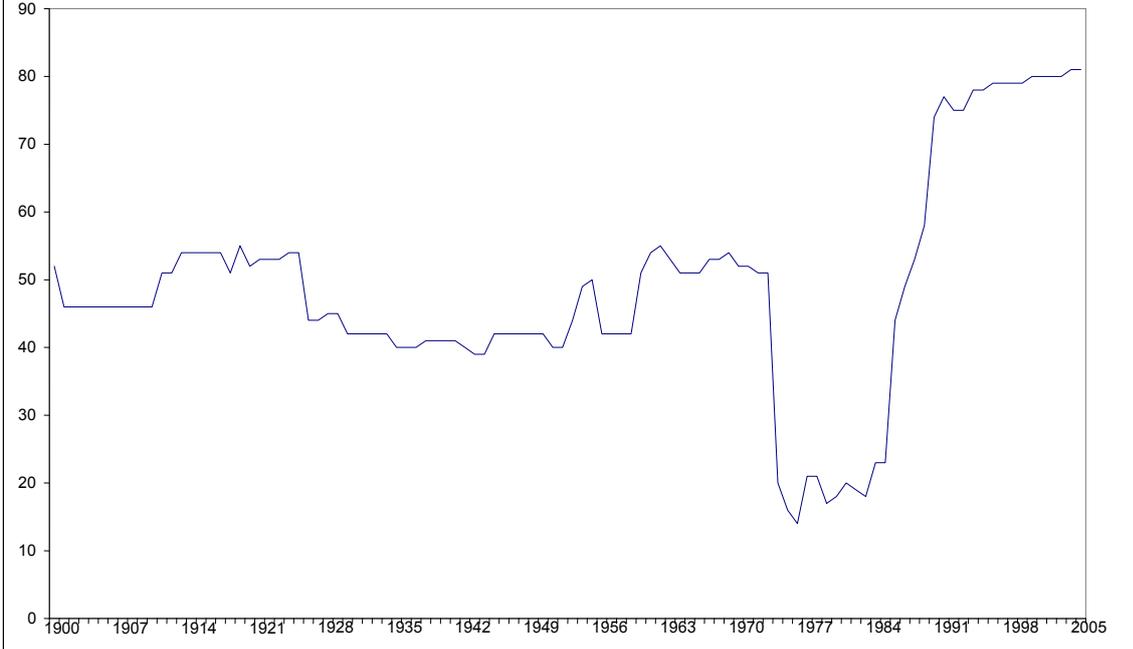
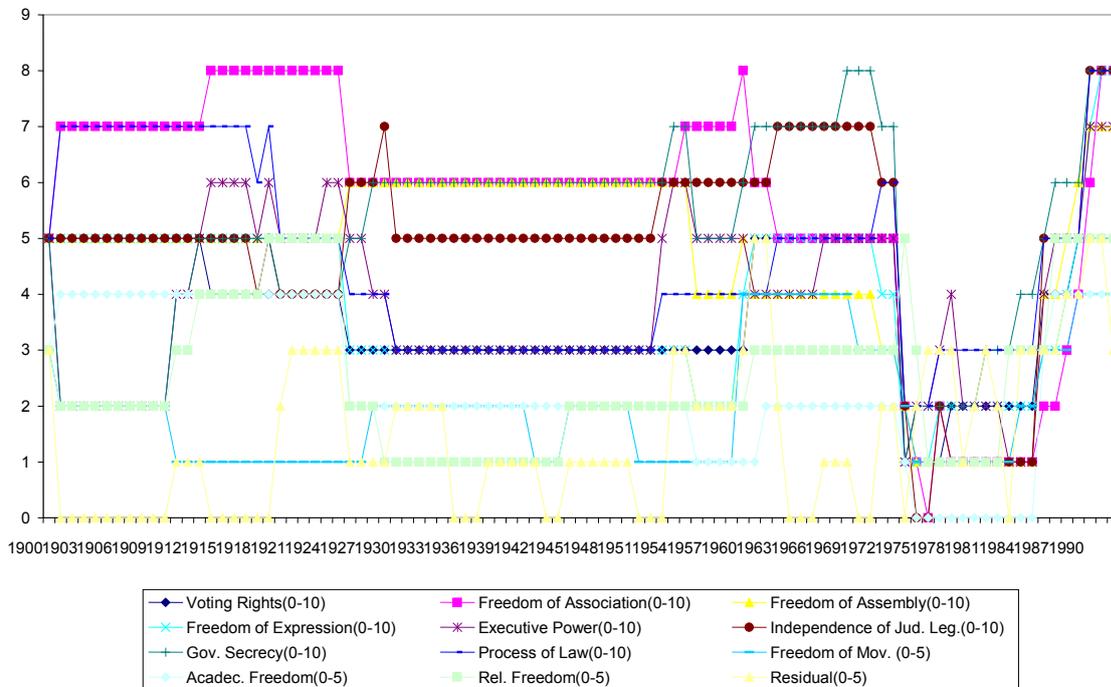
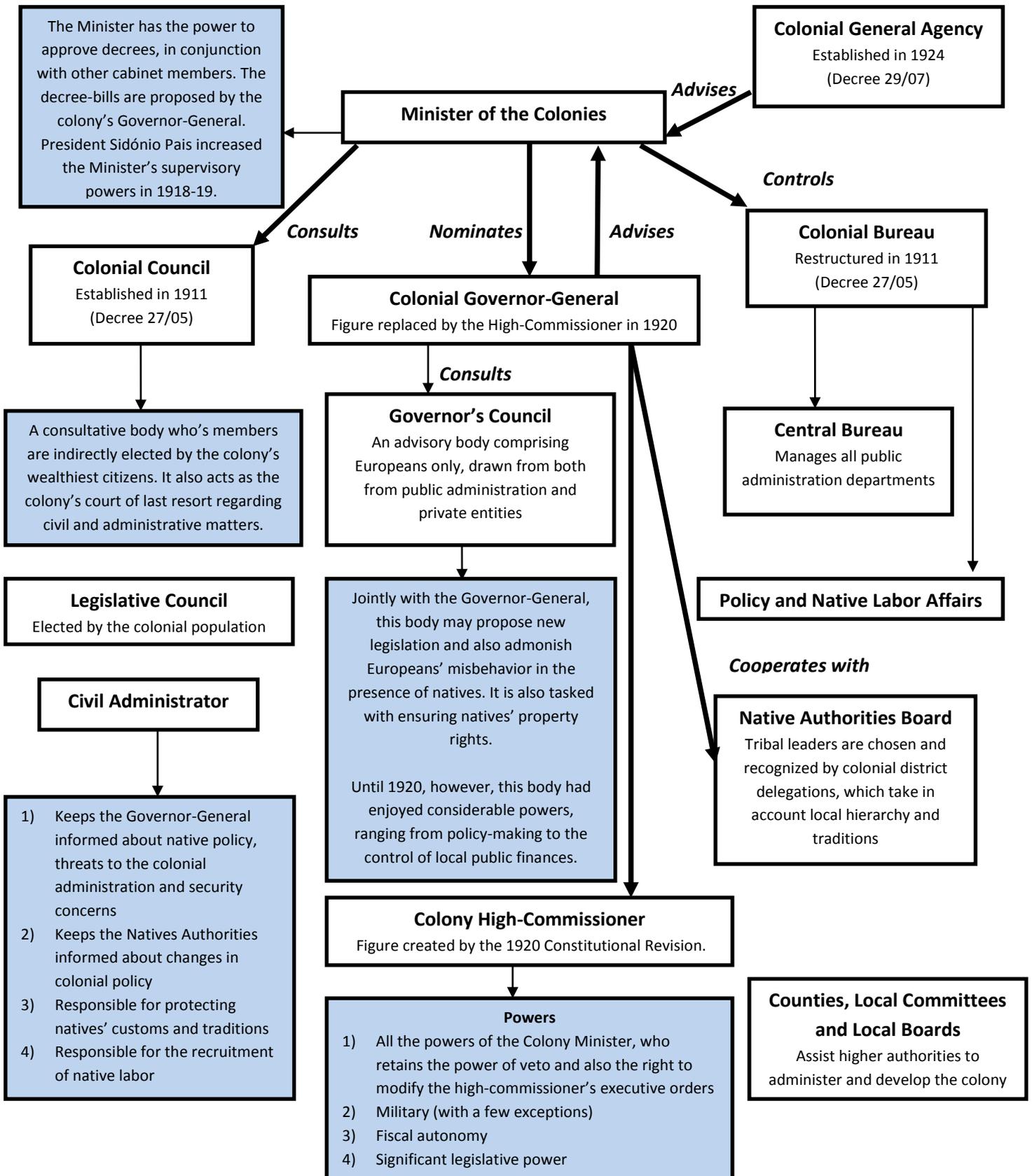


Figure 2 - Individual Components of Political Rights Index 1900-2005



**Figure 3 - The Political Organization of Portuguese Colonies during 1907-1926**

Source: Adapted from Wilensky (1971)



**Figure 4 - The Political Organization of Portuguese Colonies during 1926- 1972**

Source: Adapted from Wilensky (1971)

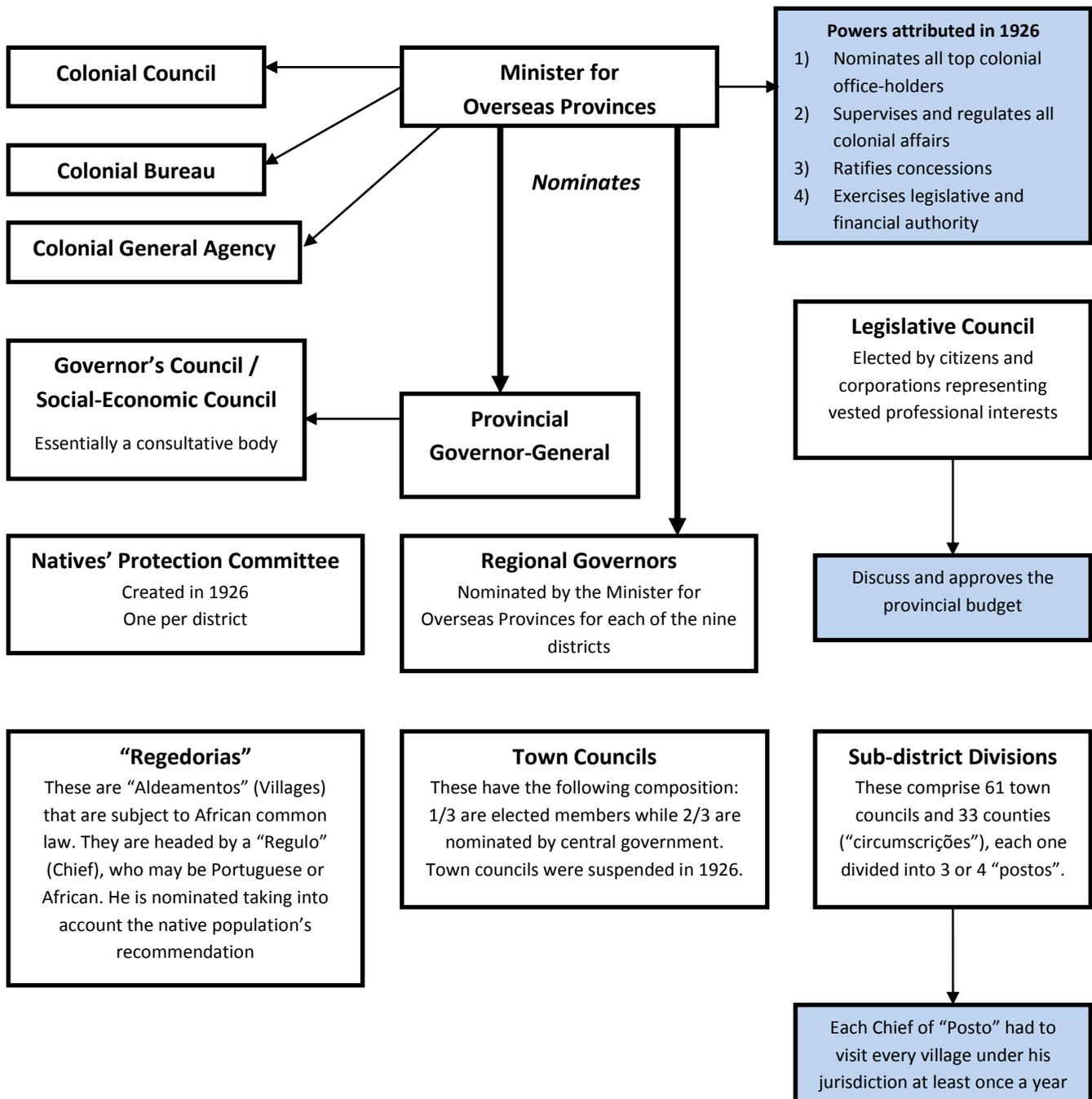


Figure 5 - Property Rights Index for Mozambique 1900-2005

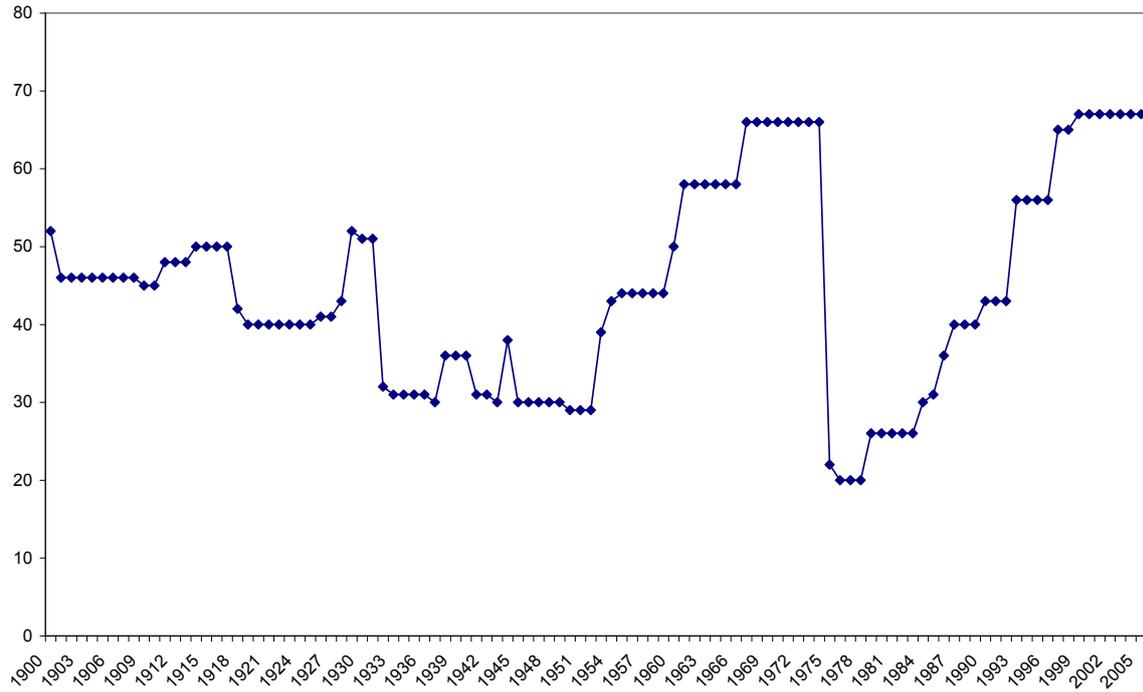
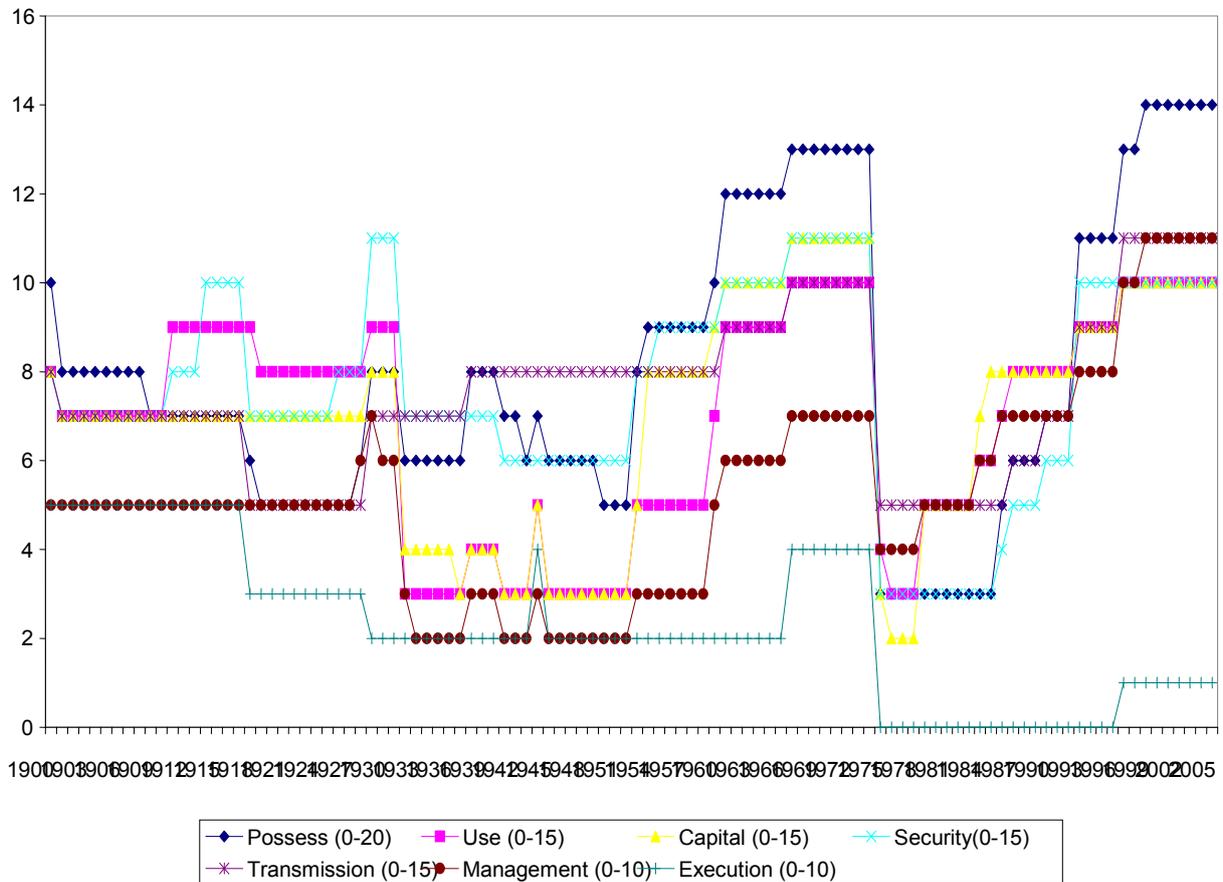


Figure 6 - Individual Components of Property Rights Index 1900-2005



## Appendix 1 –The Relevant Sources of Law in the Construction of the Indices

Year/Period	Law/Legislation/Event	Description/Comment
1901 (all colonies)	Law Charter (9 May 1901)	Establishes that all land must be acquired in accordance with Portuguese Law in order to be recognised as privately-owned. Huge expropriation of native land that did not respect the last disposition.
1901 (all colonies)	Law Charter (9 May 1901)	Affords native peoples property rights with respect to their homes and arable land provided occupation or usage is longer than twenty years.
1909 (only Mozambique)	Public Land Concession Provisional Law (9 June 1909)	Regulates and reclassifies public land, especially that of native peoples. The law aims to limit excessive concentration of land tenure and to improve governmental oversight. It also establishes the jurisdiction of central and local governments on this issue.
1911 (all colonies)	New Portuguese Republic Constitution	Introduces a greater degree of executive and administrative decentralisation. The (translated) constitutional text reads as follows: "Regarding the Overseas Provinces, a regime of decentralisation will prevail, complimented by special laws adapted to their specific stage of civilization".
1911 (all colonies)	Native Labour Act (27 May 1911)	Introduces the possibility of wages being paid in cash and other minor changes. In general, it upholds the <i>status quo</i> regarding native labour relations, namely: a) The possibility of forced labour and corporal punishment, especially in the absence of formal contracts; b) Native peoples must be afforded land by the government (a maximum of one hectare for each household head plus another half hectare for each family member – the prerequisite is that they cultivate at least two-thirds of the land and live on it for most of the year); c) Employers must provide medical assistance, hygienic lodgings, wholesome food and must not withhold wages; d) Limited political power is granted to traditional authorities on labour matters but only if each province's governor-general exercises this option; e) All labour relations must take on a contractual form. Moreover, contracts and other labour administrative measures are subject to Portuguese civil law; f) Emigration is restricted to passport-holders and evidence of so-called "significant civic development" on the part of native labourers.
1911-26	Identification Schemes for Mozambican Workers	Mozambican workers considered to be free had to carry metallic identity disks in the capital city ( <i>Lourenço Marques</i> ) while others used identity cards.
1910-26 (all colonies)	Four Stylized Facts of Colonial Governance	1) Respect for native traditions; 2) State Paternalism; 3) Natives are excluded from European Institutions for the natives; 4) Forced Labour for public and private purposes.
1913 (all colonies)	Decree-Law No. 154 (1 October 1913)	Corrects abusive worker recruitment practices and gives workers the right to choose work.
1913 (only Mozambique and Angola)	Establishment of Portuguese Native Peoples' Trustee Office (Salisbury, Rhodesia)	In practice, this office was not particularly relevant except when negotiating the Native Labour migration treaty in 1934.
1913 (all colonies)	Freedom of Worship and Religion Acts	Establishes freedom of worship and religion for all inhabitants.

1914 (all colonies)	Decree No. 951 (4 October 1914)	Defines general regulations governing native labour.
1914 (all colonies)	Laws Nos. 277, 278 (15 August 1914)	Law No. 277 defines new statutes pertaining to colonial governors, who are required to: a) Oversee and guarantee native peoples' civil and property rights, with respect to both private and collective bodies; b) Ensure effective public administration and to regulate the application of laws passed in Portugal. Law No. 278, meanwhile, introduces changes to the colonial Legislative Councils. Generally speaking, this law took significant steps towards greater decentralisation of power but prevented native peoples from having any political rights and control over European institutions. They were granted, however, limited political rights with respect to local administration issues.
1917 (only Guinea and Angola)	Portuguese Citizenship Requirements for Native Peoples	Mozambique, however, is excluded from this measure due to unidentified motives.
1918 (only Mozambique)	Decree No. 3983 (16 March 1918)	Repeals the 1909 Public Land Concession Provisional Law, thereby reclassifying land reserved for exclusive use by native peoples.
1918 (all colonies)	Decree No. 4627 (1 July 1918, revised by <i>Sidónio Pais</i> )	Revises Laws Nos. 277 and 278 substantially and repeals the Base Charters of Angola and Guinea.
1919 (all colonies)	Decree No. 5713 (10 May 1919)	Restricts public land leaseholds to Portuguese citizens.
1919 (all colonies)	Decree No. 4627 repealed (1 July 1918)	Re-establishes the 1917 policy <i>status quo</i> following the <i>coup d'état</i> that deposes Portuguese President <i>Sidónio Pais</i> .
1919 (all colonies)	Decree No. 5778 (10 May 1919)	Reinforces the freedom of worship and religion.
1920's	Labour Recruitment, <i>Zambezi Valley</i>	Increases the supply of labourers for public works and also the military through forced and brutal labour recruitment campaigns in the Zambezi valley.
1920 (all colonies)	Constitutional Reform - Law No. 1005 (7 August 1920)	The overseas provinces are officially designated as Portuguese colonies. This constitutional reform also establishes the post of colonial High-Commissioner, which who has autonomy pertaining to financial affairs.
1920 (all colonies)	Law No. 1022 (20 August 1920)	Modifies the law governing the composition of colonial Legislative Councils and attributes more power to the colonial High-Commissioners.
1920 (all colonies)	Decree No. 7008 (9 October 1920)	Implements the provisions of Law No. 1022, modifies colonial administrative laws and enacts the new Base Principles of Colonial Civil and Financial Administration.
1920 (all colonies)	Decree No. 7030 (17 October 1920)	Introduces minor changes to Decree No. 7008.
1921 (all colonies)	Decree No. 41 (3 August 1921)	Outlaws the use of forced labour for private purposes.
1922	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) Convention fails	Portuguese and South African authorities fail to renew agreements regarding the emigration of Mozambican worker's to the Rand area gold mines.
1923 (all colonies)	Law No. 1511 (13 December 1923)	Introduces changes to Decree No. 7008 that redefine the exercise of colonial executive power.
1921-23 (only Angola and Mozambique)	Base Charters (colony-specific)	Introduces, belatedly, a set of written and coherent laws pertaining to legal, political and administrative matters for both Angola and Mozambique.

1924 (only Angola and Mozambique)	Decree No. 31 (29 July 1921)	Abolishes the Angolan Agency and the General Agency for Mozambique, located in Lisbon and in other foreign countries. It also creates a new body, the General Agency of the Colonial Overseas Agencies, under the direct control of the Director-General of Central Services, Ministry of the Colonies.
1926 (all colonies)	New Colonial Administration Base Laws	These laws reflect, for the first time, the principle of a “unified and indivisible” Portuguese Empire where the Supreme Court for all colonies is that of the homeland. They also grant more executive powers to the Portuguese Minister of the Colonies as well as some legislative ones, as he can decide without recourse to the Portuguese parliament in urgent matters. The laws also re-introduce the General-Governorship system of government. The number of elected members in the General-governor’s council is reduced from two-thirds to one-half. The colonies are also divided into districts for administrative purposes. The Portuguese Republic is deemed to own all interest, bonuses or dividends obtained from the use of public lands in the colonies. In relation to native people’s wrongdoings and misdemeanours, no substantial changes are introduced except that Portuguese local authorities can now intervene in addition to native ones. The powers of native leaders and institutions that aid Portuguese colonial administration are also reinforced.
1926 (only Mozambique)	Mozambique’s Base Charter	Continues the reformist spirit of the earlier legislation but does not distinguish the specific conditions of Mozambique from those of other Portuguese colonies.
1926 (all colonies)	Decree No. 12241 (21 October 1926)	Introduces civil, political and criminal statutes for the native populations.
1926 (only Angola and Mozambique)	Decree No. 12533 (23 October 1926)	Introduces civil, political and criminal statutes for the native populations of Angola and Mozambique. The (translated) legal text reads as follows: "The new statute is motivated by two main ideas. The first is the responsibility entrusted to [Portugal] to establish the natural and unconditional rights of the native population, in which they are equal to Europeans, as espoused by Portuguese colonial legislation. The other is to ensure the gradual attainment of their moral and legal duties regarding education and learning whilst guaranteeing justice and freedom".
1926 (all colonies)	Governor-General position introduced	Authorities re-introduce and reinforce the essentially bureaucratic position and role of colonial Governor-Generals.
1926	Censorship begins	Mozambican media, especially print, is censored.
1926	Agricultural Sector Tax Relief	Creates a more investor-friendly tax system to foster agricultural development south of the Save River.
1926 (all colonies)	Base Law for Catholic Missions	Amongst other measures, creates and nominates a Bishop for Mozambique and improves church organization in the colonies.
1928	New Convention for Labour Migration to South Africa	Limits the number of Mozambicans allowed to emigrate to the Rand area and establishes a quota for products transported, by railway, between that region and <i>Lourenço Marques’</i> seaport. Also introduces the practice of deferred payments whereby Mozambican workers only receive the totality of their wage upon returning home.

1928 (only Mozambique)	Labour Relations Legislation	The legislative revision reduces the scope of direct state intervention in colonial companies' management of their labour force.
1928 (all colonies)	Decree No. 16199 (6 December 1928)	Introduces a new Labour Code for native peoples.
1929 (only Angola, Mozambique and Guinea)	Decree No. 16474 (6 February 1929)	Regulates private law relations between native and non-native peoples.
1929 (only Angola, Mozambique and Guinea)	Decree No. 16473 (6 February 1929)	Reforms the political, civil and criminal statute pertaining to native peoples.
1929-30	End of <i>Niassa</i> Company and <i>Prazos</i> Companies Model	A measure designed to reduce foreign economic influence in the colonies.
1929	New Statutes of Catholic Missions	Catholic missions cannot sell land obtained from Portuguese authorities, or use it as collateral, without their consent. Moreover, all land and infrastructure becomes the property of the Portuguese State should they cease their activity.
1929	Nationalisation of the <i>Niassa</i> Company	Ends the foreign commercial company model.
1930-1933 (all colonies)	Colonial Act (Decree No. 18570, July 1930), substitutes Article V, 1911 Constitution; The 1933 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic includes the Colonial Act as a constitutional law, Article No. 132; Overseas Administrative Reform Act	Introduces a series of laws that reflect Salazar's initial colonial policy, namely the idea of a Portuguese Empire characterised by single but multi-continental country (i.e. one having Overseas Provinces) as well as a more centralised administration, centred in Lisbon, which reduces the quasi-sovereign power of companies operating in the colonies.
1930	Tea production begins	One of the few goods that was able to successfully establish itself, first in the domestic market and later in the Portuguese and European ones. Indeed, Mozambique went on to become an important exporter of tea to the United Kingdom during World War II.
1931	<i>Zambezi</i> Bridge Construction Ends	
1932	New Cotton-Growing Policy	Introduces a guaranteed price for cotton as well as purchase rules that favour an autarky in this market.
1933	Privileged Access to Portuguese Sugar Market	Due to the foreign competition, Mozambique lost its dominant position in the global sugar market. As a result, the Portuguese government granted privileged access to the mainland market by attributing a 50% quota for Mozambican sugar exports.
1934	Renewal of the <i>Tete</i> Agreement	Renews the terms of an agreement that resulted in an almost free flow of Africans migrants between the <i>Tete</i> Province and South Rhodesia.
1934	Minimum Requirement for Labour Recruitment	Sets a minimum requirement for labour recruitment in order to counteract the negative effects of the Rand area's recession on Mozambique.

1930's	Illegal Emigration to South Rhodesia	South Rhodesian farmers and miners begin to support increased (illegal) immigration from Mozambique due to economic reasons.
1930's	Hard Times for Sugar and Copra Exports	Companies operating in these markets undergo significant downsizing as a result of weaker global demand due to the effect of the Great Depression.
1930's (all colonies but some differences exist with respect to Mozambique)	Restriction of Freedoms (several legal documents)	Salazar introduces numerous restrictions on property rights, investment and trade (both internal and external) while civil rights are curtailed as government control increases in almost all aspects of economic and political life.
1936-39	The Cashew Revolt	Several revolts occur along the Mozambican coastline as colonial authorities attempt to raise more revenue by taxing increased cashew production, which is only possible by substituting traditional tribal production techniques with more modern ones.
1937	Six-Year Economic Development Plan	The plan entails key investments, such the <i>Tete</i> Railways and major irrigation programs, which are financed by the local government's surplus and a loan from the Portuguese government. The plan's implementation was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.
1937	Closure of the <i>O Emancipador</i> Newspaper	The closure is due, in part, to indirect censorship pressures.
1937	Miner Recruitments	South African companies are authorised to recruit miners north of 22 <sup>nd</sup> parallel.
1937	Sugar Market Quotas	International quotas are adopted in the sugar market.
1937 (all colonies)	Decree No. 28228 (24 November 1937)	Requires the approval of the Minister of the Colonies prior to the transmission of Royal Property Rights.
1938-1948	Mozambican Public Finances	Government revenues increase almost three-fold during the World War II period as a result of the increase in commodity prices.
1938	Junta for Cotton Exports	Amongst other measures, cotton-producing companies are required to sell their output to Portuguese companies who, in turn, had to buy it.
1938	Government Regulation No. 3286 (19 January 1938)	Redefines land occupation by native peoples within private concessions. The Governor-General also issues orders to stop the "frequent abuses" of existing laws.
1940	New form of Miner's Payment	The withheld portion of the salaries due to miners working in South Africa is now paid in gold.
1940	Maximum Allowance for Miner Recruitment	The maximum allowance for the recruitment of miners for the Rand region increases.
1940's	<i>Tete</i> Province's Illegal Emigration	Illegal emigration from the <i>Tete</i> Province increases to South Rhodesia in spite of improved economic conditions in certain regions as a result of World War II.
1940's	Colonial Industrialisation Policy	Salazar introduces a limited industrialisation policy for the colonies, which espouses imports substitution but without endangering Portugal's own production.

1940-41	Concordat and Missionary Agreements	Portugal and the Vatican sign a Concordat and Missionary Agreement, which marks the beginning of a more pragmatic and strategic engagement between Church and State. A practical example of this cooperation is Portuguese government's financial and other support for the construction of <i>Lourenço Marques' Cathedral</i> .
1941	Department for Rice Production	This department is tasked with promoting the production of rice, along the policy-lines already adopted in the cotton sector.
1941	Changes in Education Policy	Introduces measures aimed at the improved organisation of schooling and ensuring greater control by central authorities.
1941 (all colonies)	New Rules for Catholic Missions' Statutes	The new statutes prevent missions from using land granted by the government as collateral without its prior consent.
1942	Changes in Labour Relations	Amongst other measures, extends the passbook system to prevent and control increased illegal migration to Rhodesia and South Africa and from Malawi
1942	Changes in Cotton Sector	The Governor-General replaces market prices with production quotas in the cotton sector, which targeted villages have to implement. He also designates the so-called "overseers" or "foremen".
1943	Capital-Ownership Requirements	Establishes a 60% requirement of Portuguese capital-ownership in all public services and strategic industries had to be 60%. This law marks the beginning of colonial nationalisations.
1943	Agricultural Research Centre	Authorities establish a research centre ( <i>Centro de Investigação Científica Algodoeira</i> ) for cotton that led to significant qualitative improvements in the allocation and management of this activity's land and resources.
1944	Adoption of Native Work Licences	Establishes that native peoples must possess a licence to work in major cities and also to circulate in urban areas, not unlike similar practices adopted in neighbouring South Africa.
1944 (all colonies)	Law No. 2001 (16 May 1944)	Establishes that public land concessions, in the form of leasehold contracts, cannot exceed 5000 hectares. Further concessions are made according to tenants' crop productivity (up to 15000 hectares). The law also introduces a new status for native farmers.
1945 (all colonies)	Decree No. 34597 (12 May 1945)	Repeals Law No. 2001, enacted a year before, as it was opposed by Mozambican authorities.
1945	Revision of the Colonial Act. Revision of the Portuguese Empire's Base Charter	The revisions introduce legislative changes aimed at speeding up the assimilation process and also reinforcing the status of canonical (religious) marriages.
1945-50	Policy of European Settlement	Encourages settlement of Europeans in rural Mozambique. In practice, Portuguese rural families received a free ticket to travel to the colonies and financial subsidies to help them establish farms using irrigation schemes.
1948-49	Further Nationalisations	Specifically, <i>Beira's</i> seaport and Mozambique's railways.
1950's	Extension of <i>Aldeamentos</i> (Village) Policy	The policy seeks to concentrate the rural native population into larger conglomeration to facilitate taxation, labour recruitment and general administration.
1950's	Portuguese Military Reinforcements	Significant construction of military bases undertaken throughout Mozambique, especially in the northern region, which bordered countries hostile to Portuguese occupation

		such as Tanganyika, Malawi and Zambia.
1950's	Liberalisation of Industrialisation Policy	Adoption of a more open industrialisation policy coupled with trade diversification, which leads to increased ties with South Africa (especially in the energy, refined oil and tourism sectors). In <i>Lourenço Marques</i> (the capital city) and <i>Beira</i> (a major city), there is a real estate boom which reflects Mozambique's economic development.
1951 (all colonies)	Constitutional Revision	Alters the names of Mozambique's provinces' names and introduces other minor changes.
1951	Modification of Mozambique's Statute	Mozambique is no longer referred to as a colony but rather as an Overseas Province/Territory of Portugal.
1953 (all colonies)	Base Law of Overseas Provinces enacted	This law substitutes the Base Charter of the Portuguese Empire (06/1953). It also introduces further administrative reforms, enlarges the Legislative Council and extends the Governor-General's executive powers.
1953	Changes to Native Labour Legislation	Introduces more restrictive measures in the native labour market.
1953	Restrictions on Religious Freedom	Expulsion of Jehovah's Witnesses from Mozambique.
1954 (only Angola, Mozambique and Guinea)	Decree No. 39666 (June 1954)	Defines a new statute for the native peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.
1953-8	First Economic Development Plan	The plan's key projects include: building additional railway infrastructure, especially between <i>Lourenço Marques</i> and Salisbury (South Rhodesia); irrigation and other agricultural infrastructures; expansion of Portuguese settlement programs (in order to "deepen the nationalisation of Mozambican territory").
1955 (all colonies)	Portugal joins the United Nations	Notwithstanding, Portugal faces increasing pressure to relinquish its colonial possessions.
1955	Creation of Cooperative for Cotton Production	Amongst other measures, this initiative ensures government's financial support for cotton sales by native peoples and cotton producers.
1956 (all colonies)	Political Police begins to operate in the colonies	The regime's political police (PIDE) starts to operate in the colonies as well. Its main activities include censorship and acting as the secret services branch of the Portuguese Army.
1956 (all colonies)	Increase of PIDE Agents	The total number of PIDE agents in the colonies increases from 84 to 260 during 1954-56, which reflects the regime's increasing political unease and security concerns.
1956 (all colonies)	Riots in Goa Province, India	The <i>Goa Riots</i> , which are supported by the Indian Union, represent the first serious post-World War II political challenge to the Portuguese Empire.
1958 (all colonies)	Presidential Elections in Portugal	The presidential candidate <i>Humberto Delgado</i> emerges as the face of a new and energized opposition to Salazar's regime. Despite losing the elections, he obtains significant support in Angola and Mozambique, which leads Salazar to mistrust Portuguese colonial settlers.
1959-64	Second Economic Development Plan	Compared to the first plan, there is a change of focus from infrastructures towards education, the study of country and native population's concerns and infrastructural investments of

		a symbolic nature. The plan also reflects increased awareness of the pressure towards independence.
1959	Economic Coordination Council	Authorities create the Economic Coordination Council, which is tasked with assisting the Governor-General in his executive duties.
1959 (Angolans and some Mozambicans)	Political Repression	Four Portuguese men are charged and convicted for creating an Angolan independence movement linked to the Portuguese Communist Party. After their conviction, they are sent to Portugal to serve out their sentence.
1960	<i>Mueda</i> Massacre	On June 16th, the Portuguese police violently break-up a pro-independence rally.
1960	Increase in Portuguese Population	Mozambique's population reaches approximately 6.5 million inhabitants with Portuguese making up about one hundred thousand. This compares with a population of almost four million in 1930 (and around thirty thousand Portuguese). At this time, Mozambique's population annual growth rate is 1.3%, which is below the African average of 2.4%.
1960 (all colonies)	Decree No. 17771 (17 June 1960)	Minimum wages are standardised across all types of workers. Moreover, it is no longer legally possible to pay in excess of the minimum wage.
1960 (all colonies)	Decree 17782 (28 June 1960)	Reinforces the Corporative Chamber's control of colonial labour markets while also further regulating collective wage agreements. Forced labour is abolished even in the public construction sector. It also establishes minimum wage requirements for all workers.
1960 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43309 (30 June 1960)	All labour relations (both native and non-native) are now exclusively subject to Portuguese Civil Law. As such, special sanctions are no longer applicable to native workers.
1960 (all colonies)	Ministerial Internal Instruction ( <i>Circular</i> ) 17867 (29 July 1960)	Extends Portuguese workplace safety and health regulations to the colonies.
1960	Mandatory Cotton Production Ends	This change in policy leads to increased prosperity in rural households and improves overall resource allocation in the agricultural sector.
1961 (only Angola and Mozambique)	Decree-Law No. 43582 (4 April 1961)	Creates more border controls and PIDE sub-delegations. The command and organizational structure mirrors that of the Portuguese armed forces, both in Portugal and in the colonies.
1961 (all colonies)	Hijack of the <i>Santa Maria</i> Cruise Liner	<i>Henrique Galvão</i> , a Portuguese army captain, hijacked the <i>Santa Maria</i> cruise liner, which was on its way to Brazil, as an act of political protest. This action constitutes one of more prominent challenges to Salazar's regime during this period.
1961 (all colonies)	<i>Botelho Moniz</i> Revolt	<i>Botelho Moniz</i> , a Portuguese army general, led a failed <i>coup d'état</i> in Angola. He actively opposed the Salazar regime's colonial policy and favoured gradual decolonisation with a view towards independence instead.
1961 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43639 (2 May 1962)	Introduces labour supervisory authorities for all colonies.
1961 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43730 (12 June 1961)	Broadens the requirements pertaining to the nomination and election of public administrative officials.
1961 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43894 (6 September 1961)	Separates public land concessions into two categories: less and more than 100 hectares. A plan for land usage is legally required in the latter case.

1961 (all colonies)	Secret Police Operations	The increase in secret police operations leads to an increase in the number of PIDE agents operating across the colonies – 903 in total.
1961 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43893 and subsequent ones (6 September 1961)	Ends the distinction between native and non-native status. Every Mozambican is entitled to full citizenship and equal treatment and protection under the law.
1961 (all colonies)	Decree No. 43897 (6 September 1961)	The decree divides land located within the <i>regedorias</i> (local administrative bodies) into two categories: essential and non-essential. Essential land is deemed collective and not subject to individual or council ownership. Non-essential land may be leased to <i>vizinhos</i> (neighbours) who have full property rights after ten years of effective farming activity. <i>Vizinhos</i> can thus occupy unclassified land and obtain full property rights after ten years. The decree also accords natives the right to Portuguese citizenship if they sign an irrevocable declaration to that effect. This change also results automatically through a catholic marriage or by residency outside a <i>regedoria</i> .
1961	Liberation war begins in Angola Indian Union occupies Portuguese India	The liberation war in Angola begins with skirmishes in the north followed by uprisings in <i>Luanda</i> , the capital city.
1962	FRELIMO founded	Three resistance groups join forces in Dar Es Salaam. The new movement's leader is <i>Eduardo Mondlane</i> .
1962	<i>Organização Provincial de Voluntários de Defesa Civil</i> (OPVDC) founded	OPVDC is a militia comprising white settlers and "civilised" people, which is created with the aim of "looking out for subversive activities in the territory".
1962 (all colonies)	Decree No. 44309 (27 April 1962)	Introduces a new rural labour law that does away with ethnical and cultural based distinctions. It deals with labourers' work conditions, contracts, administrative and organisational issues and social protection schemes. The law seeks to address the problems facing "manual workers in agriculture without specific skills". It could be interpreted as a move away from compulsory labour practices and towards a more enlightened treatment of workers.
1962	First Mozambican university founded	
1962-1964	Skirmishes and rebellions	The first signs of serious challenges to Portuguese rule arise as skirmishes and rebellions occur, which force authorities to declare a state of emergency numerous times.
1963 (all colonies)	Portuguese Overseas Provinces' Base Law revised	The revision of the law aims to: a) reinforce the presence and activities of the dictatorship's party ( <i>União Nacional</i> ) in the colonies; b) encourage the participation of colonial residents in the management of provincial affairs; c) decentralise the executive powers of the Minister for Overseas Provinces; d) increase the participation of the colonies in the Portuguese State's political and legislative and also regional representation in advisory bodies at the national level; e) ensure greater representation of the Overseas Council by the allowing for colonial provincial representatives' participation; f) decentralise local authorities powers within each colony. In sum, the revised law changes the composition and legal powers of the Legislative Councils, allows for greater participation of natives peoples and recognises the need to strengthen the municipal system by granting greater autonomy to local authorities. Moreover, the governors-general's take on executive powers

		previously reserved to the Minister.
1963	Decrees Nos. 45372, 45374 and 45375 (22 November 1963)	Mozambique's political and administrative statutes are changed to reflect the changes in the Overseas Provinces' Base Law, enacted earlier in the same year. These include changes to the structure and functioning of the Provincial Secretary's Office as well as the colony's Economics and Social Council. The latter body is headed by the Governor-general and comprises eight other members (four appointed by the governor-general and the remainder are <i>ex-officio</i> members: the University Rector, the Armed Forces' Commander-in-chief and the Departmental Directors for Administration, Economics Affairs and Education).
1963 (all colonies)	Number of PIDE agents increases	The total number of PIDE agents operating in the colonies now numbers 1240.
1964	Liberation war begins	On September 25 <sup>th</sup> , a military incident in northern Mozambique ( <i>Cabo Delgado</i> province) between Portuguese and rebel military forces sparks Mozambique's civil war, which coincides with the ousting of FRELIMO members who are sympathetic to the United States.
1964	PIDE destroys FRELIMO base	In a series of attacks in December, PIDE destroys FRELIMO's base in south thereby thwarting the possibility of an attack on the capital city.
1965	FRELIMO political strife	COREMO ( <i>Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique</i> ) is formed in Lusaka, which comprises mainly of disaffected FRELIMO members.
1965	Further PIDE actions	PIDE closes down two political movements and detains <i>Domingos Arouca</i> , an important political leader.
1965	FRELIMO Successes	FRELIMO conquers the <i>Maconde</i> territory in the north and threatens Portuguese positions in <i>Niassa</i> Lake region even though it fails to establish itself in the centre and southern parts of the country.
1965	<i>Domingos Arouca</i> imprisoned	The president of the Associative Centre of the Black People of Mozambique is imprisoned for political reasons in May, namely, he is accused of being a FRELIMO member.
1965	Third Economic Development Plan	Greatly reinforces social, education and health spending.
1965	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association monopoly ends	The recruitment of miners and farmers is no longer subject to monopoly power.
1965-1970	Lull in the liberation war	In practical terms, the war during this period consists mainly of FRELIMO placing landmines and occasional strategic operations by Portuguese security forces. The main focus, by both sides, is on propaganda warfare, where PIDE appears to be more effective. There is no significant political opposition in the cities or amongst Portuguese authorities. Moreover, FRELIMO encounters some defections, is infiltrated by PIDE and fails to get support from Mozambican miners in South Africa and <i>Zambezi's</i> plantations workers.

1966	Portuguese Authorities' Counter-Measures	Portuguese authorities seek to exploit tribal rivalries between the <i>Yao</i> and <i>Macua</i> , on the hand, and the <i>Maconde</i> , on the other, by sending more security personnel to their respective tribal areas. In addition, the severe starvation that follows FRELIMO's occupations facilitates taking back control by Portuguese authorities, especially near <i>Niassa</i> Lake region. They also follow the British practice (first adopted in Kenya), of relocating the native population to <i>aldeamentos</i> (villages) in order to ensure greater control – northern Mozambique, in this case.
1966	Rise of <i>Samora Machel</i>	<i>Samora Machel</i> becomes Head of FRELIMO's Defence Department.
1966 (all colonies)	More PIDE agents in the colonies	The total number of PIDE agents operating in the colonies increases to 2019, from 1240 in 1963.
1967	FRELIMO renews attacks	FRELIMO unsuccessfully attacks the <i>Mueda</i> Portuguese military air base.
1967 (all colonies)	Decree No. 47743 (2 June 1967)	Reforms the Portuguese Overseas Ministry in order to achieve greater efficiency.
1967 (all colonies)	Ministerial Order No. 22869 (4 September 1967)	Applies the Portuguese Code of Civil Law to all colonies.
1968	New Portuguese Prime Minister	Salazar is replaced due to ill-health by <i>Marcelo Caetano</i> , who will be the last prime minister of the <i>Estado Novo</i> regime until his overthrow in the Carnation Revolution of 1974.
1968	Mandatory schooling introduced	Limited mandatory schooling is introduced for children who live within five kilometres of a school.
1968-69	Second FRELIMO Congress and War Operations	Introduces the Overseas Council's Base Law This is the first congress to take place on Mozambican soil. On the war front, FRELIMO renews the <i>Tete</i> front offensive but fails to establish military bases in the country. In ideological terms, FRELIMO redefines its strategy, which now places it closer to the far left on the international political spectrum.
1969	Shift of <i>Maconde's</i> political allegiance	Part of the <i>Maconde</i> tribe shifts its allegiance in favour of Portuguese authorities. As a result, FRELIMO loses an important ally in its guerrilla attacks in northern Mozambique and its oldest support base.
1969 (all colonies)	Number of PIDE agents increases	PIDE agents in the colonies now number 2015.
1969	<i>Eduardo Mondlane</i> murdered	<i>Eduardo Mondlane</i> is assassinated by PIDE agents, which leads to a leadership fight within FRELIMO.
1969 (all colonies)	Decrees Nos. 49146, 49147 (7 July 1969)	Introduces the Overseas Council's Base Law, which grants more supervisory powers to colonial authorities as well as more autonomy to the colonial judicial councils. It also abolishes certain fiscal and administrative procedures pertaining to legal prosecutions and allows the Minister for Overseas Provinces to directly appoint members to judicial councils.
1969 (all colonies)	Decree-Law No. 49401 (19 November 1969)	Changes the name of PIDE to DGS - <i>Direcção Geral de Segurança</i> (General-Directory for Security). The administration of policy in the colonies is transferred from the Internal Affairs Ministry to the Overseas Ministry.
1969	<i>Cahora Bassa</i> dam construction begins	The dam is the fifth largest in the world and serves civilian, military, energy and agricultural objectives. Its construction is also the focus of domestic and international propaganda efforts aimed at demonstrating Portugal's determination to hold on to its African colonies.

1969	Gold-price controls end	The end of price controls paves the way to greater mechanisation and a substitution away from Mozambican miners in South African mines.
1970's	South Africa adopts inward-looking posture	The general trend is to reduce South Africa's economic ties with regional neighbours, especially following Mozambique's independence.
1970	Pope Paul VI receives Portuguese Africa's Liberation Leaders	This action is widely interpreted as the Catholic Church's support for liberation movements in Portuguese-speaking African countries. From the Portuguese government's perspective, the Catholic Church is now regarded as hostile to its colonial "civilising mission".
1970	FRELIMO's internal power struggle	Following <i>Eduardo Mondlane's</i> death, <i>Nkavandame</i> and <i>Simango</i> dispute FRELIMO's political positioning, which results in FRELIMO moving even further to political spectrum's far left.
1970	FRELIMO leadership changes	<i>Samora Machel</i> becomes FRELIMO's leader.
1970	<i>Nó Górdio</i> (Gordian Knot) military operation	This large-scale military operation is meant to definitively end the war. In effect, it destroys several FRELIMO military bases in the north. More <i>aldeamentos</i> are constructed on the territory won over by force. Several mixed African-Portuguese military corps are created as are the <i>Flechas</i> (arrows), which is the PIDE's paramilitary wing consisting of native operatives.
1970-4	Political and economic changes in Portugal Renewed resistance in Mozambique	<i>Marcelo Caetano</i> pursues a process of limited political liberalisation in what became known as the " <i>primavera marcelista</i> " (Marcellist Spring). On the economic front, Portugal begins negotiations to enter the European Economic Community (EEC), which implies that it has to liberalise all trade and capital movements to the colonies. In addition, all Mozambican debts to Portugal are to be paid in Portuguese Escudos or strong foreign currencies. The financial burden of war is now to be paid for by each colony, which creates additional burden for the local war effort. FRELIMO, meanwhile, fights to reach <i>Manica</i> and the southern areas of <i>Zambeze</i> province. During this period, Portuguese public morale regarding the colonial war deteriorates, which is accompanied by economic malaise due to the effects of the global oil shock. As for Mozambique, South Africa becomes its main economic partner.
1971	Increased Portuguese opposition to country's colonial policy	General <i>António Spínola</i> , the Portuguese military commander in Guinea-Bissau, advocates a political rather than a military solution to the colonial war. His position will be later presented in his book <i>Portugal e o Futuro</i> (Portugal and the Future), which is published on February 22, 1974.
1972 (only Mozambique and Angola)	Change in Mozambique's political and administrative status	Mozambique ceases to be a Portuguese province to become a State. It gains greater autonomy in relation to the Portuguese government along the lines of that existing between the U.S. Federal and State governments. Colonial Legislative Powers are also enlarged.
1972 (all colonies)	Number of PIDE agents increases again	The number of PIDE agents in the colonies is now 2260.
1972	<i>Wiriamu</i> Massacres	The massacres occur following the Portuguese military forces' attack on native peoples in <i>Tete</i> province.
1972	Decree No. 368/72 (1 October 1972)	The decree facilitates the requirements and procedures pertaining to detentions and imprisonment that, in effect, limit the rule of law. The operational changes imply new duties for

		DGS police-force members, especially general directors and inspectors. The former can now authorise detentions and preventive imprisonment while the latter are able to enforce these sentences. In other words, the general directors, superior inspectors, service directors and even assistant-inspectors were allowed to exercise <i>de facto</i> judgeship when it came to detentions.
1973	The United Group of Mozambique (GUMO) meets the Portuguese Prime-minister	GUMO is a political organization formed by Portuguese settlers that seeks to strengthen co-operation with the <i>Marcelo Caetano</i> government.
1973	Organization of Mozambican Women (OMW) created by FRELIMO	OMW aims to mobilise women to ensure more education for them as well as equal gender treatment within Mozambican society.
1974	Carnival Revolution in Portugal	The military revolution in April 25th ends Portugal's dictatorship and restores democracy. Many of the new political players favour complete and unconditional independence for Mozambique and other African colonies. Colonial policy is confusing during this period time and independence transitional arrangements are inadequate.
1974	First direct negotiations between Portugal and Mozambique	Portugal mainly wants to ensure a cease fire, which FRELIMO is unwilling to concede.
1974	More nationalisations	Housing, education and health services are nationalised.
1974	Portuguese military discipline erodes	As of July, the Portuguese army openly fraternises with FRELIMO soldiers, against President <i>António de Spínola's</i> will.
1974	Attempted <i>coup d'état</i> in Portugal	Right-wing groups attempt to seize control of the national radio station in Lisbon but are immediately promptly by the Portuguese army.
1974	New FRELIMO allies in the region	FRELIMO allies itself to the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Mozambique is to become one of most prominent supporters of these two liberation movements.
1974	Operation Zebra	The political police DGS is abolished in Portugal. In <i>Lourenço Marques</i> , FRELIMO brings to an end DGS's activities.
1974	Malawi Labour Embargo	Malawi forbids labour recruitment by South African companies operating within its borders in protest against South Africa's <i>apartheid</i> system.
1974	Law No. 1/74, (26 April 1974)	This law, the first enacted in the aftermath of Portugal's April 25 <sup>th</sup> Revolution, which occurred the previous day, replaces the Angolan and Mozambican Governor-Generals by their respective Secretary-Generals. This is the first sign that a new colonial policy will be pursued.
1974	Decree No. 11/74 (2 November 1974)	In response to the riots that take place a month earlier, the decree introduces measures aimed at curbing opposition to the Decolonisation Act adopted by the Portuguese parliament. In practice, the decree lead to arrests and increased security surveillance in Mozambique.
1974	Lusaka Agreement signed	Portugal formally recognises the right of the Mozambican people to independence and agrees to the terms of power transfer proposed by FRELIMO. The agreement establishes a transitional government headed by a Portuguese High-Commissioner and nine ministers (six FRELIMO members and three Portuguese nationals).

1974	National Commission for Decolonization created (8 September 1974)	Created by <i>Samora Machel</i> , FRELIMO's President.
1974	South Africa intervenes	The South African government organises a dissident movement to take power in <i>Lourenço Marques</i> comprising disaffected FRELIMO rebels and emerging political parties aligned with foreign interests, especially those seeking white-supremacist rule in Mozambique.
1974	Decree No. 24/74 (23 November 1974)	Freezes wages greater than ten thousand Portuguese escudos.
1974	Political re-education camps established	In effect, the camps amounted to prisons for FRELIMO's political opponents and dissidents.
1974	FRELIMO <i>Grupos de Dinamizadores</i> (facilitator groups) created	These are work-place or local community based bodies, headed by a <i>Secretário</i> (Secretary), tasked with administrative, management and legal duties.
1975	Nationalisations	The nationalisation process focussed on companies identified as being responsible for economic sabotage. FRELIMO also nationalised land-ownership and centralised the control over land-usage and resources.
1975	Portuguese population exodus	As a result of FRELIMO's actions, Portuguese colonialists and many Indians abandoned the country, which deprived Mozambique of specialised workers (including native ones).
1975	Mozambican independence	FRELIMO is the dominant political force in the country upon independence on June 25th.
1975-83	<i>Ujamaa</i> (communal) village system introduced	FRELIMO's strategy of socialist development in rural land policy was based on organising the dispersed rural population into communal villages and promoting the collective activities. The concept of <i>Ujamaa</i> village is brought into Mozambique from Nyerere's Tanzania, the cradle of FRELIMO. Its creation was ratified in February 1976, by the eighth meeting of FRELIMO's Central committee.
1975	Further nationalisations	During a popular meeting commemorating the Day of Mozambican Heroes (3 February 1975), <i>Samora Machel</i> announces the nationalisation of town buildings across the country and reveals the new name of the capital city, henceforth Maputo.
1975	Decree Nos. 132-A/75, 135-A/75 (14 and 15 March 1975, respectively)	Respectively nationalises all financial and insurance companies.
1975	Law No. 16/75 (13 February 1975)	The law seeks to counteract the effects on companies and public sector services of the skilled labour exodus, so as to ensure the stated goal of "social peace and economic progress".
1975	Rural leadership changes	<i>Régulos</i> (Portuguese tribal chiefs) are replaced by local facilitator groups.
1975	Law No. 4/75 (16 August 1975)	Closes down lawyers' offices in the country.
1975	RENAMO founded	RENAMO - <i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> (National Resistance of Mozambique), a conservative and anti-communist movement, is created with the sponsorship of Rhodesia's Central Intelligence Organisation and South Africa's support and influence. Its first leader is a former army commander, <i>Matsan Gaissa</i> .

1975	Mozambique's first post-independence constitution	On June 25 <sup>th</sup> , FRELIMO's Central Committee draws up Mozambique's first post-independence constitution.
1975	RENAMO attacks	RENAMO attacks oil storage facilities in Beira, an important port city, with the help of Rhodesian commando forces.
1975	Bill of the Republic of Mozambique (BRM) No. 1 (25 June 1975)	Establishes the Law of Nationality.
1975	(Portuguese) Law-Decree No. 308-A/75 (24 July 1975)	Defines who is a Portuguese citizen, both in Portugal and in the former colonies.
1975	First National Agricultural Seminar	Seminar takes place in <i>Marrupa, Niassa</i> .
1975	BRM No. 15 (29 July 1975)	The government establishes a direct and immediate control of the educational system, as well the health sector by nationalising all private clinics and creating the National Health Service.
1975	Decree No. 5/75 (19 August 1975)	Introduces new restrictions on private health service provision.
1975	Decree No. 6/75 (19 August 1975)	Nationalises funeral service provision and coffin manufacturing.
1975	Regulatory Dispatch No. 33/75 (21 August 1975)	Rescinds the authorisation of the Society for Mozambicans Studies to exercise its activities. This society is private institution of scientists and researchers whose publications cover numerous scientific and technical fields of expertise.
1975	Human right abuses	Colonial authorities adopt a series of measures, such as forced removals and imprisonment without trial, in an attempt to better control <i>Lourenço Marques</i> native residents.
1975	Decree No. 21/75 (11 October 1975)	Regulates the detention process of citizens.
1975	Death penalty	The constitution that governs Mozambique does not explicitly rule out the application of the death penalty.
1975	Riots in <i>Maputo</i>	On 17-18th December, FRELIMO dissidents hold a public demonstration in Maputo, which leads to armed clashes with the Mozambican police force.
1975-1981	Literacy campaign	Between 1975 and 1981, FRELIMO undertakes a literacy campaign that aims to provide universal primary education.
1975-1981	Healthcare campaign	The campaign seeks to vaccinate against smallpox, malaria and other diseases.
1976	FRELIMO backs black majority rule in the region	FRELIMO declares its support for black majority rule in Southern Africa and for political movements such as the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), amongst others. As a result, ten thousand ZANU guerrillas are trained in bases located in Mozambique.
1976	Mozambique closes its border with Rhodesia	Rhodesian nationalist guerrillas adopt Mozambique as their main base, which leads Mozambique to close its borders in order to avoid the conflict spilling onto its soil.
1976	SA labour recruitment policy changes	South Africa changes its labour recruitment policies so as to make more use of its domestic workforce, thereby avoiding the repetition of embargoes like those of Malawi. As a result, South African companies reduce their use of Mozambican workers, especially miners.

1976	Sex industry crack-down in <i>Maputo</i>	Bars are closed in Maputo and so-called re-education programmes for sex workers are implemented.
1976	Law-Decree No. 1/76 (6 January 1976)	Regulates foreign employment.
1976	Law-Decree No. 5/76 (5 February 1976)	Introduces new regulations pertaining to the nationalisation of buildings that have significant rent revenues and also abandoned ones. There is no financial compensation for expropriated owners but they do have the right to choose another house in which to live as well as being permitted to own a holiday home. Moreover, they are entitled to receive a life-time pension equivalent to 70% of the previous rental income if they have no other means of subsistence. Nationalised buildings are administered by the newly-created Board for Public Real Estate Administration.
1976	Decree No. 12/76 (1 April 1976)	Abolishes all collective social bodies like leagues, clubs, centres and others, regardless of their nature, as <i>Samora Machel</i> believed that they would divide the Mozambican people along racial, religious, regional or ethnic lines.
1976	Decree No. 34/76 (14 October 1976)	Creates the Commission for the Control of Exports undertaken by individuals (as opposed to companies).
1976	Free Africa Voice begins broadcasts	Free Africa Voice is a propaganda radio station backed by the Rhodesians and RENAMO, which seeks to destabilise the FRELIMO regime.
1976	<i>Empresa Moçambicana de Seguros</i> (EMOSE) created	EMOSE is a public insurance corporation that results from the nationalisation of Mozambique's private insurance companies.
1976-7	South Africa becomes less dependent on <i>Maputo's</i> seaport	South Africa builds new seaports in Richards Bay and Saldanha Bay, in order to reduce its dependence on the Maputo seaport.
1977	National Planning Commission created	FRELIMO creates this commission in the wake of its third party congress, which has the aim of coordinating the government's plans and programs.
1977	Economic and Social Directives Plan	The third FRELIMO party congress prepares and presents the first Economic and Social Directives Plan ( <i>Plano Prospectivo Indicativo</i> ).
1977	Law 1/77 (1 September 1977)	The third FRELIMO party congress establishes the right of Mozambicans to choose their parties popular assemblies (locally elected bodies).
1977	FRELIMO changes its political ideology	The third party congress moves FRELIMO away from a "nationalistic front" ideology towards a Marxist-Leninism one.
1977	Persecutions	Generally speaking, politicians, intellectuals, academics and other members of Mozambican elite who did not fully agree with FRELIMO are harassed, persecuted and some are subject to severe sentences.
1977	Soviet President visits Mozambique	The visit culminates in the signing of a friendship treaty between the Soviet Union and Mozambique.
1977	Law No. 18/77 (28 May 1977)	Nationalises Portuguese-owned companies when these have been abandoned for a period longer than 90 days. They are put under the control of specially created administrative teams.
1977	BRM No. 33 (22 March 1977)	This measure requires non-Mozambican merchants to be expelled from the country within sixty days. It is adopted after FRELIMO becomes aware that many of them did not wish to take up Mozambican citizenship.

1977	Decree No. 15/77 (26 April 1977)	Introduces restrictive measures, especially regarding property and civil rights, which only apply to residents who forego Mozambican citizenship.
1977	More nationalisations	This second wave of nationalisation focus on oil, coal and energy companies.
1977	State-companies law changes	Distinguishes between political and economic functions within state-owned companies in order to minimise their overlap.
1977	Production councils established	These councils are seen as an important means for reducing worker indiscipline and improving their productivity.
1977	RENAMO's main base established	RENAMO establishes its main base in the <i>Gorongosa</i> game reserve.
1977	Mozambique-Soviet Union Cooperation Treaty	The cooperation treaty comprises three main clauses: 1) the pledge to prior consultation should peace be breached; 2) the prohibition against joining political or military alliances that are adversarial to either party; 3) the commitment to secure military cooperation via bilateral agreements.
1977-79	Land information campaign	The campaign is designed to raise awareness throughout the country about forthcoming Land Law.
1978	Mozambique's constitution revised	Mozambique's Popular Assembly (parliament) acquires legislative and constitutional powers previously reserved to the Council of Ministers and FRELIMO's Central Committee.
1978	National Economic Plan	The plan focuses on education, healthcare and production.
1978	<i>Limpopo</i> agro-industrial complex created	The complex is a state-owned agro-livestock unit (sixteen thousand hectares) that produces cheese, tomato, tobacco, rice and sausages.
1978	Law Nos. 5/78, 6/78 and 7/78 (22 April 1978)	These laws seek to reform local government, thereby replacing the system inherited from colonial times. The administrative and political apparatus adopted entails greater centralisation, however, achieved through the creation of Executive Councils. These comprise a chairman (nominated by the central government) and three to five members (elected or appointed, either at the city or district assembly levels).
1978	Adverse climatic conditions	A drought severely affects the south of Mozambique.
1978	Decree No. 8/78 (9 May 1978)	The decree closes down more economic associations.
1978	South African gold-price revaluation	South Africa revaluates the gold paid to Mozambique for its miners' labour after the IMF abolishes the two-tier pricing in 1977. This change diminishes the premium that Mozambique obtains between the value of South African gold and that of the market price.
1978	Mozambique-Bulgaria Cooperation Treaty	The treaty has similar clauses to the ones agreed with Soviet Union in 1977.
1978	Law No. 12/78 (2 December 1978)	Restructures the court system to ensure so-called "people's justice".
1978	More nationalisations	The third wave of nationalisations focuses on heavy industries, such as cement, glass and steel. The Mozambican Navigation Company is also nationalised.
1979	Land Law Law No. 6/79 (3 July 1979)	The land law introduces the new concept of "public domain" property rights. In practice, individuals or collective bodies can acquire state-granted titles that allow them to lease land for periods of up to 50 years. However, they cannot sell, cede, rent, mortgage, or pawn land but they can transfer its existing

		infrastructure. Leases do not allow for unconditional management rights as lessees must use land in accordance with an authorised development plan. Otherwise, their usage rights are will be terminated and the land will revert to state control.
1979	RENAMO attacks	The first joint operations of RENAMO and Rhodesian SAS takes place in January, during which they attack a hydro-electric power station in <i>Mavuze</i> . In March, they attack <i>Beira's</i> oil storage deposits.
1979	Law No. 9/79 (10 July 1979)	This law seeks to improve the functioning of cooperatives by regulating their organization and administration. It also attempts to resolve the lack of information facing administrators and accountants with respect to worker remunerations and machinery purchases.
1979	<i>André Matsangaissa</i> dies	The RENAMO leader dies in combat and is replaced by <i>Afonso Dhlakama</i> after a contentious leadership power struggle.
1979	FRELIMO's combats corruption in its ranks	<i>Samora Machel</i> launches a populist anti-corruption campaign to find, detain and dismiss corrupt FRELIMO members.
1979	The 1980-90 National Plan	The ten-year plan (officially published only in 1981) seeks to put FRELIMO's third congress objectives into practice, namely the socialisation of rural life, the economy's industrialisation and workforce training. In quantitative terms, it seeks to increase GNP by 17% p.a. and to increase agricultural production five-fold within the decade, as well as laying the foundations for heavy industry in Mozambique.
1979	Salaries and Prices Commission created	The creation of this commission reflects the central planning of the economy that underlies the National Plan for 1980-90.
1979	Mozambique- East Germany Cooperation Treaty	The treaty comprises similar clauses as those agreed to with the Soviet Union in 1977.
1979	Revolutionary Military Tribunal created	This special court has the mission to judge security offences committed against the Mozambican state.
1980	Mozambique's regional role	Mozambique plays a leading role in supporting the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), whose main goals include becoming economically less dependent on apartheid South Africa as well as the introduction of development initiatives for member countries.
1980	Office for Green Zones created	This office seeks to provide administrative and technical support to both cooperative and private farms within the Green Zones (suburban farm-lands surrounding large cities).
1980	Mozambique joins the African Development Bank	The decision to join the African Development Bank is motivated, in part, by the natural disasters that bring significant destruction and economic hardship to Mozambique's people.
1980	South Africa trains RENAMO forces	The South African military airlifts, trains and re-equips RENAMO forces before returning them to Mozambique.
1980-81	State-owned companies dominate economic activity	According to Hall (1997), state-owned companies accounted for 65% of total industrial output, 85% of transport and communications, 90% of construction and 40% of commerce. From 1978 to 1982, state-owned farms increased their area by 40% to reach a hundred and forty thousand hectares. During 1978-83, 31% of investment went into agriculture, of which 90% went to state-owned farms, 2% to cooperatives and virtually none to small-scale "family" lands. Almost all of the

		available labour force is employed in state-owned entities.
1980-83	More RENAMO attacks	RENAMO's stated aim for these attacks is the rapid breakdown of Mozambique's economic and social fabric and dissolution of SADCC.
1980-90	Increase in military expenditures	Military expenditures during the 1980's amount to 12-18% of GDP and 18-26% of all government expenditures, implying a negative impact of the country's civil war on its economy and public finances.
1981	Mozambicans migrate to the cities	The internal migrations to major cities reflect both the worsening economy and the effects of civil conflict on ordinary peoples' lives.
1981	Anti-Corruption and literacy campaigns	<i>Jorge Rebelo</i> (a former Minister of Information) and <i>Marcelino dos Santos</i> (a former Minister of Development and Planning) are tasked with tackling corruption and illiteracy within FRELIMO.
1981	US diplomats expelled	Mozambican authorities cite spying activities as the motive for expelling the U.S. diplomats.
1981	Discrimination of colonial era collaborators ends	For example, former collaborators are no longer identified as such in the workplace.
1981	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) entry-application turned down	This negative outcome disappoints Mozambican politicians, who then seek new solutions for Mozambique's economic woes.
1981	<i>Empresa Agrícola de Comercialização</i> (AGRICOM) created	AGRICOM is created under the auspices of the National Plan and decides both producer and consumer food prices, as well as being responsible for agricultural marketing activities.
1981	Management changes in State-owned companies	The new organisational model for state-companies establishes the role of general director, who has full executive powers.
1981-82	Mozambique-Portugal Military Cooperation Agreement	Portugal agrees to provide military aid, such as training and intelligence services but also weaponry, to help FRELIMO combat RENAMO forces.
1982	Resident's cards introduced	Citizens are required to bear new residency cards, which are first introduced in <i>Maputo</i> and later in other major cities.
1982	Colonial era collaborators pardoned	FRELIMO pardons around one thousand people who had collaborated with the former colonial authorities.
1982	New Mozambique-Soviet Union Trade Agreement	The new treaty further deepens industrial relations and cooperation between the two countries.
1982-83	<i>Rapprochement</i> with the West	Mozambique signs trade, military and aid agreements with the U.K., Scandinavian countries, Portugal, Italy, Netherlands, France and West Germany.
1982-83	Adverse climatic conditions	A drought plagues Mozambique, which is the severest in over 50 years.
1983	Death penalty re-introduced	The death penalty and floggings are re-introduced for serious crimes and public order offences respectively. The first execution takes place.
1983	More RENAMO attacks	RENAMO blows up the railway line that crosses the <i>Zambeze</i> river, given its objective of destroying the rural and urban social fabric and economy.

1983	Catholics Church's properties rights re-established	<i>Samora Machel</i> seeks to re-establish good relations with the Vatican State in exchange for the Church's support. He restores the Church's rights and returns its properties, which had been confiscated. The restoration of rights includes the following: allowing repairs to church buildings, allowing religious publications and permitting the training of priests, nuns and other religious. Christmas Day is celebrated again, now under the designation of Family Day. A Religious Affairs Department is created, within the Ministry of Justice to prevent less direct interference in Church affairs by FRELIMO officials.
1983	Fourth FRELIMO Congress	The FRELIMO congress seeks to enhance rural household's contribution to the economy by: 1) setting agricultural production targets; 2) sending government officials to villages in order to monitor and improve their output.
1983	Move towards market-determined development model	The government embraces a more liberal and de-centralised approach by allowing small-scale agricultural production units, which partially reverses its official policy of the "socialisation of rural life".
1983-86	First economic reforms	These first reforms focus on promoting private sector business initiatives.
1984	Mozambique signs the <i>Lomé</i> Convention	The <i>Lomé</i> Convention is a trade and aid agreement between the (then) European Community and seventy-one African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries, first signed in February 1975 in <i>Lomé</i> , Togo.
1984	Mozambique joins the International Monetary Fund (IMF)	In 1982, Mozambique applies to join the IMF given the belief that it is in the country's best interests to do so.
1984	New labour agreement with South Africa	Mozambique and South Africa sign a new agreement on the supply of miners that ends age and geographical restrictions on labour recruitment to the Rand mines.
1984	New private investment law introduced	FRELIMO seeks to attract significant private investment flows to the country.
1984	Mozambique and South Africa sign the <i>Nkomati</i> Agreement	<i>Samora Machel</i> (Mozambique's President) and <i>Pieter W. Botha</i> (South Africa's Prime-Minister) sign a non-aggression treaty, whose focus is on preventing Mozambique from supporting the African National Congress, on the one hand, and South Africa from supporting RENAMO, on the other. Critics bitterly denounce the treaty signed with the <i>apartheid</i> regime.
1984	Use of forced labour	Several undesirable and problematic Maputo residents are arrested, transported to <i>Niassa</i> province and forced to work on agricultural plots.
1984	Adverse climatic conditions	Severe flooding occurs yet again.
1984-92	Mozambique's external debt increases	During this period, external debt increases by almost 500%, which reflects the low level of domestic savings and also low foreign direct investment (indeed, 63% of all projected FDI never materialised). The period also coincides with the civil war's darkest hours, which left little room for economic growth, sustained or otherwise.

1985	Centre for the Promotion of Investment created	This centre (known as <i>Centro de Promoção de Investimentos</i> , in Portuguese), seeks to attract investors to Mozambique and is the one-stop point-of-contact for foreign investors. Its main objective is to increase investment in Mozambique's central and northern regions in order to address regional development imbalances.
1985	Wages and prices controls abolished	In May 1985, the Council of Ministers announces measures that liberalise business activities. Fixed prices for maize, beef and chicken are doubled while price controls on fruit, vegetables, duck and rabbit meat are abolished.
1985	Development of the <i>Beira</i> Corridor	Creates the Authority for the <i>Beira</i> Corridor (in Portuguese, <i>Autoridade do Corredor da Beira</i> ), which is a public body tasked with re-opening the <i>Beira</i> railway line to the sea. The railway line is to be defended by Zimbabwean troops.
1986	<i>Samora Machel</i> dies	<i>Samora Machel</i> dies in a plane crash that occurs within South African air space, which gives rise to speculation that South African covert operations may have been responsible. He will be succeeded by <i>Joaquim Chissano</i> as Mozambique's president.
1986	Mozambique's constitution revised	The constitution's revision is motivated by the need to decentralise governance structures and takes place at the initiative of FRELIMO's Central Committee.
1986	Rural land legislation Act No. 1/86 (16 April 1986)	This legislation allows Mozambican citizens to acquire land without official sanction but foreigners must first obtain government-authorized title deeds.
1986	Law No. 2/86 (16 April 1986)	This law pertains to mining activity and defines the nature of land and mineral rights, amongst others, and the respective tax regime.
1986	Law No. 3/86 (16 April 1986)	The Permanent Commission of the National Assembly establishes the principle of legal assistance for citizens who need it, which is to be provided by the Mozambican state.
1986	Decree No. 8/86 (30 December 1986)	Following the enactment of Law No. 3/86, this decree creates the National Institute for Legal Assistance (INAJ – <i>Instituto Nacional de Assistência Jurídica</i> , in Portuguese).
1986	Mozambique-Malawi security accord	Malawi agrees to stop both official and covert support for RENAMO and also to re-open the railway that crosses Mozambique towards the Indian Ocean coastline.
1986	Popular Assembly elections	These are the first elections to be held since 1977.
1986	Law-Decree No. 8/86 (30 December 1986)	Modifies the INAJ's statutes to limit the exercise of legal services to certified INAJ members only.
1987	Decree 1 No. 6/87 (30 January 1987)	Amends the Land Law (Law 6/79) so as to introduce new provisions regarding land registration, leases, inheritance, resettlement, compensation, land abandonment and dispute resolution, amongst others. Salient changes include: 1) Land lease - A family farm need not have a lease, but can apply for one (Art. 55); 2) Land registration - Rights to land and details of their use and capabilities are to appear in a National Land Register (Art. 37, 38); 3) Inheritance - Land rights (a lease) are heritable (Art. 32). Heirs cannot transfer the land but can transfer improvements, infrastructure, and buildings if they have prior authorization from the leasing authority; the state

		<p>enjoys a preferred right to purchase such improvements if it chooses to do so (Art. 33); 4) Termination of leases - In the case of termination (due to expiration of the term, renunciation by the holder, and revocation by the state), all improvements, infrastructure, and construction revert to the state (Art. 35) and "just compensation" is required (Art. 36); 5) Resettlement - If a family is moved from the land it occupies, there must be an express declaration of why this is necessary for the convenience of the state acting in the public interest (Art. 50); 6) Land compensation (that is, infrastructure) - If a family is moved, compensation for improvements on the land must be paid in advance, before the move, and new land of similar value must be provided. Those being moved should be able to view the new land before they move (Art. 52); 7) Land abandonment - If a family leaves land of its own volition and remains away for over two years without justification, the right to use the land terminates and all improvements on the land go to the state without compensation. Where a lease has been granted, it must be cancelled in this case. But even if such a cancellation has taken place, the family may return to the land at a later date if no one else has begun to use it (Art. 60); 8) Dispute resolution - An administrative appeal process within the Ministry of Agriculture is described (Art. 69), including the possibility of further appeal to the regular courts, with the exception that a decision by the Council of Ministers is not subject to appeal (Art. 70). But there is also a provision for conciliation of disputes and the composition of conciliation committees (Art. 82). It is not clear in what circumstances each of these routes is appropriate. Additionally, land tenure right is defined as the right of use and enjoyment which is documented by a license, except in the case of land use for family subsistence which does not require a license.</p>
1987	Law No. 2/87 (19 January 1987)	Introduces reforms of local government structure and functioning.
1987	Regulation of Law No. 2/86 (24 February 1987)	Defines who has the authority to grant mining concessions and the norms that regulate mining activities.
1987	More economic reforms	Mozambique's government, together with the IMF, designs economic reforms for important sectors of the economy, such as agriculture.
1987	Economic Rehabilitation Plan	The plan ( <i>Plano de Reabilitação Económica</i> , in Portuguese) is jointly designed by the IMF and the World Bank with the objective of freeing up Mozambique's economy. It encompasses twenty-five laws and administrative measures, which include: 1) the devaluation of the <i>Metical</i> , Mozambique's currency; 2) the end of most food price-controls; 3) the reduction of government deficits through expenditures cuts, changes in rent-controls, fiscal reforms aimed at expanding the tax-base and the limitation of state-owned companies' losses; 4) the privatisation of state-owned companies.
1987	New FRELIMO Rules	New rules for FRELIMO party members allow them to pursue profit-making activities, with the exception of "speculative" ones. FRELIMO itself can also engage in profit-making activities in order to attract new members.
1987	New Rules for Religious Groups	The new rules return many of the Catholic Church's confiscated properties, which include schools, hospitals and the <i>Matola</i>

		seminary. Religions organisations are also allowed to print and distribute their materials again.
1987	RENAMO's political program unveiled	The program aims to "free the country" by ending the "Marxist tyranny" and to introduce a multiparty democracy. It is presented in a national council that met specifically with the purpose of delineating the movement's new political platform.
1987	Law No. 16/87 (21 December 1987)	Changes the Nationality Law (Law No. 308-A/75), namely: a) Mozambican women married with foreign individuals do not automatically lose their citizenship; b) Expands the scope for claiming citizenship: the offspring of Mozambican parents residing outside the country, and also foreigners residing in it for more than five years, are entitled to become citizens.
1987-88	Amnesty for RENAMO fighters	The initial one-year amnesty is extended by another year in 1988.
1987-89	FRELIMO's Africanisation policy	FRELIMO replaces government officials of Europeans and Asian origin by others who are of African descent.
1988	Mozambique ratifies the African Charter on Human Rights	This move reflects Mozambique's change towards governance based on the respect for fundamental human rights.
1988	U.S. State Department inquiry	The inquiry, headed by Robert Gersony, acknowledges FRELIMO's accusations regarding RENAMO's atrocities, which undermines support for the rebel movement within the U.S. administration.
1988-89	RENAMO allies itself to religious bodies	RENAMO allies itself with western religious organisations with South Africa's blessing and help, which recognised their potential as a source of manpower and training for RENAMO and also UNITA (a South-African backed Angolan resistance movement, headed by <i>Jonas Savimbi</i> ).
1989	Law No. 21/89 (23 May 1989)	The Ministerial Council approves a law that regulates the selling-off state-owned companies, commercial facilities and other forms of financial state-participations in the economy, e.g. public and competitive tenders are required to sell state assets.
1989	Fifth FRELIMO party congress and New FRELIMO constitution	The conclusions of the fifth party congress spell an end to FRELIMO's official ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Indeed, all references to it are to be removed from the party's statutes. Abolishes the death penalty.
1990	Adverse climatic conditions	A severe drought occurs which brings hardship, yet again, to the Mozambican people.
1990	Program for Economic and Social Rehabilitation created	Introduces measures to fight poverty.
1990	Association of the Expropriated in Overseas Territories is created	This association is created by Portuguese settlers who are unhappy with FRELIMO's nationalisations. The Portuguese government also creates a department to negotiate with Mozambique on this issue.
1990	Limited cease-fire agreement	The agreement concerns a partial cease-fire along the <i>Beira-Limpopo</i> corridors whereby RENAMO agrees not to attack in exchange for FRELIMO not using these territories for launching offensive military operations. The agreement also introduces limitations on the stationing of Zimbabwean troops in certain areas.
1990-96	Privatisation data released	By the end of June 1996, 670 companies had been privatised in some measure (506 were sold outright, 106 were joint-ventures projects and 64 were granted concession to operate as private concerns).

1991	RENAMO-FRELIMO disagreements	RENAMO refuses to sign a cease-fire or to participate in elections despite the efforts of South Africa and the U.S. to foster peace negotiations, along the lines of those pursued in Angola. However, private supporters of RENAMO (especially those in Portugal, the U.S. and U.K.) encourage the movement to steer clear of such initiatives.
1991	Law No. 7/91 (18 July 1991)	Establishes the right to freedom of assembly, which reflects the growing consciousness of, and movement towards, democracy in Mozambique.
1991	Law No. 15/91 (3 August 1991)	Restructures the public sector, including the process of privatisations and the sale of state- assets.
1991	Law No. 18/91 (10 August 1991)	Establishes the right to freedom of expression and media freedoms, as well as the as the right to information.
1991	United States Agency for International Development (USAID) technical assistance	USAID begins to provide technical assistance to the Mozambican government on land tenure issues.
1991	Decree No. 28/91 (21 November 1991)	Details the legal schedule, criteria and means for selling off state-assets, privatising state-owned companies and ending the state's financial participation in commercial entities.
1992	Law No. 1/92 (3 January 1992)	Entrusts the Central Bank of Mozambique with the responsibility for the conduct of monetary policy while abolishing its commercial functions.
1992	Rome Accord: Mozambique's civil war ends	On October 4, agreement is reached between RENAMO and FRELIMO regarding a definitive cease-fire and the holding of free and fair multi-party elections. This agreement is the result of negotiations held in Rome, under the auspices of the Italian government.
1992	<i>Ad hoc</i> Land Commission created	This commission, operating under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture, is tasked with resolving land claim conflicts.
1992	First National Land Conference	In 1992, the Land Tenure Centre of Wisconsin, hired by USAID to examine land tenure issues in Mozambique, co-organises the first National Land Conference. The other co-organiser is the inter-ministerial Land Commission, which is based within the Ministry of Agriculture.
1993	Law No. 3/93 (24 June 1993)	This law deals with foreign direct investment, which will be modified over the next two years via Decree Nos. 14/93 (21 July 1993) and 36/95 (8 August 1995).
1993	Tripartite Agreement	The agreement is signed by Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It covers the voluntary repatriation of Mozambican refugees living in Zimbabwe. Mozambique's government agrees that they will be afforded land for residential and economic purposes upon their return.
1993	Decree No. 14/93 (21 July 1993)	Harmonises, simplifies and adapts the analysis, approval and monitoring of investments projects.
1993	Decree No. 20/93 (14 September 1993)	Regulates the process whereby the state gives up its powers, functions and prerogatives in favour of managers, technical experts and workers, as it disengages from its central planning and productive role in the economy.

1993	U.N. peacekeeping operations	The U.N. high commissioner <i>Aldo Ajello</i> oversees a major peace-keeping operation in Mozambique comprising more than seven thousand peace-keepers.
1993	<i>Maputo</i> riots	Riots occur in Maputo due to a 100% increase in bus fares. As a result, two people are killed and several others are injured.
1994	Second National Land Conference	Six months before the upcoming elections, FRELIMO declines to participate in the conference organised by the Land Commission because, as Myers (1995) notes "FRELIMO did not want to be held accountable for the current state of affairs or asked questions about land policy they could not answer. In short, the fact that neither of the major parties raised the issue may indicate the degree which vested "class" or economic interests cut across political party lines."
1994	Protests in <i>Tete</i> Province	Small land-holders demonstrate in <i>Tete</i> Province in protest against what they perceive to be harmful actions by public and private entities.
1994	Municipalities Law Law No. 3/94 (13 September 1994)	Attributes to municipalities a major role in managing local economic and financial resources, thus enabling them to become local development centres geared towards the improvement of their resident's living conditions.
1994	Law No. 6/94 (13 September 1994)	Created a new (public) Institute for Judicial Assistance tasked with providing legal services to Mozambicans who are too poor to afford them.
1994	Law No. 7/94 (14 September 1994)	Establishes the Lawyers' Bar Council as well as defining its statutes.
1994	Mozambique's first multi-party elections	<i>Joaquim Chissano</i> wins the election for president with 53.3% of the votes cast while <i>Afonso Dhlakama</i> obtains 33.7%. The results for the legislative election are much closer with FRELIMO obtaining 44.3% (129 seats), RENAMO 37.8% (112 seats) and the Democratic Union (UD - <i>União Democrática</i> ) 5.1% (9 seats).
1994-95	Rome Treaty	The treaty is a general peace agreement that formally ends Mozambique's civil war. FRELIMO and RENAMO also agree that Mozambique's internal and external refugees have the right to claim property previously owned by them through legal means, provided it still exists.
1994	RENAMO and FRELIMO soldiers are demobilised	Between January and September, ninety thousand troops are demobilised together with ninety-five thousand of their direct dependants.
1995	Law No. 54/95 (13 November 1995)	The Ministerial Council approves the legal statute of the Institute for Judicial Support, which was created under Law No. 6/94 (13 September 1994)
1995	Mozambique joins the British Commonwealth	Mozambique is accepted as a member of the British Commonwealth at its meeting in Auckland, Australia.
1996	Mozambique's constitution revised again	The new Constitution of 1990 is revised, which also redefines the powers pertaining to local authorities.
1996	Law No. 2/96 (4 January 1996)	Approves the law regulating citizens' right to petition, thereby entrenching this fundamental civil right.
1996	Third National Land conference	The conference draws participants, both from the public and private sectors. The conference produces a working document that will be the basis of the future Land Law.
1995-99	Land policy reforms	The government initiates an ambitious land policy reform to complement its overall economic and social policy. These

		reforms seek to protect existing land rights, resolve land disputes and attract investment into rural areas so as to foster community development.
1997	New Land Law Law No. 19/97 (1 October 1997)	The Mozambican parliament formally approves a new land law, which seeks to enhance the tenureship of rural smallholders and to foster investment partnerships between local communities and commercial investors.
1997	Law No. 45/97 (23 December 1997)	Under the auspices of the 1993 Investment Law, The Minister's Council creates the MOZAL industrial zone located in <i>Beluluane</i> , which possesses 138 hectares.
1997	Decree No. 10/97 (6 May 1997)	Introduces changes to Decree 21/89, which deals with the process of privatisation. The aim is to support and encourage entrepreneurship by ensuring lower interest rates, extending the terms of payment and making it easier to obtain credit for business projects.
1997-1999	Privatisations and other reforms	State banks are sold off to private investors and seven hundred state-owned companies are privatised (including forty large ones). Mozambique's stock market is set up in order to mobilise domestic savings. The Value Added Tax is introduced, which is to become an important source of revenue for the government's coffers.
1998-2000	Land Law campaign	Domestic and foreign NGOs, together with academics, found the National Committee, which launches a land campaign aimed at: a) Raising awareness about the new law; b) Ensuring its application; and, c) Encouraging debate between private households and businesses that claim the same land. Other objectives include: improving women's land rights, promoting communities' right to participate in tenure-related decision-making and encouraging collective action suits. Manuals, leaflets, videos, comic books and plays are used throughout most of the country as part of the campaign.
1998	Land Law Regulation Decree No. 66/98 (8 December 1998)	This decree regulates the newly-created land rights in terms of their identification and delimitation. The registration of existing customary rights is covered in a technical annex (but are also referred to in article numbers 9, 10 and 30).
1998	Primary sector economic legislation	This legislation modifies the management of forestry and wildlife resources whilst fostering community participation and also cooperation between land-holders and investors.
1999	Delimitation of Community Lands	The National Assembly approves a technical annex pertaining to the delimitation of community lands that ultimately leads to the creation of the National Land Commission ( <i>Direcção Nacional de Terras</i> ).
1999	Decree No. 61/99 (21 September 1999)	The decree sets up an Industrial Free Zone Council, which can classify companies as "industrial free zone enterprises" thereby exempting them from certain customs and other taxes.
1999	Industrial Property Act Resolution 34/99 (16 November 1999)	Entrenches the legal protection of industrial property rights.
1999	Law No. 11/99 (12 July 1999)	Introduces extra-judicial conflict resolution procedures.

1999	Law No. 10/99 (7 July 1999)	Fosters forest and animal conservation through the sustainable use of these resources in order to contribute towards economic, social and ecological well-being.
1999	Law No. 15/99 (1 November 1999)	Introduces a new legal framework for the creation and operation of credit institutions and financial societies.
1999	Presidential and legislative elections	<i>Joaquim Chissano</i> wins the presidential elections for a second term with 52.3% of the votes cast against 47.7% for <i>Afonso Dhlakama</i> . In the legislative elections, RENAMO wins in six provinces while FRELIMO wins in only five. However, FRELIMO obtains 133 seats and 48.54% of the votes cast while RENAMO obtains 119 and 38.81%. Overall turnout for the elections is relatively high, as 68.09% of all eligible voters vote in these elections.
2000	Land Registration Procedures Reform Ministerial Diploma No. 29-A/2000 (17 March 2000)	Technical teams are charged with registering and delimiting communal areas. Their conclusions are then approved by democratically chosen local representatives.
2000	Copyright bill enacted	Ensures the legal protection of copyright and other related rights.
2000	Summer floods	Cyclone Eline hits Mozambique in late February and various rivers burst their banks and flood a vast area. Mozambique experiences its severest flooding in recorded history.
2000	Centre for Legal and Judicial Training created	The Ministry of Justice and the High Judicial Council establish the <i>Centro de Formação Jurídica e Judiciária</i> (CFJJ) to improve the judicial system's effectiveness by training magistrates. Magistrates are law graduates who are required to attend a ten-month course prior to being assigned to the court system and to the Attorney General's office.
2001	Petroleum Resources Law Law No. 3/01 (21 February 2001)	The law seeks to protect the petroleum operator's rights and possessions, enhance competitiveness and also promote private investment in this sector.
2001	Judicial and Legal system capacity-building	The project is designed to equip circuit and community courts with the knowledge and skills needed to interpret and apply the new legislation. It entails four inter-related aspects: the training of provincial, district judges and prosecutors; the production of legal reference books pertaining to land, wildlife and forestry; study tours to Brazil and visits to Mozambique by Brazilian experts; and, d) field research to develop a training programme for community courts.
2001	Law No. 4/01 (27 February 2001)	Aims to promote artistic, scientific and cultural initiatives.
2002	Eighth FRELIMO Congress	The congress reaffirms the right of Mozambicans to keep their most valuable resource - land - as well the right benefit from its economic and cultural value.
2002	Presidential Decree No. 3/02 (26 August 2002)	Creates an inter-ministerial commission to ensure better coordination of legal reforms.
2002	Law No. 22/02 (27 August 2002)	This law is ancillary legislation to Presidential Decree No. 3/02. It establishes a technical unit for legal reform tasked with the following goals: planning, coordinating, promoting legislative measures and hiring experts to study and implement legal

		programs, amongst others.
2003	New Family Law Law No. 10/04 (30 December 2003)	The new law protects a broad range of women's rights and legally recognises customary marriages for the first time.
2004	Electoral Code of Conduct adopted	The ruling FRELIMO party and opposition parties agree to a new electoral code of conduct, which is generally upheld during the election campaign and subsequent elections.
2004	Anti-corruption bill enacted	Mozambique's national assembly passes an anti-corruption bill that updates earlier legislation but does not significantly alter the existing legal <i>status quo</i> .
2005	Commercial Law revised	In December 2005, the National Assembly revises the country's commercial law for the first time after independence.
2004	Constitutional Revision (16 November 2004)	Mozambique's 1990 Constitution is changed to reflect the consolidation of the country's democratic regime while also recognising an additional number of rights. It's noteworthy that these changes are subject, for the first time, to prior public debate that involves ordinary citizens and political parties.
2005	Mozambique-United States Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA)	The TIFA treaty establishes a Trade and Investment Council to discuss and foster bilateral and multilateral trade as well as investments.