FINAL REPORT: SUPPORT TO DECENTRALIZATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

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Final Report

Contractor Team:

Management Systems International (Prime Contractor)

Abt Associates, Inc.
Development Alternatives, Inc.
Deloitte, Touche, Tohmatsu
Institute for Development Research
Institute for Public Administration
International Resources Group
Research Triangle Institute
Search for Common Ground
State University of New York at Albany
University of Pittsburgh

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Support to Decentralization in Mozambique

Edwin Connerley, Management Systems International
J. Michael Turner, Management Systems International
Arnaldo Tembe, Management Systems International

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Implementing Policy Change Project

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Management Systems International, Inc. submits the present document to the U.S.Agency for International Development in Mozambique (USAID/Mozambique) as a final report on the Implementing Policy Change Project(IPC) to support decentralization activities in Mozambique. The final report presents a narrative chronology, description and analysis of the different IPC decentralization support activities which commenced in August, 1995 and were concluded in July, 1996. The report profiles and analyzes the major institutional governmental and non-governmental actors involved in Mozambique's decentralization process, and discusses the problem of the country's lack of information and knowledge concerning the implications of decentralization.

Chapter One, Introduction and Background

The chapter begins with a chronology and summary of the principal activities conducted during the six mission visits of the IPC facilitators to Mozambique. The problematic nature of the public policy debate on decentralization is seen as a function of both the lack of public information on decentralization and government decentralization policy, as well as a political disagreement between government and the political opposition on the timing and extent of anticipated local elections and effective municipalization.

The chapter also emphasizes the need for the increased public discussion and clarification of responsibilities for public service delivery between the new local governments and the central ministries previously responsible for the delivery of these services. Municipalization is seen to be the focal point of the decentralization process in Mozambique, accompanied by a deconcentration of certain decision-making powers within government ministries. The IPC program developed for Mozambique concentrated on providing information and training on the municipalization process, while supporting some ongoing discussion of the government's deconcentration program.

Chapter Two, Actors, Decisions and Activities

The chapter identifies and analyzes the principal local and national stakeholder groups selected to participate in the IPC process. The difficulty of identifying Mozambican organizations with national programs, activities, and institutional vision is discussed in the chapter. The chapter examines the decentralization activities and provides brief institutional profiles of the Ministry of State Administration, IPC's major government interlocutor, various civil society actors --with an emphasis on organized religious groups-- and representatives of the country's traditional authorities. The need to integrate traditional authorities into all municipalization plans is given particular emphasis in the chapter. It is also recommended that greater attention be given to the role the private sector might play in decentralization activities, including farmers' producer associations and other local private sector interests.

The chapter also describes the methodology used by IPC in collaboration with the Mission, the Embassy and USIS in selecting the provinces and districts in which IPC field visits would be conducted, and potential participants for the decentralization workshops would be selected. The decision was made that the IPC program would be developed in districts in Zambezia, Nampula and Sofala which were "focal provinces" in USAID's program, and areas in which the Mission had ongoing activities in rural income generation and delivery of primary health care activities. IPC conducted a series of informal surveys of district economic, social, administrative and political circumstances. It was determined that while the district administrations were all government controlled (Frelimo), political sentiments among the citizens ranged from Frelimo to mixed, to strongly Renamo.

The chapter details the selection process developed by IPC to choose government and non-governmental district representatives to attend the provincial workshops, as well as selected provincial capital representatives. IPC methodology involved the selection of national co-sponsors for the provincial and national decentralization workshops. Selecting workshop participants was a lengthy and complex process, done in collaboration with the national co-sponsor, other national institutional actors based in Maputo and the different central level, provincial and district offices of the Ministry of State Administration. The election of 18 provincial workshop participants to serve as spokespersons at the national workshop is presented within the context of historic gender inequalities in Mozambique, which resulted in a small number of female workshop participants.

The chapter also provides an assessment and detailed analysis of the three provincial workshops, and the IPC rationale for the selection of the three major workshop themes of local finance administration, human resource management for municipalization, and identification of administrative issues between municipal and provincial government under effective decentralization. The decision to include a role play exercise in each of the provincial workshops to clarify major decentralization problems and constraints is also discussed, as is the concern of IPC that civil society actors generally had a lower level of understanding and information about decentralization than government representatives. To compensate for this institutional imbalance, it was decided that civil society stakeholders would attend a mini-seminar one the day before each provincial workshop, to allow for more discussion, training and presentations on decentralization issues. Each provincial workshop was tasked with developing provincial recommendations and suggestions on the three theme areas to be presented at the national workshop in Maputo. The problematic nature of the recommendations developed in the provincial workshops is presented and analyzed in the chapter.
MSI has prepared a separate report on the national workshop.

Chapter Three, Constraints Towards an Effective Decentralization Program in Mozambique as Identified Through the IPC-Process

As stated in the Scope of Work for the IPC program, this chapter presents an analysis of the different constraints in Mozambique for decentralization, as determined by the experiences of the eleven-month IPC program. The major constraint determined by IPC concerns the country's

severely limited public finance sector, which is expected to result in inadequate financing for any decentralization program contemplated. The lack of empirical knowledge and information concerning current costs is seen to be a complicating factor for future feasibility studies to determine or project accurately the costs for decentralization in Mozambique. It is recommended that studies for the public finance costs of decentralization should be based on an understanding of net costs. It is argued that these net costs should be determined after allowing for the potential savings in what is expected to be the reduction in the size and operations of the current District Administrations, and the hoped for tendency of citizens to be willing to regularly pay taxes to local, democratically determined governments.

Constraints are also seen in the quality of human resource skills available to the new municipalities, as measured by educational attainment and skills within the public service sector. Low pay for public sector employees also complicates the decentralization process in the human resource sector. New training and retraining programs need to be conceptualized and developed, which will require identification of new resources to be provided the municipalities.

A final important constraint as identified in the IPC exercise is that decentralization seems to have few powerful advocates within the Government. While there is some ministerial interest in administrative deconcentration, the country's history and culture have not produced a natural constituency for the idea or concept of devolution. Given these constraints it is recommended that resources be invested in the more democratic elements of the country's civil society to reinforce the local decision making of citizens under municipalization.

Chapter Four, The Legal/Policy Framework for Decentralization

The existing legislation pertaining to decentralization in Mozambique has been the subject of criticism and challenge by some members of the National Assembly, and certain opposition groups. It is anticipated that certain unconstitutional aspects of Law 3 of 1994 will be changed by the National Assembly. The decree on Administrative Tutela (Decree 42 of 1995) continues to offer a strong regulatory role to the central government during the first two years of any new municipal government.

The chapter also proposes a "decentralized" gradualism in which government establishes (1)unequivocal criteria for a locality's eligibility for municipal status and (2) the powers and responsibilities which constitute municipal status, and finally (3)leaves the choice of when to pursue municipal status to local citizens.

Chapter Five, Recommendations

It is important to provide resources to strengthen the knowledge and advocacy abilities of civil society institutions to more directly participate in the national debate on decentralization. It is recommended that USAID support the argument that effective decentralization supports and strengthens democratization. Increased transparency of public sector processes and actions

relating to decentralization should also be emphasized in Mission programs, as the IPC workshops determined a strong interest in civil society actors in ensuring greater transparency and accountability of public programs.

It is recommended that USAID consider provision of support and technical assistance to the new municipal assemblies, in the effort to link decentralization with increased democratization. Some limited experimentation with different forms of local governance could prove of interest for future Mission programs, as no one recipe for democracy and decentralization exists at the moment. Explicit attention should be given to local public finance issues related to decentralization. A formula-based intra-governmental fiscal transfer system (Nation-Province-Municipality) should be promoted by USAID, as well as transparency and local accountability in all aspects of fiscal systems.

It is also recommended that the Mission's three sector strategy of investment in social service delivery, income generation mechanisms, and governance complement the presently recommended local public finance strategy that focusses on costs of decentralization operation and maintenance.

Lessons Learned

Civil society actors in Mozambique require significantly more training and technical assistance to become more empowered to engage with the Government on the technical aspects, problems and potential consequences of effective decentralization policies.

The civil society mini-workshops could serve as models for district-level training groups, once appropriate local groups were identified and a workshop methodology was accepted by the groups. Local finance administration and human resource needs should be major components of the district-level training courses.

The district-level training courses should include more participation from all political groups and national staff from international Private Voluntary Organizations working in areas in which the decentralization capacity building is occurring.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Implementing Policy Change

Implementing Policy Change (IPC) is a project of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which may be called upon by any USAID Mission to assist aid recipient countries with the implementation of significant national policy changes. A second, five year "phase" of the IPC project started October 1, 1995. IPC has assisted a number of countries and regional agencies (e.g. SADCC) with implementation of major policy changes, with a notable concentration of its activities in Africa and a single previous experience in Mozambique with *Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique*.

IPC experience has shown that successful implementation of policy change is often based on "ownership" of the policy implementation process by persons, groups and organizations that will be impacted by the proposed policy change. These persons, groups and organizations are known as "stakeholders." Policy change is most often successful when these stakeholders take initiatives, assume risks and make and keep commitments. IPC seeks to enable stakeholders to take initiatives, assume risks and make and keep commitments through organization and sponsorship of fora in which stakeholders can openly exchange ideas and information and debate points of view. These fora are principally organized as facilitated workshops which (1) include principal stakeholders, (2) may provide expert opinion and supplementary information and (3) call upon stakeholders to freely express themselves and their points of view.

The goal of IPC's work in Mozambique was to assist the primary stakeholders (initially defined as including the Ministry of State Administration, members of the Assembly of the Republic, and representatives of civil society, including traditional authorities) to successfully implement Mozambique's national decentralization policy as embodied in Law 3 of 1994, the framework law which enables the eventual creation of urban and rural municipal districts in Mozambique. IPC's efforts were complemented by USAID's parallel efforts to support decentralization and democratization through the ongoing work of the African American Institute (research on traditional authorities), the National Democratic Institute (civic education) and the State University of New York (assistance to the Assembly of the Republic).

Brief Chronology of IPC Decentralization Support Activities

The basic chronology of IPC's decentralization support activities in Mozambique is reported as a series of trips to Mozambique by IPC Team Leader and Decentralization Expert, Dr. Ed Connerley and/or IPC Workshop Facilitator, Dr. Michael Turner. Dr. Yolanda Comedy, a Fellow of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science with USAID Washington's Center for Democracy and Governance, participated in the initial IPC mission to Mozambique. IPC had two resident staff. Arnaldo Tembe, a Mozambican national, served as IPC's Resident Manager from Nov. 1, 1995 through the conclusion of IPC's activities on July 31, 1996 and Louis Helling,

an American citizen living in Mozambique, served as a part-time Resident Adviser to IPC from December, 1995 through May, 1996.

First Trip

The initial IPC trip to Mozambique was made by Drs. Comedy and Turner August 7th through 25th, 1995. The objective of this trip was to define parameters for a potential IPC decentralization support program in Mozambique. Extensive interviews were held in Maputo and in Quelimane. Drs. Turner and Comedy recommended that (1) decentralization support activities not focus on the anticipated local election process nor be linked directly to the holding of local elections; (2) USAID take an activist stakeholder role in decentralization support; (3) direct and active participation of civil society actors in IPC activities and (4) discussion and analysis of the "human factor" in decentralization. Recommendations three and four arose out of the team's perception that the national debate on decentralization was often narrowly technical, not providing the citizen with an understanding of the role civil society would need to play if decentralization were to advance and have a chance at becoming an effective national policy. The team also recommended that a topic to be included for discussion among stakeholders be the need to develop and manage decentralization programs utilizing extremely limited financial resources. The team's "bottom line" proposal was that five workshops be held, beginning with a national workshop in Maputo, followed by two regional workshops (presumably "northern" and "southern") and two provincial workshops.

Second Trip

The second IPC trip to support decentralization in Mozambique was made by Ed Connerley, Oct. 13 - 20 and Oct. 27 - Nov. 10, 1995. The purpose of the trip was to "identify government and non-government stakeholders and to develop a work plan for the Missions decentralization policy activities." In coordination with MAE, substantial progress was made during this trip in identifying stakeholders (government officials, parliamentarians, NGO representatives, international PVOs and donor/lender organizations) at the national (Maputo) level who were generally receptive, sometimes enthusiastic about IPC's work. Since no travel outside Maputo was undertaken, non-Maputo stakeholders were not identified at this time. There were at least three significant findings from this trip:

1. There were a number of significant and interested national stakeholders;

2. Insuring successful participation for traditional authorities in workshops would be difficult because of cultural differences and, in some cases, language difficulties; and

3. The proposed order and scope of workshops (national, regional, then provincial) might usefully be reversed and refined in order to encourage a more complete articulation of local (particularly rural) preferences with respect to decentralization and to deliver more of the training benefits of the workshops to less favored members of the political,

administrative and social systems.

On November 8th, 1995 the Government felt obliged to withdraw its proposals for the package of laws dealing with local elections from consideration by the *Assembleia da República* because the proposals were considered unconstitutional. The package is based on the 3/94 framework law which is not in accordance with what is established in the Constitution. A working group was formed to recommend revisions to the Constitution. Both government and opposition deputies were dissatisfied with the proposals. Withdrawal of these proposals made the high degree of uncertainty concerning the decentralization policy environment in Mozambique explicit. Other anticipated legislation required to implement decentralization policy was also delayed.

Third Trip

The third trip was made by Ed Connerley from Nov. 26 to Dec. 22, 1995. The primary purposes of this trip were (1) to identify potential rural stakeholders, (2) to understand the services currently provided to citizens by District-level government agencies and (3) to understand the expectations of citizens and officials about future services under the expected decentralized arrangements. Four districts in three provinces were visited by two person IPC teams. Visits were from four to five days in length. Interviews were conducted with district government officials and civil society representatives. A limited number of provincial officials were also interviewed. Notable conclusions from these interviews were that (1) local Administrations controlled very little spending, most local spending is controlled by the sectoral ministries; (2) expenditures of the Administrations are largely non-discretionary (operating expenditures were only 12% of salary expenditures in one Administration, for example) and (3) there was an appalling lack of awareness of decentralization policy and the government's intentions, particularly among civil society representatives, but substantial enthusiasm for the idea that localities should be able to make their own decisions on a variety of subjects; and (4) neither government persons nor civil society representatives were well informed as to future relationships between the intended *municipios* and other units of government.

Arnaldo Tembe, IPC's Resident Manager started making arrangements for the very difficult and complex logistics of holding a workshop for some sixty persons as early as January, 1996. He made several trips over the first half of the year to the three provincial capitals in question and visited several of the intended districts. He talked with potential participants, tried to insure that women would be well represented at the workshop, looked at potential workshop sites, made arrangements for transport of participants, talked with potential co-sponsoring civil society groups, etc. Mr. Tembe also kept the MAE informed of all logistics preparations for the trips and seminars.

IPC's scope of work was revised in January, 1996 to include responsibility for three provincial workshops and one national workshop.

Fourth Trip

The fourth trip was made by Ed Connerley from Feb. 11 -23, 1996. Between Feb. 13th and 16th additional interviews occurred in Quelimane and the District of Ile, both in Zambezia province. The rest of the trip was spent in Maputo. Provincial and district interviews validated the findings of trip three. There was notable concern that local public finance (expressed as a desire that future *municipios* be financially autonomous) be a topic of discussion at the proposed workshops. A further task of this trip was to formally engage the Mozambican authors who, under the tutelage of IPC Resident Adviser, Louis Helling, would prepare brief descriptions of the current and future functions of the district-level offices of five key ministries: Health, Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, and Public Works. These five ministries were seen as especially important to eventual decentralized local government delivery of public services. During this trip a decision was made to postpone the start of the provincial seminars because national policy development with respect to decentralization had slipped substantially behind the schedule originally envisioned, and because identification of workshop topics and preparation of workshop materials was also behind schedule.

Fifth Trip

This trip was made by Michael Turner from March 30 to April 13, 1996. The primary purpose of this trip was to prepare a formal and comprehensive plan for the content and process of the provincial and national workshops with input from USAID, MAE and other stakeholders. This was substantially accomplished. It was also formally decided that "mini-workshops" should precede the provincial workshops with participation being limited to civil society representatives. This was an attempt to "level the playing field" between civil society and government representatives. It was decided that provincial workshops would include presentations by Mozambican experts on three topics: Local Public Finance, Human Resources and Territorial Administration. Prominent civil society spokespersons were identified for making the opening and closing remarks at the national workshop and civil society co-sponsoring organizations were identified for each workshop.

Sixth Trip

This trip was made by Ed Connerley (May 20 - June 6 and June 11 - July 19, 1996) and Michael Turner (June 6 - July 13, 1996). Workshop preparations were completed and all four workshops were conducted as planned. One day "mini-workshops" were conducted for civil society participants immediately prior to each provincial workshop. A draft final report, draft trip report and draft report on the National Workshop were prepared and submitted to USAID. The temporary project office will be shut down by July 31, 1996 by Arnaldo Tembe, IPC's Resident Project Manager. Press coverage of the workshop events was widespread, as called for in IPC's scope of work. Further details concerning the workshops and their outcomes will be provided in a later section of this report.

Decentralization Policy in Mozambique

Decentralization policy in Mozambique is not clear and infrequently discussed in empirical terms. There are frequent articles in the popular media concerning what "ought" to be done, but little real information about the costs and benefits (broadly construed) of alternative approaches. Much of the coverage in print media is interviews of leading political spokespersons and government officials in which they try to "sell" their particular point of view to the literate public (a small, elite audience). Sometimes these same figures write "op-ed" pieces for the same purpose. Virtually all public debate is "long" on opinion and rhetoric and "short" on empirical fact.

The character of policy debate is in part a reflection of the genuine lack of reliable information concerning current and future costs and benefits of the operations of government. The state of accounting and reporting in the public sector is such as to make reliable information genuinely scarce. The central government has not submitted a publicized a statement of accounts for more than a decade, despite a current (since 1993) constitutional requirement that it do so.

Two donor-funded projects which are expected to provide reliable information have been very slow to produce results and the government has not yet made public the preliminary findings with respect to local finance. These are the World Bank's Local Government Reform Project and ASDI's (Sweden's) Pilot Districts Project, which started in 1994 and 1993 respectively.

In addition to a lack of information, there seems to be genuine indecision and profound contention between the two major political parties. The single piece of decentralization legislation passed by the National Assembly (Law # 3 of 1994) is alleged by some to be unconstitutional. The two major parties agreed, through their parliamentary delegations, to revise a portion of the constitution, which it is claimed will make the law constitutional. Revision is expected to be completed by the National Assembly in their next (Oct. - Dec., 1996) session. However, it is now agreed between these same two parties that substantial (though not publicly specified) revisions in the law will be required before/with the passage of a number of expected implementing laws and regulations. Such implementing laws and regulations include an expected law on local finance, a package of laws dealing with local elections, the decree of the Council of Ministers on Administrative Tutela (Decree # 42 of 1995) and many others.

There has not been much discussion concerning what may be the politically most difficult (but absolutely key to success in decentralization) issue of clarification of responsibilities for public service delivery. Experience has shown that it is essential to the success of decentralization to clarify responsibilities for delivery of public services between the expected local governments and the central ministries who have heretofore been charged with providing those services. In the absence of clarification, citizens don't know who to hold responsible and can't, therefore, hold anyone responsible.

The one aspect of decentralization policy which has been unequivocally decided, and about which there was seemingly little debate, is the decision to separate "decentralization" from "deconcentration." Decentralization, in its current usage in Mozambique, refers to the process of municipalization, the creation of *municipios*, a unit of general purpose government. A

simultaneous, though seemingly unrelated, process of deconcentration of the sectoral ministries is also national government policy. National policy envisions a deconcentration of decision-making powers, but is very weak on specifics. Each ministry is basically in charge of its own deconcentration. The Ministry of Health has shown more progress than other ministries in implementing decentralization activities. To this point in time, most deconcentration activities have transferred formerly national decisions to provincial levels of the responsible ministry. There has been very little impact at the district level. IPC's work in Mozambique has been targeted on decentralization, support for the creation of *municipios*, while merely trying to stay informed about deconcentration.

Chapter One- Summary

1. Chapter provides a chronology of the six IPC missions to Mozambique commencing August 7, 1995 and terminating on July 31, 1996.

2. The problematic nature of the decentralization policy debate in Mozambique is discussed within the context of the general absence of available public information on government policies, and a fundamental disagreement between the government and the political opposition on the timing and extent of local elections and municipalization.

3. The chapter also emphasizes the importance of Mozambique clarifying the responsibilities for public service delivery between the local government and the central ministries previously responsible for the delivery of these services. Little public discussion is occurring presently in Mozambique on the clarification of responsibilities for effective decentralization.

4. Decentralization, which in the Mozambican context refers to municipalization and deconcentration of decision-making powers within government ministries are described in the chapter. The focus of the IPC program in Mozambique was to provide information and training on the municipalization process, while supporting some discussion of the ongoing deconcentration program of the Mozambican government.

CHAPTER TWO: ACTORS, DECISIONS AND ACTIVITIES

This chapter is intended to identify and briefly discuss the principal stakeholder groups, to describe a number of key decisions and decision processes made in the course of IPC's work and to provide more detail about the various workshops conducted and the methods used.

Stakeholder Groups

In this report and previous reports on this activity we have referred to "national" and to "local" stakeholders. With the exception of the relevant government agencies and, perhaps, organized religious groups, there are few stakeholders who can accurately be described as national in scope. In practice, those stakeholders with a headquarters in Maputo, activities in at least one other province, and the expressed intention to eventually act on a larger than provincial scale, tend to be accepted as "national." There is also a tendency for any group engaged in policy advocacy to be seen as "national;" since the only government worth persuading is the national government. "Local" stakeholders tend to be located in a provincial capitol or, in a very few cases, a district capitol and tend to have few levels of internal organization. MOCIZA, which limits its activities to Zambezia province, might be a good example of a local stakeholder. However, local stakeholders are sometimes local branches of national stakeholders, which is the case with the Nampula office of the *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique* (CCM) and other local offices of organized religious groups. It seems best to regard "national" and "local" as used herein as largely terms of convenience, which may not imply very reliable distinctions in the real world.

Government of Mozambique - Ministry of State Administration

The Ministry of State Administration (MAE) was the major representative of the Government of Mozambique in IPC's work. It was clear that the mandate for all municipalization work lies with MAE. The point of contact for IPC within MAE was always the National Director for Local Administration, José Manuel Guamba. At provincial and district levels, the first point of contact with government was always the relevant office of MAE. At the provincial level that is the Provincial Director of Support and Control. At the district level that is the District Administrator. IPC always tried to interview District and Provincial Directors of other ministries, but the approach was, by strong custom if not legal requirement, through the appropriate office of MAE.

Civil Society

Religious Groups

The strongest civil society groups in Mozambique appear to be the organized religious groups. Foremost among the Christian groups are the Anglicans and the Catholics. Both of these groups

played, and continue to play, important roles in the peace and national reconciliation processes. They are organized at something approaching a national scale and on multiple levels; although there are certainly differences in their respective regional strengths. Both groups also have affiliated social action NGOs. Both are affiliated, with other Christian groups, in the *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique*, which, in turn, has some relationship with *Tres Rs*, an ecumenical social action NGO. The organized religious groups also have independent access to international religious funding sources, which increases their freedom to act independently of government or donor approval. Historically, the organized religious groups were principal providers of health care in Mozambique. Their facilities were largely nationalized and subsequently run and degraded by the government. They have been somewhat reticent to reinvest in health care in recent years.

There are several organized Muslim groups, including those with social service and political objectives. They are relatively stronger in the center and north than in the south. IPC solicited their participation in the IPC workshops and representatives did attend the three provincial workshops.

The religious groups seem to genuinely support administrative and political decentralization.

Traditional Authorities

"Traditional Authorities" is the term applied to a wide variety of traditional leaders found in almost all Mozambican groups of African origin. A certain type of traditional leader, the "regulo," was incorporated into the Portuguese version of indirect rule during colonial times. Thus, the regulo became responsible for collection of certain government taxes, was provided with a uniform, assisted in policing functions and so forth. The regulo was sometimes paid a salary and at other times or places was allowed to keep a defined share of the taxes collected. Since the colonial government was not widely accepted by Africans, the cooperation of the regulo with colonial authorities tended to diminish his legitimacy in the eyes of his own people. There were also instances in which the regulos refused to be used by colonial authorities, which sometimes led to the colonialists installing a more pliable person as regulo. Since "regulo" is an hereditary position, the colonially installed regulos and their descendants are of questionable legitimacy in the eyes of their "followers" to this day. Renamo also tried to use the regulos in the areas which they controlled during the recent civil war. They also interfered with the succession of regulos thereby creating further doubts in the minds of common people as to the legitimacy of the regulos. Shortly after independence Frelimo made a systematic effort to do away with traditional authorities, but largely failed to do so. To this day, however, it is very common for struggles for influence between traditional authorities and local Frelimo party chairpersons to exist.

Despite wide spread and concerted attacks on their legitimacy, traditional authorities generally maintain a great deal of influence in traditional societies. Their influence is greater in rural areas than urban, and generally greater with older persons than with younger. Their influence is very strong in local land allocation. Traditional healers are also widely used. The government has said

that it will pass legislation recognizing some of the governance functions of traditional authorities, but the details of this legislation are not known.

Although it is obvious that traditional authorities are, at the very least, important opinion leaders in their communities, it is not obvious how they might fit into a decentralized governance system. They generally tend to favor a decentralized administrative system, presumably because they believe that it would facilitate their own representation of local interests to the local administration. However, it is not clear that they favor political decentralization or enhanced democracy, which might present a competing model of political legitimation to their own hereditary legitimation.

The Private Sector

This term is used here to refer to private, profit seeking firms. Participation from representatives of private firms was limited. Each provincial seminar included a few small-scale entrepreneurs engaged in small scale trading activities. These persons sometimes presented themselves as representatives of a local association of business persons. But it is unclear how many members these associations might have or what their functions are. In some cases it seemed likely that the "association" was a "mass organizations" sponsored by the government, rather than an association representing the interests of its members. Large-scale private capital was not represented in the provincial seminars[1]. IPC had intended that representatives of large-scale private capital be invited, but in the process of extending invitations they were somehow overlooked. The national seminar also did not include representatives of large-scale private capital, though a few were invited.

The private sector, both large- and small-scale, is genuinely interested in at least administrative decentralization. Private sector views on political decentralization may be more mixed and are more difficult to discern.

Other Non-Governmental Organizations

Indigenous non-governmental organizations are virtually all less than five years old. The only exceptions to this general rule are the numerous "mass organizations" created by Frelimo to mobilize people for development work. Some of the NGOs created within the last five years are "front organizations" for particular persons or political interests. IPC made an effort to locate and invite NGOs and we were generally pleased with the participation of those NGO representatives in the workshops. Our workshop co-sponsors were indigenous NGOs and we were pleased with their performance. Although the NGO sector is not strong or numerous, it does seem to be

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[1] The Beira (Sofala province) Workshop was co-sponsored by the *Associação Comercial da Beira* (ACB), which is one of the more active and outspoken representatives of business interests in the country. Unfortunately, their representative became ill right after he delivered a forceful set of opening remarks at the workshop and did not participate in the remainder of the workshop.

maturing rapidly.

Several participants in the provincial seminars presented themselves as representatives of a local farmers' association. It seems likely that many of these persons were representatives of mass organizations sponsored by the government. However, the number of non-political NGOs representing rural interests does seem to be growing rapidly due to donor and international PVO efforts to stimulate and support the development of rural cooperatives and credit associations.

The NGOs consistently favor decentralization of administration and politics. Though not necessarily strong and well organized, they seem likely to be increasingly important, especially if political decentralization is allowed.

Donors and Lenders

At the provincial level, USAID was the only donor/lender participant in the workshops. The World Bank Resident Representative and two representatives of the UNDP participated in the National Workshop. The low level of donor/lender participation was partly by design and partly by accident. It was by design, in that attendance was very limited in all the workshops. IPC decided that most tradeoffs among potential invitees should be made in favor of national participants. Although a half dozen donor/lender representatives were invited to the National Workshop, several were out of the country on home leave or similar travels.

The donors and lenders are relatively powerful stakeholders in the decentralization process. Though almost all donors give lip service to the need for decentralization and a large number are willing to fund some aspects of it, not all donors mean the same thing when they speak of "decentralization." USAID's views concerning what constitutes a "decentralized" system of governance are quite different than those of the continental European democracies who fund work in this area.

International Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs)

The international PVOs are a powerful presence in Mozambique, though their influence may be past its peak. Representatives of the PVOs were not invited to the provincial workshops because of the extremely limited number of participants and the decision that the workshops should be largely a Mozambican affair. International PVOs did participate effectively in the National Workshop. International PVOs are genuinely interested in administrative and political decentralization, but their foreign origins limits the extent to which they can "be involved in" decentralization. Their primary role will probably be as role models for national NGOs and for their own national staff members.

Major Decisions and Decision Processes

The IPC process includes a number of choices which shape the process and eventual outcomes.

This section will describe the decisions made, the criteria used and the processes employed. Among the major decisions considered are those concerning the provinces in which workshops were to be held, the participants who were invited to the workshops, the spokespersons chosen to report provincial workshop recommendations at the national workshop, the co-sponsors for each workshop and the local experts who were chosen to make presentations at the provincial workshops.

Choosing Provinces, Districts and Participants

USAID, in consultation and coordination with MAE, selected provinces. The three provinces selected are "focal provinces" in USAID's program. USAID has ongoing agriculture, rural development, and primary health care activities in Nampula, Zambezia and five northern districts of Sofala province. These areas are economically disadvantaged compared to southern sections of the country, with relatively high indices of morbidity and mortality, but relatively good agricultural potential.

Districts within these provinces were chosen to represent a range of economic and political conditions. For example, Angoche (Nampula province) and Mocuba (Zambezia province) have substantial economic activities, while Caia (Sofala province) and Maganja da Costa (Zambezia province) are relatively poor. Each of the districts invited to participate was visited at least once (usually two or three times) by IPC team members and/or USAID democracy support staff before invitations were issued. These visits included informal surveys of district economic, social, administrative and political circumstances. The Ministry of State Administration was consulted concerning likely districts and agreed with the districts finally chosen. Although the district administrations are all government controlled, political sentiments among the citizens range from strongly Frelimo, to mixed, to strongly Renamo.

Since the planned decentralization focusses on the creation of *municipios*, it seemed logical to start from the current districts, which are the units which might be converted into *municipios*. In addition to articulating local preferences for decentralization, it was desirable to communicate national plans and strategies to the future *municipios*. In order to do so in a meaningful way, it was felt that a certain "critical mass" of persons from each district should participate in the workshop. It was felt that one or two persons from a particular district would have little or no chance of impacting the future course of decentralization in that district. Since the provincial workshops were to be facilitated working sessions, it was felt that approximately 60 participants was the maximum number that could be accommodated. It was decided that each provincial workshop would include representatives from 3 rural districts within that province and a similar group from the urban district that served as the provincial capital. The list of invitees consisted of 7 civil society representatives and 6 government officials from each of three rural districts, a roughly similar group from the urban district that served as provincial capitol, three to four members of the National Assembly (representatives of the province in question), and three to four members of the provincial government staff. Ideally, these groups would be evenly divided between men and women. It was hoped that each district group might treat itself as an "intact

work group," tasked with leading a process of decentralization in "its" district, after having attended the workshop together.

The Governor of the province is always invited to the workshop and invited to give the opening remarks. Governors very seldom stay to participate in the workshop itself. The presence of the governor might inhibit others' self expression. Invitations were extended to each of the three governors in question, one gave the opening remarks and left shortly thereafter, one sent a representative who gave the opening remarks and left, the third declined to give the opening remarks.

The issuing of invitations to the provincial workshops was an inexact "science," due to the extreme difficulties of communication with the rural districts and due to IPC's preference for widespread participation of stakeholders. IPC's participative methods meant that a great deal of communication, about prospective districts and categories of individuals to be invited, was needed between IPC staff, MAE headquarters in Maputo, national stakeholders in Maputo, the provincial offices of MAE, the provincial workshop co-sponsors and the districts under consideration. In practice (and in retrospect), this produced a certain dependency on MAE and its communication channels. Effective and timely communication with the districts is almost exclusively through MAE by virtue of their control of an extensive short wave radio network covering all districts and by virtue of a dearth of alternatives. Correspondence through the public mail is, for example, exceedingly unreliable and slow under the best of circumstances. Communications through the Ministry led to their input on the content and had an impact on the composition of the workshops. This was not necessarily a "filtering" intended by MAE, but, as far as IPC knows, more a result of habit and custom. "Filtering" also occurred, but to a lesser extent and somewhat more in line with IPC's preferences, in our relationships with local co-sponsors. Examples of the effects of "filtering" include the number of "mass organizations" invited to the provincial workshops (From IPC's perspective they aren't really NGOs, but from MAE's perspective they are NGOs.) and the under representation of women (IPC consistently emphasized the preference that the workshops include significant numbers of women, but didn't establish quotas.). A participative, cross-cultural process which occurs in an environment in which communication is difficult is subject to inexact outcomes.

Choosing Provincial Spokespersons

Participants were very enthusiastic about the election of spokespersons who would represent the provincial workshop, and its conclusions and recommendations, at the subsequent national workshop. Election procedures varied somewhat from province to province, but always involved the use of secret ballots and public counting of the results. The counting of results was followed with intense interest and much good humor. Six spokespersons were elected at each provincial workshop.

What varied from province to province were the definitions of persons eligible to be candidates. In the first provincial workshop (Zambezia) members of the National Assembly were not eligible

to be elected as spokespersons. Six "occupation-based" categories were established (traditional authorities, merchants and other economic producers, representatives of religious organizations, district administrators, district directors of sectoral ministries, and persons residing in the provincial capitol not eligible in any other category). In retrospect, these categories and election rules while appropriate to the organization of the Zambezia workshop presented certain problems as all of the female workshop participants by chance were all grouped in one category i.e., residents of the provincial capitol. IPC staff were concerned because the Zambezia categories, while legitimate for the organization of that workshop resulted in no women being elected as provincial spokespersons. In response to these perceived problems, candidacy rules were changed for the Nampula and Sofala workshops. All participants were eligible for candidacy, but three categories were established and a specific number of spokespersons were authorized from each category. The categories were (1) member of the National Assembly, (2) government employee and (3) member of civil society. One member of the National Assembly was to be elected, two government employees and three members of civil society. It was also emphasized that the provincial delegation should be about equally divided between males and females.

These rules gave National Assembly members a more favorable chance of being elected (about 1 in 4 or 5) than other participants. The chances of being elected are roughly 1 in 3 or 4 for National Assembly members, 1 in 14 for government employees, and 1.5 in 14 for civil society members. This wasn't an outcome that IPC sought for its own sake, but did guarantee that at least one spokesperson would be female in the Nampula delegation; since all Assembly members (total of 3) at the Nampula workshop were female. In fact, the Nampula workshop participants were extremely mindful of IPC's request that the delegation be balanced between males and females. They elected three men and three women as spokespersons for a workshop that consisted of roughly 54 men and 6 women. The same rules were applied in the Sofala workshop, but there was no possibility of a delegation balanced between males and females as the provincial workshop group was all male. The provincial elections produced a group of spokespersons at the National Workshop which consisted of 3 women and 15 men. In this group there were 2 members of the National Assembly, 6 government employees and 10 representatives of civil society.

Choosing Provincial Workshop Expert Presenters

The extensive interviews conducted in the various districts identified three themes which potential participants felt were important to discuss at the provincial workshops. These were (1) local public finance, (2) district/municipal human resources and (3) territorial administration.[2] IPC organizers felt that Mozambican experts would be most able to make the presentations which seemed likely to be required. Persons with the required expertise were identified to make the

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[2] "Territorial administration" is a translation of the Portuguese term, *administração territorial*, which connotes a broad range of issues dealing with the rights, duties and mutual relationships of the various levels of government ---
in this case national, provincial, district and municipal.

appropriate presentations. Presenters included José Manuel Guambe, National Director of Local Administration for MAE (Local Finance, Zambezia); Bonifacio Dias, Director, Ernst & Young (Local Finance, Nampula, on leave from the Ministry of Finance); Jaime Gerente, President of the Municipal Council, City of Quelimane (Territorial Administration, Zambezia and Local Finance, Sofala); and Antonio Tchamo, Human Resource Specialist, Ministry of Education (Human Resources, Zambezia, Nampula and Sofala; Territorial Administration, Nampula and Sofala). Presenters were urged and assisted to use visual aids, to avoid extensive lectures and to encourage frequent questions and comments from participants. Presenters were also told that many participants would not have even a rudimentary understanding of the subjects and that their presentations should stick with fundamentals and omit potentially confusing unessential detail.

The presentations were generally technically competent and most presenters tried to observe the ground rules that IPC had established. However, by the early stages of the third provincial workshop (Sofala) it became evident that, in the attempt to stick to basics, the presentations had been made shallow. There was a tendency to present the conventional wisdom as seen from the government's point of view. Presenters weren't identifying potential problems which IPC staff saw as highly likely to occur. IPC staff spoke with the presenters and urged them to identify potential problems in their Sofala presentations, and intervened more frequently and pointedly to bring out these potential problems.

In retrospect, there seem to be at least two dimensions to these technically competent presentations. One is that the pool of local experts about decentralization is largely composed of current and former employees of the government, who aren't likely to be very critical of government policy. The second is that public criticism of government policy has been actively discouraged for many years. Therefore, one shouldn't expect open criticism in public presentations.

Choosing Workshop Co-Sponsors

An early decision was made that workshop co-sponsors should be Mozambican civil society groups with an interest in decentralization and some history of involvement in policy advocacy. IPC staff felt that, if at all possible, provincial workshop co-sponsors should be based in the target province. It was also thought desirable to have co-sponsors who were non-partisan. In addition, co-sponsors should be capable of actively assisting in decision-making and logistical support for the workshops.

The three provincial co-sponsors[3] were in fact based in the respective target provinces; although the Nampula co-sponsor is the Nampula unit of a national organization. There were no ideal candidates for co-sponsorship, but, in retrospect, IPC is pleased with the cooperation extended to it and the performance of each of the co-sponsors.

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[3] The provincial co-sponsors were *Movimento Civico da Zambezia (MOCIZA)*, the Nampula office of *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique*, and *Associação Comercial da Beira* (ACB).

Workshops Conducted

Mini-workshops in Each Province

Each provincial workshop lasted two full days and each was immediately preceded by a one day mini-workshop for civil society participants only. The mini-workshop included abbreviated presentations by the Mozambican experts on the three workshop themes (Local Finance, Human Resources and Territorial Administration), a "dry run" of the village case study exercise and an explanation of the IPC process and its intended work in Mozambique. The mini-workshop was designed to be approximately 4 and one-half hours long, but was six to eight hours long in practice. The intent of the mini-workshops was to "level the playing field" between government and civil society, starting with an assumption (based on the district-level interviews) that government representatives were advantaged in terms of their knowledge of decentralization and public management in general, and also enjoyed the advantage of generally higher social status. It was hoped that the mini-workshops would be particularly helpful to traditional authorities, some of whom do not read or speak Portuguese. Translation to and from local languages was offered to mini-workshop and provincial workshop participants, but only needed in Nampula. Civil society participants were generally pleased with the mini-workshops and thought that they were worth the extra time and effort. The mini-workshops did not fully compensate for the advantages that government employees have, but they did increase the understanding and participation of civil society representatives.

Features Common to Provincial Workshops

There was one basic design for all three provincial workshops, but small changes were made from province to province based on experience and differing circumstances. The basic workshop design was as follows:

FIRST DAY:

8:00 - 8:30	- Opening Remarks by the Governor or his representative
8:30 - 9:00	- Introduction to the IPC Process and Workshop Content - Welcoming remarks by Co-Sponsor and explanations of process and content by IPC Staff
9:00 - 12:15	- "Crisis in the Village" Case Study Exercise - IPC prepared a fictional case study for analysis by workshop participants. After an explanation of the case study method and presentation of the case study content ("floods, damaged village access road, bridge destroyed, unable to transport crops to market, malaria and other health problems, need cash and other inputs"), participants are divided into groups, with each group assigned the role of "village resident" or "elected municipal official." After discussion of the problems, and strategies for overcoming them, in small groups, role-played negotiating sessions between "village residents" and "elected municipal officials" were staged.
12:15 - 12:30	-Review and Informal Evaluation of the Morning Session. Preview of the Afternoon Session

12:30 - 14:00 - Lunch

14:00 - 17:15 - Local Public Finance - Presentation made by Public Finance expert for 30 to 45 minutes. Followed by discussion in small groups of questions/issues in local public finance (identified by IPC) for approximately one hour. The group then returned to plenary session in which each small group reported its discussion and the larger group had an opportunity to offer conclusions and recommendations concerning Local Public Finance.

17:15 - 17:30 - Review and Informal Evaluation of the First Day. Preview of second day.

SECOND DAY:

8:00 - 8:15 - Presentation of the Agenda for Day Two

8:15 - 10:45 - Territorial Administration: Provincial - Local Relations: Presentation by Territorial Administration expert for 30 minutes. Followed by small group and plenary session similar to Local Public Finance session on first day.

10:45 - 11:45 - Open Session- The open session was designed to give participants an opportunity to discuss topics, not on the workshop agenda, that they thought were important. Individuals nominated topics by writing them on a public list. At the beginning of the Open Session, nominated topics were prioritized for discussion by an informal public "vote" of the group.

11:45 -12:00 - Review and Informal Evaluation of the Morning Session. Preview of the Afternoon Session

12:00 - 13:30 - Lunch

13:30 - 15:30 - Municipal Human Resources Development - Presentation by a Human Resources expert for approximately 30 minutes, followed by small group and plenary group discussions as in Local Public Finance and Territorial Administration.

15:30 - 16:30 - Preparation for the National Seminar - Participants elected "Spokespersons" to present provincial workshop conclusions and recommendations at the National Workshop. Participants were not told in advance of this session that they would elect spokespersons. The title of this session was chosen to deliberately disguise the actual activity. IPC was concerned that advance knowledge of the election would lead to "campaigning" on the part of participants, with the more powerful, higher status participants having an advantage.

16:30 - 17:30 - Conclusions, Recommendations and Lessons Learned - Participants synthesized conclusions, recommendations and lessons learned that they felt should be reported to the National Workshop by the elected spokespersons.

17:30 - 17:45 - Closing Session - Remarks by IPC staff and Co-Sponsoring organization.

Certain aspects of the workshop and reactions to the workshop were fairly consistent from province to province. Among these consistencies are:

1. The Village Crisis Case Study was probably the most popular exercise among participants.

2. The Open Sessions were not particularly useful. In retrospect, the IPC facilitators could have given more emphasis to the Open Sessions panel, as generally there wasn't a strong demand for them from participants. It is probable that the lack of clarity surrounding the Open Sessions panel resulted in one workshop in which no topics were nominated by participants for discussion.

3. The election of spokespersons was the emotional highlight of the workshop.

4. The composition of the small work/discussion groups was reconfigured three or four times through the course of the three workshops. Each reconfiguration was an effort to enhance freedom of expression in the small groups. This in response to a tendency for District Administrators or other government officials to dominate discussions.

5. It was always difficult to keep the workshop on schedule, but especially difficult on the afternoon of the second day. The elections normally took close to twice as much time as provided. However, participants were not frustrated by this experience.

6. The role played meetings between "village residents" and "elected municipal officials" in the Village Crisis Case Study had very similar patterns. In each role play, "village residents" consistently adopted a "we are too poor to help ourselves" strategy, while "elected municipal officials" always proposed "further study" of the problem or assured the villagers that the **provincial** government would, no doubt, provide the needed funds.

7. In all provinces, civil society participants were very concerned that there be transparency in financial management. Civil society participants did not feel that they receive sufficient services for the taxes that they paid. On the other hand, government officials consistently felt that citizens would have to pay higher taxes and fees if they wanted services.

8. No provincial workshop was even remotely near "balance" in the number of male and female participants. In retrospect, more attention should have been given by IPC to ensuring the presence of more women and in focusing on themes which are relatively engaging for women.

10. Though the intended topic of discussion was **Municipal** Human Resources Development, workshop discussions never actually focussed on the municipalities and their expected human resource requirements. There was an evidently inevitable tendency in all provincial workshops to discuss the current national government human resources system, and its many failings, and to assume, as government does, that the human resource needs of the future municipalities will be met by allowing current district employees to transfer to the *municipios* as they are formed.

Zambezia Provincial Workshop

The Zambezia workshop, by virtue of being the first provincial workshop, was somewhat of a pilot test for the workshop design. In some senses, the Zambezia workshop was a bit more of a seminar and a bit less of a workshop than succeeding workshops. The use of flip charts as visual aids in formal presentations, to record participants comments and to display a visual history of the workshop was less extensive. Small, working group sessions were fewer and group size, in the "small" groups was larger. Facilitators made fewer explicit references to group process and did not ask participants to review and evaluate workshop process or content until the end of the workshop.

However, the conceptual clarity and understanding displayed in the discussions may have been best in the Zambezia workshop. In part, this may be due to Zambezia's cultural penchant for debate and discussion. It may also be that there is a somewhat higher level of Portuguese literacy in Zambezia. Finally, it also seemed that the Zambezia National Assembly members present at the workshop were able to play a highly constructive role. They seemed to use the opportunity to dialogue with constituents about the policy problems and issues concerning decentralization more than their Assembly colleagues who participated in the other provincial workshops.

Discussion of the Village Crisis Case Study was carried out in just two "small" groups. A group, composed entirely of government officials and Assembly members, was asked to play the "village resident" role. The other group, composed of civil society persons, was asked to be the "elected municipal officials." While group members easily adapted to the reversal of their customary roles required by their assignment to the group, there were fewer opportunities for group members to speak than in subsequent workshops where more groups and smaller groups were structured.

The Zambezia workshop was conducted at the provincial agricultural training center, which provided lodging and meals to most participants. Since meals and lodging were provided by IPC, no per diem payments were made to participants. This was a source of irritation to participants, who would have preferred cash payments in lieu of the meals.

Nampula Provincial Workshop

The Nampula workshop included more frequent use of breakout groups and smaller group size in the breakout groups. The basis for composing breakout groups was also different in Nampula than in Zambezia. In so far as possible, breakout groups were based on district of residence. This meant that each breakout group could focus its discussions on its home district. Theoretical issues of local public finance or territorial administration were discussed as issues of a particular district. Participants were relatively content with these group discussions, but IPC staff noted a tendency for District Administrators and other government employees to dominate these discussions, at some expense to other participants' points of view.

Nampula was the only workshop in which translation services were provided. Approximately a half dozen participants (all regulos) felt that their comprehension and expression was much better in Macua than in Portuguese. Translation did noticeably slow down the workshop and lower the

emotional "energy," particularly during formal presentations. Translation on the first day was "serial," that is the presenter would speak for a short time and then pause to allow the translator to translate what had been said. Portuguese speaking participants found this to be too cumbersome and asked the translation be simultaneous. The small, non-Portuguese speaking group sat closely around the translator, who translated in a lowered voice simultaneously. This increased the "background" noise in the room, but sped up the workshop.

Nampula also featured more extensive use of flip charts to record and display workshop presentations and discussions. An effort was made to keep a visual history of the workshop visible to participants at all times.

Sofala Provincial Workshop

Renamo won the presidential and parliamentary contests in much of the province. One of the interesting events of the Sofala workshop was the last minute cancellation by the two Frelimo members of the National Assembly who had been invited (and accepted the invitation) to attend. The failure of the Frelimo deputies to attend left "the stage" to the three Renamo deputies in attendance.

Breakout groups were structured differently in Sofala. One group was composed of National Assembly members, one was composed of other government employees and the third was all civil society representatives. A disadvantage of this arrangement was that the National Assembly group (3 members) was much smaller than other groups. The advantage was that civil society group discussions were more authentic and broad participation was enabled. The contrasts between government views and civil society views were more fully developed. The dialogue and outputs of the National Assembly group might have been enhanced, if both major parties had been represented.

The National Workshop, Maputo

MSI has prepared a separate detailed report on the National Workshop. The substance of the provincial workshops are to be found in that separate report.

Chapter Two - Summary

1. Non-governmental stakeholders in the IPC program in Mozambique are seen primarily to be "local" in their activities, apart from some religious organizations, or groups working throughout a particular province.

2.While the major GRM interlocutor for the IPC program was the Ministry of State Administration, an effort was also made to engage the Ministry of Finance and Planning, and other ministerial representatives during the IPC field trips to the different provincial districts.

3. Religious organizations proved to be important stakeholders in the IPC program, and should be actively included in any follow-on activities contemplated for decentralization.

4. The integration of traditional authorities into the IPC program was important, if at times somewhat problematic. Attention must be paid to their effective integration into a decentralized administrative system and the role to be created for traditional authorities.

5. Private sector representation was limited in the IPC program. It is recommended that any future training activities in decentralization also seek the active participation of representatives of the private sector, as the experience with the Commercial Association of Beira representatives demonstrated a keen interest in and desire for decentralization to occur in Mozambique.

6. The provinces and districts chosen for representation in the IPC program are focal geographical areas for the USAID program in Mozambique. Although the district administrations are all government controlled, political sentiments among the citizens ranged from strongly pro-government to strongly pro-opposition political parties. Under the IPC process, each provincial workshop, as well as the national workshop had a Mozambican institutional co-sponsor. The institutional co-sponsorship was an important feature of the IPC process.

7. Provincial workshops were designed to present decentralization strategies for district level civil society and government representatives, as well as invited provincial government officials and elected provincial deputies to the National Assembly. Particular emphasis in the provincial workshops was given to civil society representatives, seen to be less knowledgeable about decentralization than GRM officials attending the workshops. A mini half-day workshop for civil society representatives preceded each provincial workshop. The workshop model included a role play exercise in which participants were asked to find solutions for a `village crisis' situation within a decentralized hypothetical national context.

8. Each provincial workshop elected six provincial spokespersons to attend the national decentralization workshop in Maputo. One of the problems encountered in the provincial workshops was the very small number of women who were selected to attend the workshop, which resulted in only three women serving as provincial spokespersons at the national workshop.

CHAPTER THREE: CONSTRAINTS TOWARDS AN EFFECTIVE DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM IN MOZAMBIQUE AS IDENTIFIED THROUGH THE IPC-PROCESS

Public Finance

Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is no surprise that its public sector finance is severely constrained. The contemplated decentralization of the government is likely to also be constrained by "inadequate" financing. Unfortunately, on those rare occasions when the costs of alternative designs for decentralization are discussed, the discussion is conducted in terms of broad allegations of differential costs ("Decentralized governance costs more!"), rather than careful studies of empirical costs experienced in the current system or likely to be experienced in alternative, decentralized systems. The lack of detailed empirical knowledge of current costs makes it very difficult, perhaps impossible, to accurately project the costs of decentralization. However, the lack of accurate knowledge should not be taken as an absolute constraint on decentralization for the following reasons:

A. Although theoretical justifications for decentralized governance are invariably based on allegations of increased efficiency of public service delivery, empirical studies of decentralization efforts around the world (See Dillinger, 1995) show that decentralization efforts are undertaken primarily in response to political demands and for political purposes. A strong demand for decentralized governance was clearly and consistently expressed in the IPC provincial workshops.

B. The ultimate public finance costs of decentralization will result from the details of the many implementing laws (e.g. the law on local government finance, the law on administrative "tutela," the law on local elections and so forth), most of which have not yet been enacted. If these laws are carefully designed to avoid imposition of unnecessary additional costs, decentralization might be accomplished at a much lower cost than its critics assume. However, the single piece of implementing law which has been passed, the law on administrative tutela (Decree No. 42 of 1995) contains requirements which will substantially increase the eventual costs of decentralization. Article 7 requires that every Distrito Municipal have a "delegação" of the Direcção Provincial de Apoio e Controlo in order to "support the exercise of administrative tutela," creating the required delegaçoes implies substantial additional costs.

C. An accurate understanding of the public finance costs of decentralization should be based on an understanding of **net costs** after allowing for two potential countervailing tendencies. The first of these is potential savings in the operation of what should be a substantially reduced *Administração Local do Estado*, primarily reduction in the size and operations of the current District Administrations. The second countervailing tendency, only likely over the long term and with substantial success in decentralization, is the

tendency for increasing citizens' willingness to pay taxes. Citizens are more likely to be willing to pay taxes to local, democratically determined governments than they are to the current, normally distant, central government. The IPC provincial workshops indicated that most Mozambicans have a strong aversion to paying taxes and little faith that their taxes are returned to them in government services. Overcoming this cynicism concerning government and its actions may be the biggest potential payoff of decentralization.

Inter-governmental Transfers

It is evident, both from the current situation in Mozambique and experience elsewhere, that substantial transfers of funds from central government to the municipalities will be necessary. It is vital that the amount transferred to individual municipalities be based on simple, transparent formulae, whose operation is clearly understood by municipalities and citizens. Transparent, formulae-based transfer systems (1) minimize year-to-year variations in the amount of funds received by a jurisdiction, which frequently improves planning and enables the receiving agency to use the funds more efficiently; (2) decreases the political dependence of receiving jurisdictions; and (3) enhances the perception of equity in the transfer system.

Human Resources

The quality of human resources, as measured by educational attainment and skills, in the public service in Mozambique is poor, even by African standards. Recent statistics show that only 8% of the approximately 95,000 public employees have completed secondary school. The median educational attainment of the employees of the Ministry of Health, considered to be a highly educated and reasonably productive ministry, is 6 years. Public sector employees are also generally poorly motivated and certainly poorly paid. Though specific, comparative studies of public sector productivity in Mozambique are not known to this author, productivity is likely to be extremely low.

A shortage of qualified human resources is frequently mentioned as a leading constraint in the literature on decentralization. It is possible that there are large numbers of surplus (under employed) employees in the national personnel structure at the moment, but the anecdotal evidence provided by the reported large number of unfilled positions suggests that this is not so. Even if the current number of employees were adequate to the future needs of both the government and the intended municipalities, a serious lack of skills would still exist.

Little thought seems to have been given to the need for qualified human resources for the proposed municipal districts. Law No. 3 of 1994, the organic law for municipalities, provides (in very generic terms) that current employees of existing Districts will have the option of transferring to municipalities or staying with their District. Although the law is, in this respect, so "generic" as to be subject to many differing interpretations, there is no obvious public interest reason why the option should be given to existing employees. The danger is that the new municipalities might be saddled with a large number of employees whose skills and attitudes are inappropriate to the

services expected. Current "quadros" at all levels are distinctly under skilled and generally not strongly motivated to provide services to the public.

Prevailing public sector wage rates can only perpetuate a situation of skill deficits and poor performance of public agencies. Unless municipalities are allowed to pay competitive wages, there is little reason to believe that they will ever provide effective local government. Decentralized structures of government cannot be expected to overcome the problems of a relatively unskilled, poorly motivated work force.

Central government **does** have a legitimate interest in maintaining a degree of control or influence over municipal wage levels; since, as discussed above, it is likely that substantial resource transfers to *autarquias* will be maintained. However, such central government influence should be exercised in forms which allow inter-local variation in wages to reflect differing local conditions and which encourage *autarquias* to make efficient trade offs between labor and other productive inputs. Incentives should be created for efficient behavior by both *autarquias* and their employees: incentives which are sorely lacking in the current, depressed, non-effort related public sector wage structure.

Coordinated effort will be necessary between GRM institutions and those parts of the international community willing to finance carefully planned and appropriately designed on-the-job training for new municipal workers and continuing employees of the central government. If the bulk of municipal employees are to transfer, or be transferred, from the existing cadre of government employees, appropriate in-country training suitable for persons with limited formal schooling will be necessary. The trainableness of older, low skilled, poorly educated personnel is low. Cost minimization is essential in order to increase the chances for long-term sustainability of the training effort.

In summary, there are serious gaps in our knowledge of the human resource situation in the public sector, but even the limited information available suggests that serious problems exist with respect to skills, motivation, productivity, wages, and trainableness.

Chapter Three - Summary

1. Public finance constraints on decentralization in Mozambique are a fact, but the issue requires substantially more detailed knowledge of current costs to project accurate costs for the decentralization process.

2. Public desire and demand for decentralization to occur was expressed in the IPC provincial workshops and recommendations, a condition seen to be consistent in other comparative countries and areas in which decentralization has taken place.

3. IPC facilitators suggest that an accurate understanding of the public finance costs of decentralization should be based on **net costs** after allowing for the potential savings in the

operation of the new municipal governments which are seen to be substantially smaller than the current district administration, and if greater fiscal transparency becomes consistent with municipal government, an increased willingness on the part of citizens to pay and to collect local taxes.

4. The human resource needs of the municipalization process in Mozambique need greater study and consideration, as there is ambiguity in Law No.3 of 1994 concerning the obligations of municipalities to accept former district level employees. Resources will be needed by the new municipalities to pay competitive wages to attract skilled and motivated municipal employees. Creating sustainable training programs for municipal human resource needs will require continued close coordination between the GRM and the international donor community.

5. Decentralization seems to have few powerful advocates within the GRM. While there is some interest and effort in the area of administrative deconcentration, i.e., current program of the Ministry of Health, the particular history and culture of Mozambique do not favor the idea or concept of devolution. Given these constraints, it is strongly recommended that resources be invested in the more democratic elements of the country's civil society to reinforce the local decision making of citizens under municipalization.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE LEGAL/POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR DECENTRALIZATION

The legal/policy framework for decentralization in Mozambique is about to be redefined (changes to the constitution and revision of Law 3 of 1994).

Changes to the Constitution

It is alleged that certain aspects of Law 3 of 1994 are unconstitutional. In order to resolve the alleged unconstitutionality, leaders of the two major parties in the *Assembleia* have agreed to amend the constitution. The *Assemblea* has the power to amend the constitution and legislators tell us that the required changes have been agreed between the two parties. According to these sources, constitutional change is a "done deal" for the session starting in October, 1996.

Revision of Law 3 of 1994

There is apparently considerable sentiment in the *Assembleia* in favor of revising Law 3 of 1994. Some of the changes may be related to lingering issues of constitutionality, but others have nothing to do with constitutionality. For example, it has been reported that revisions will be considered which will broaden the base for creation of municipalities by making it possible for municipalities to be created from a variety of existing political/administrative units (e.g. *Postos Administrativos, Centros de Povoação,* etc.). No timetable has been established for these changes and there may not be sufficient agreement within the *Assembleia* to make the changes, but a number of changes are under discussion. It may make more sense to think of the revision of Law 3 of 1994 as a long-term, continuous process, without a definitive ending date, as trial and error may be the primary learning strategy.

Implementing Laws

Two fundamental pieces of implementing legislation have been scheduled for debate in February, 1997. They are concerned with Local Public Finance and *Recenseamento Eleitoral.* A number of additional legislative or regulatory actions are obviously needed, but not yet forthcoming. The one set of administrative regulations that have been decreed have some troubling provisions.

Local Elections

If the *Recenseamento Eleitoral* is approved in February, 1997, it is believed that the electoral census can occur in August, 1997 and that approximately one-half (up to 150 localities) of the local elections might occur in the remainder of 1997. This seems to be an extremely optimistic view of the electoral process.

Local Public Finance

The law on Local Public Finance will, according to legislative sources, greatly strengthen the financial capacities of municipal authorities. It is recognized that the entire legal framework for public finance must be extensively revised. The current fundamental laws were enacted in the early part of the twentieth century and are hopelessly inadequate for today's needs. Revisions to the overarching legal framework will be ongoing for at least three or four years, but the Local Public Finance law can not and will not be held up awaiting the more general revisions.

Decree on Administrative Tutela

The decree on Administrative Tutela (Decree 42 of 1995) is the most important set of implementing regulations to be promulgated to date. Several aspects of this decree raise concerns about decentralization and democracy. Among those aspects are the following:

1. Articles 9 (*Perda de Mandato)* and 10 (*Processo e competência para a decisão de perda de mandato*) give administrative officials the power to, under defined circumstances, remove elected officials from office. Though there may be a need for a procedure of this type, it is not logically related to administrative tutela nor should it be a function of executive officers of the government.

2. Article 7 (Órgãos de apoio) requires that a unit of the Provincial Directorate of Support and Control be established in each municipality to support the exercise of administrative *tutela*. This will have substantial cost implications and is not likely, by itself, to be effective.

3. Article 13 (*Tutela integrativa transitória)* provides that, during the first two years of a municipal government, fundamental decisions have to be approved by the Minister of State Administration and/or the Minister of Finance and Planning (approval authority may be delegated to provincial governors) before these decisions have any legal effect. The article further provides that at the end of the two year period the government will decide whether the period of *tutela integrativa transitória* should be extended or not. This is likely to lead to grave delays in implementation of important decisions and reduces the ability of local citizens to hold local officials accountable.

Municipal Human Resources

This subject is being "dealt with" by assumption. It is assumed that the bulk of the administrative human resources for the municipalities will come from the existing *quadro*. From the point of view of the municipalities this may not be desirable. The provision in Law 3 of 1994 that gives current members of the *quadro* the option to transfer to municipalities as they are created is politically convenient for the government, but not in the best interests of the municipalities.

If the municipalities are subject to the same wage regime as current public sector employees, there is no reason to believe that they will be able to provide effective local government.

Territorial Administration

Clear delineation of responsibilities for local public service delivery is needed for effective decentralization. These responsibilities are not at all well defined in Mozambique's anticipated decentralization. Instead of clearly defining responsibilities, the government has insisted on a strategy of "*gradualismo*," and has maintained that "*descentralização*" and "*desconcentração*" are separate processes. Proponents of gradualism argue that neither the national government nor the proposed *municipios* would perform well in an across-the-board decentralization enacted over a short period of time. *Gradualismo* in decentralization specifically includes both a geographic dimension (cities first, rural areas later) and a functional dimension (each public service "sector" at its own rate). *Descentralização* refers, in Mozambique, to the process of creating municipal governments. This process is administered by the Ministry of State Administration. The Ministry of Finance and Planning may also be involved with reference to issues within its competence. *Desconcentração* is the process of extending decision making authority to lower levels of all the government ministries. In theory, the Ministry of State Administration is also in charge of *desconcentração* through its Public Functions Directorate. In practice, each ministry seems to be in charge of its own deconcentration

There may be an argument for gradualism in decentralization in Mozambique, but the case that has been made so far is based primarily in arguments of administrative in-feasibility. There are other bases of argument (e.g. efficiency, equity), which might lead to other conclusions. For example, is it equitable to authorize decentralized local governance for urban residents, while withholding authorization from rural residents? At the IPC National Workshop some participants argued that it would be unconstitutional to authorize decentralized governance for urban areas, while withholding it for rural areas, because to do so would violate the civic rights of rural dwellers.

There is also a case for a different type of gradualism. The current concept of gradualism is a gradualism in which the timing and extent of decentralization activities are decided serially and incrementally by government, on a timetable also decided by government. This is a **centralized gradualism**, which leaves the government in the "drivers seat" at all times. The trouble with centralized gradualism in decentralization is that the choices and incentives for choice making are with national decision makers. In the long run, the most important determinant of success or failure in decentralization will be the extent to which non-central decision makers become engaged in municipal decision making. A system which severely limits the choices of non-central decision makers is not likely to engage their interest.

A more dynamic, gradual system of decentralization, which could accurately be called a **decentralized gradualism**, could be achieved if government established (1) unequivocal criteria for eligibility for municipal status and (2) the powers and responsibilities which constitute

municipal status, then (3) left the choice of when to pursue municipal status to local citizens. This leaves the choice of whether to seek the benefits of municipal status with the local citizens who will have to pay the costs. A further gradualism could be achieved if more than one "level" of municipality were authorized. An "entry level" municipality might offer only the most basic services and have a restricted tax base, while "advanced" municipalities might be required to provide a full range of urban and rural services and be authorized to impose a wide range of taxes and fees, to borrow money through the issuance of bonds, and so forth. A multi-tiered system of municipalities creates incentives for improvement of municipal performance in those "junior" municipalities that want to advance to higher levels.

Chapter Four -Summary

1. Existing legislation pertaining to decentralization in Mozambique has been the subject of criticism and challenge by some members of the National Assembly. It is anticipated that certain unconstitutional aspects of Law 3 of 1994 will be changed by constitutional amendments to be approved by the Assembly during its session commencing in October, 1996.
2. Implementing legislation on decentralization concerning local public finance and registration for local elections are expected to be considered by the National Assembly in its session commencing in February, 1997.

3. The decree on Administrative Tutela (Decree 42 of 1995) continues to offer a strong regulatory role to the central government, particularly to the Ministry of State Administration and/or the Ministry of Finance and Planning during the first two years of any new municipal government. The effectiveness and cost implications for newly established tutela entities such as municipal representatives of provincial government also remain unclear.

4. More attention needs to be given to the implications and human resource needs of the new municipalities being created. Financing for these future municipal human resource needs to be carefully studied by government and civil society institutions.

5.The chapter proposes a "decentralized" gradualism in which government established (1)unequivocal criteria for a locality's eligibility for municipal status and (2) the powers and responsibilities which constitute municipal status, and finally (3) left the choice of when to pursue municipal status to local citizens.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many lessons which have been learned through IPC's almost one year supporting decentralization in Mozambique. Hopefully, the lessons learned relative to the conduct of workshops and working with civil society groups in Mozambique have been apparent to the reader at several points throughout this document. This final chapter will attempt to pull together only five or six major recommendations which, for the most part, have direct significance for the possible course of decentralization in Mozambique.

Strengthening Civil Society

USAID has focussed its democracy and decentralization support on strengthening civil society. The IPC experience confirms that choice of strategy. In order to reinforce that strategy, it is suggested that USAID emphasize:

1. Democracy over Development -- The national debate over decentralization contains two fundamental lines of argument --- "Decentralization is democracy." and "Decentralization is development." USAID should base its decentralization support activities on the "Decentralization is democracy." premise. There are several reasons why this is a more viable strategy for USAID:

    A. This is where USAID's comparative advantage lies --- The "decentralization is development" argument will demand an intricate knowledge of Mozambican administrative law. Here, USAID is at a comparative dis-advantage relative to those European donors who share the Roman Public Law tradition with Mozambique. Mozambicans recognize this and are more likely to work with these donors on purely administrative matters.

    B. The "decentralization is development" argument is likely to be false --- If the "decentralization is development" argument is accepted in Mozambique, it is likely to lead to over involvement of the state in the economy. Development is fundamentally a result of private sector effort and limited, appropriate involvement of the state, a message that will be very difficult to communicate accurately in Mozambique.

    C. The "decentralization is democracy" argument is more valued by civil society.

2. USAID should emphasize increased transparency of public sector processes and actions in all decentralization support activities. This was the clearest, most persistently expressed message from civil society in all of the IPC workshops.

3. USAID should emphasize increased accountability of local elected officials and civil servants to local citizens in all of its decentralization support activities. Accountability to local citizens should be primary. Accountability to provincial and national officials should not interfere with or decrease in any way accountability to local citizens.

Sustainable Decentralization

The government chooses to emphasize the need for investment in public infrastructure as a kind of precondition for decentralization. This is a characteristic bargaining stance in the government-donor decentralization dialogue. USAID could significantly advance the sustainability of decentralization if it focussed on the costs of operation and maintenance of a decentralized system. Ultimately, these costs must be borne by the local economy. Unfortunately, these costs may be significantly increased through over-designed or unwise infrastructure investment.

Target Assistance to Municipal Assemblies

In addition to over centralization, Mozambican governance suffers from excessive Executive dominance. The proposed *municipios* show signs of this tendency to Executive dominance. Most donors seem to be planning to funnel their assistance to the *municipios* through the *Presidente do Conselho*, which can only enhance Executive power vis a vis the *Assembleias*. Support to the *Assembleias Municipais* is likely to be more effective in supporting democratization.

Promote Variety and Experimentation

No one has the "recipe" for democracy and decentralization in Mozambique. In fact, it is unlikely that a single recipe will suffice. There is likely to be a considerable need for learning by doing and experimentation. The current "two sizes fits all" (Only "urban" and "rural" municipal districts are envisioned) approach to decentralization is probably not rich enough to match the many variations in the country.

Explicit Attention to Local Public Finance

A few recommendations concerning local public finance stand out:

1. Comparative research on successful decentralization demonstrates the importance of focussing on costs of operation and maintenance of decentralization, rather than solely upon an investment strategy. USAID/Mozambique's three-sector strategy of investment in social services, income generation mechanisms and governance should be seen to complement the local public finance strategy being recommended by the IPC facilitators.

2. Promote formula-based intra-governmental (Nation - Province - Municipality) fiscal transfer systems.

3. Promote transparency and local accountability in all aspects of fiscal systems.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE IPC SUPPORT TO DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM IN MOZAMBIQUE

1. Civil society actors in Mozambique require significantly more training and technical assistance to become truly knowledgeable and empowered to engage with the Government on the technical aspects, problems and potential consequences of effective decentralization policy and policy implementation. This training needs to focus on district level institutions, as well as on the provincial urban level. National non-governmental organizations and community based organizations should be the targets of this civic education and training focus on decentralization.

2. The mini-workshops with civil society actors could serve as a model for the district level training groups, once appropriate local groups were identified and the workshop methodology accepted by the groups. The IPC facilitators would recommend a methodological concentration on the areas of local finance and local human resource management, and the inclusion of some form of case study group exercise as the provincial and national workshop demonstrated the need by civil society actors for more concentration in these areas. Territorial administration issues and discussion should probably await the approval of new legislation by the National Assembly, presently anticipated for 1997.

3. It is the recommendation of the facilitators as one of the learned lessons, that the district discussions with civil society where appropriate include more participation from all political groups, and national staff from international Private Voluntary Organizations working in the local areas in which the decentralization capacity building is occurring.

4. The need to closely monitor and discuss the Mission's decentralization plans and programs with other donors and groups promoting decentralization and governance training remains an important learned lesson. Information sharing should continue to be encouraged to avoid unnecessary program duplication and expenditure of limited resources.

Annex I

RESUMO EXECUTIVO

Management Systems International, Inc. (Sistemas de Gerência Internacional, Inc.) apresenta o presente documento à Agência dos U. S. para Desenvolvimento Internacional em Mozambique como o relatório final sobre o Projeto de Implementação de Mudanças de Política (IPC) para embasar as atividades de descentralização em Mozambique. O relatório final apresenta uma narrativa cronológica, descrição e análise das diferentes atividades de suporte que começaram em Agosto de 1995 e foram concluidas em Julho de 1996. O relatório mostra o perfil e analisa os principais atores institucionais, governamentais e não governamentais envolvidos no processo de descentralização, e discute os problemas da falta de informação e conhecimento do país no que se refere às implicações da descentralização.

Capítulo Um, Introdução e Referências

O capítulo começa com uma cronología e um resumo das principais atividades conduzidas durante as seis missões onde os facilitadores do IPC visitaram Mozambique. A natureza problemática do debate respeito à política pública sobre descentralização é vista como uma função tanto da falta de informação pública sobre descentralização e sobre a política do governo respeito da descentralização, assim como da falta de acordo político entre o governo e a oposição no que diz respeito à oportunidade e à extensão das eleições locais antecipadas e da municipalização efetiva.

O capítulo também coloca énfase na necessidade de uma maior discussão pública e esclarecimento das responsabilidades sobre o fornecimento dos serviços públicos entre os novos governos locais e os ministérios centralizados previamente responsáveis pelo fornecimento destes serviços. A municipalização é vista como o ponto focal do processo de descentralização em Mozambique, acompanhado pela desconcentração de certos poderes de decisão internos de ministérios do governo. O programa do IPC desenvolvido para Mozambique, se concentrou no fornecimento de informação e treinamento para o processo de municipalização, enquanto embasaba algum nível de discussão sobre o programa de desconcentração do governo.

Capítulo Dois, Atores, Decisões e Atividades

O capítulo identifica e analisa os grupos principais que têm interesses importantes em jogo selecionados para participar no processo do IPC. A dificuldade em identificar organizações em Mozambique com programas nacionais, atividades e visão institucionais é discutida neste capítulo. O capítulo examina as atividades de descentralização e fornece perfis institucionais breves do Ministério de Administração do Estado, o maior interlocutor do IPC, de varios atores da sociedade civil - com énfase nos grupos religiosos organizados - e representantes das autoridades tradicionais do país. A necessidade de integrar as autoridades tradicionais em todos os planos de municipalização é especialmente enfatizada no capítulo. É também recomendado que seja dada a maior atenção ao papel que o setor privado poderia jogar nas atividades de descentralização, incluindo as associações de produtores agrícolas e outros setores locais de interesse privado.

O capítulo descreve também a metodologia usada pelo IPC em colaboração com a Missão, a Embaixada e o USIS na seleção das provincias e distritos nos quais as visitas de campo do IPC serão feitas, e onde serão escolhidos os participantes potenciais nas sessões de trabalho (workshops) sobre descentralização. Foi tomada a decisão de que o programa do IPC seria desenvolvido nos distritos de Zambezia, Nampula e Sofala, sendo que elas eram "provincias focais" no programa da USAID, e áreas nas quais a Missão tinha atividades em andamento na geração de ingressos rurais e no fornecimento de serviços primarios na área da saúde. O IPC conduziu uma série de pesquisas informais das circunstâncias económicas, sociais e administrativas do distrito. Foi determinado que enquanto as administrações do distrito estavam todas controladas pelo governo (Frelimo), os sentimentos políticos entre os cidadãos variavam desde Frelimo, passando por misturado, até fortemente Renamo.

O capítulo detalha o processo de seleção desenvolvido pelo IPC para escolher representantes distritais governamentais e não governamentais para participar das sessões de trabalho provinciais, assim como representantes selecionados das capitais provinciais. A metodologia do IPC envolveu a seleção de co-patrocinadores nacionais para as sessões de trabalho provinciais e nacionais. Selecionar os participantes das sessões de trabalho foi um processo longo e complexo, feito em colaboração com o co-patrocinador nacional, outros atores nacionais institucionais baseados em Maputo e nos diferentes níveis: escritórios centrais, provinciais e distritais do Ministério de Administração do Estado. A eleição de 18 participantes provinciais nas sessões de trabalho para servir como portavozes na sessão de trabalho nacional é apresentada dentro do contexto de desigualdade histórica dos sexos em Mozambique, que têm resultado num pequeno número de participantes femininos na sessão de trabalho.

O capítulo fornece também uma avaliação e análise detalhada das tres sessões de trabalho provinciais, e os motivos do IPC para a seleção dos tres temas principais das sessões de trabalho: administração das finanças locais, gerenciamento dos recursos humanos para a municipalização, e identificação dos problemas administrativos entre os governos municipais e provinciais depois de uma descentralização efetiva. A decisão de incluir um exercicio de simulação (role play) em cada uma das sessões de trabalho provinciais para esclarecer os principais problemas e restrições da descentralização foi discutida também, porque é uma preocupação do IPC que os atores da sociedade civil geralmente têm um nível de compreensão e informação mais baixo respeito da descentralização do que os representantes do governo. Para compensar este desequilibrio institucional, foi decidido que:
os setores da sociedade civil que têm interesses importantes em jogo (stakeholders) partecipariam de um mini-seminário um dia antes de cada sessão de trabalho provincial, para permitir mais discussão, treinamento e apresentações nos assuntos relativos à descentralização. Cada sessão de trabalho provincial foi responsabilizada com o desenvolvimento de recomendações provinciais e sugestões em tres temas a serem apresentados na sessão de trabalho nacional em Maputo. A natureza problemática das recomendações desenvolvidas nas sessões de trabalho provinciais é apresentada e analisada no capítulo.
MSI têm preparado um relatório separado sobre a sessão de trabalho nacional.

Capítulo Tres. Restrições Respeito de um Programa Efetivo de Descentralização em Mozambique tal como Identificadas pelo Processo do IPC

Tal como especificado no Escopo do Trabalho para o programa do IPC, este capítulo apresenta uma análise das diferentes restrições em Mozambique para a descentralização, tal como têm sido determinado pelas experiências do programa de onze meses do IPC. A restrição principal determinada pelo IPC está referida ao setor das finanças públicas do país, que é severamente limitado, o que se espera que resulte num financiamento inadequado para qualquer programa contemplado de descentralização. A falta de conhecimento empírico e de informação respeito dos custos reais é vista como um fator de complicação para estudos futuros de factibilidade para determinar ou projetar exatamente os custos de descentralização em Mozambique. Se recomenda que os estudos de custos da descentralização para as finanças públicas deveriam estar baseados numa compreensão dos custos líquidos. Poder-se-ia discutir de que estes custos líquidos deveriam ser calculados depois de considerar as reduções de custo potenciais que se esperam como consequencia da redução do tamanho e das operações dos Administradores de Distrito atuais, e esperar a manifestação da tendência dos cidadãos de pagarem regularmente impostos a governos locais escolhidos democráticamente.

São vistas também restrições na qualidade e habilidade dos recursos humanos disponíveis para as novas municipalidades, tal como medidas pelos logros e habilidades dentro do setor dos serviços públicos. O baixo salário para os funcionários do setor público também complica o processo de descentralização no setor de recursos humanos. Novos programas de treinamento e retreinamento devem ser conceitualizados e desenvolvidos, o que vai requerer a identificação de novos recursos fornecidos pelas municipalidades.

Uma restrição final muito importante tal como identificada no exercício feito pelo IPC é que a descentralização parece ter poucos advogados poderosos dentro do Governo. Enquanto existe algum interesse ministerial na desconcentração administrativa, a história e a cultura do país não têm produzido uma base natural de apoio nos cidadãos (constituency) para a idéia e o conceito de devolução. Partindo destas restrições recomenda-se que sejam investidos mais recursos nos elementos mais democráticos da sociedade civil para reforçar a capacidade de tomada de decisões locais pelos cidadãos depois da municipalização.

Capítulo Quatro. O Marco Legal e Político para a Descentralização

A legislação existente referida à descentralização em Mozambique têm sido sujeita a críticas e desafios por alguns membros da Assembléia Nacional, e certos grupos da oposição. Está previsto que certos aspectos constitucionais da Lei 3 de 1994 serão mudados pela Assembléia Nacional. O decreto sobre a Tutela Administrativa (Decreto 42 de 1995) continua a oferecer um papel fortemente regulador ao governo central durante os primeiros dois anos de qualquer governo municipal.

O capítulo propõe também um gradualismo "descentralizado" no qual o governo estabelece (1) critérios inequívocos para que uma localidade possa ser escolhida para status municipal e (2) os poderes e responsabilidades que constituem status municipal, e finalmente (3) deixa a escolha de quando obter o status municipal aos cidadãos locais.

Capítulo Cinco, Recomendações

É importante fornecer recursos para fortalecer o conhecimento e as habilidades de advocacia das instituições da sociedade civil para uma partecipação mais direta no debate nacional sobre a descentralização. Se recomenda que a USAPD apóie o argumento de que uma descentralização efetiva embasa e fortalece a democratização. O aumento da transparência dos processos e das ações do setor público relativos a descentralização deverão ser enfatizados nos programas da Missão, desde que as sessões de trabalho do IPC determinaram um forte interesse nos atores da sociedade civil em assegurar mais transparência e clareza na prestação de contas dos programas públicos.

Se recomenda que a USAID considere a provisão de apoio e assistência técnica as assembléias das novas municipalidades, no esforço de ligar a descentralização com um aumento na democratização. Alguma experimentação limitada com diferentes formas de governo local poderia ser de interesse para programas futuros da Missão, desde que não existe no momento uma receita única para a democracia e a descentralização. Um sistema fiscal de transferência baseado em fórmulas intra-governamentais (Nação-Província-Municipalidade) deveria ser promovido pela USAID, assim como a transparência e clareza na prestação de contas em todos os apectos dos sistemas fiscais.

Se recomenda também que as estratégias da Missão de investimento em tres setores, fornecimento de serviços sociais, mecanismos de geração de ingressos, e governabilidade complementem as estratégias recomendadas atualmente onde as finanças públicas locais estão focalizadas nos custos da operação e manutenção da descentralização.

Mini-Sessões de Trabalho

As mini-sessões de trabalho da sociedade civil poderiam servir de modelo para grupos de treinamento a nível de distrito, uma vez que sejam identificados grupos locais apropriados e que a metodologia das sessões de trabalho seja aceita pelos grupos. A administração local das finanças e das necessidades de recursos humanos deveria ser um componente principal dos cursos de treinamento a nível dos distritos.

Os cursos de treinamento a nível dos distritos deveriam incluir mais participação de todos os grupos políticos e dos funcionários das Organizações Voluntárias Privadas que estejam trabalhando en áreas onde está acontecendo a criação da capacidade de descentralização.

Annex II

IPC/USAID DECENTRALIZATION

LISTA DE PARTICIPANTES DOS DISTRITOS:

SOFALA

CAIA:
Governo:
Administrador: Jouquim Manuel
Chefe de Posto: Alberto Chakandza (Sena)
Agricultura: Americo Vasco
Saude: Caetano Antonio Nota
Educacuo: Chico Luis Joe
Obras Publicas: Soares

Sociedade Civil:
Representante de Comerciantes: Pedro Vigerona
Representante de Agricultores: Sr. Lingada
Representante de Comunidade Crista: Jose Buque
Matias Agostinho Tesoura: Cidadao Influente
Regulos Tanga Tanga e Gumassanze

GORONGOZA:
Governo:
Administrador: Chivavice Muchangaze
Chefe de Posto: Manuel Verniz Tomo (Vunduci)
Agricultura: Samuel Sibanda
Educacao: Santos Xavier Passe
Saude: Mario Miguel Zandamela
Obras Publicas: Jaime Meque

Sociedade Civil:
Representante da Comunidade Crista: Celestino Sacaune
Representante de Comerciantes: Zacarias Abdul
Cidaduo Influente: Simao Chombe
Regulos Nhanono Lourence Miquicene e Muone Mendes Tomocene

NHAMATANDA:
Governo:
Administrador: Paulino Saimone
Chefe de Posto: Henriques Chamadal
Agricultura: Simaes Augusto Zalembessa
Saude: Victor Vasco Filimone
Educacuo: Lucas C. Nhamaze
Obras Publica: Eduardo Francisco Cardoso

Sociedade Civil:
Representante da Comunidade Crista: Pedro Janela
Representante de Mussulmana: Abdul Azizi
Representante de Agricultores: Jacintolsaias

Representante de Comerciantes: Jornal Pedro Tagara
David Pita Chilenje: Cidaduo Influente
Regulo Ndaipa Corneta (Tica)
Regulo (Nhampoca)

CONVIDADOS ESPECIAIS:
Presidente do Concelho Municipal da Beira: Sr. Lucas Renco
D. Jaime Goncalves Bispo da Beira
Representante Islamico
Reitor da Universidade Catolica: Padre Filipe Couto
Deputado Chico Francisco
Deputado Augusto Joao Chauviro
Deputada Deolinda Guezimane
Deputado Alcido Ngwenha
Sotemaza (por designar)
Adesso (por designar)
Director do Diario de Mocambique

Pessoas vindas de Maputo:
MAE: Director Nacional dos Orgaos Locais: J Manuel Guambe
Apresentadores: Bernardo Tchamo e outro por designar
Staff do IPC/USAID:
Ed Connerley
Michael Turner
Arnaldo Tembe
Sergio Guzman

ZAMBEZIA

ILE:
Governo:
Administrador: Severino Mucutueliua
Chefe de Posto (Socone): Goncalves Muela
Dir. Agricultura: Justino Mondlane
Educacuo: Loborino Almane
Saude: Jose Pondeca

Sociedade Civil:
Comerciante: Joao Vitorino
Camponesa: Maeta Gurue
Representante de Comunidade Muculmana: Mussa Alberto Canovanana
Represente de Crista: Luis Macuelia
Regulo Armando Jantar Jajo (Mulevala)
Regulo Bartolomeu Dias Correia (Socone)

MOCUBA:
Governo:
Administrador: Rafael Jose Manso
Chefe de Posto: Carlos R. Duarte
Agricultura: Caetano Cariate*
Educacao: Afonso Joaquim Mocuba
Obras Publicas: Cordeiro M. Henriques
Saude: Antonio Norotano Sandre

Financas: Helena Damas*

Sociedade Civil:
Associacao de Comerciantes: Almeida Malango
Associacao de Agricultores: Satar Juma
Representante da Comunidade Catolica: Zeferino Alvaro
Representante de Mussulmana: Yakup Isap Darvesh
Regulos Muaquiua e Lobua

MAGANJA DA COSTA:
Governo:
Administrador: Alberto Moiane
Chefe de Posto: Almeida Carvalho
Agricultura: Olimpio Joa Rijone
Educacuo: Gabriel Dinheiro
Saude: Andre Manuel
Obras Publicas: Baptista Guarda Mogola

Sociedade Civil:
Representante Cristao: Miguel Tres
Representante Mussulmano: Antonio Barroso
Commerciante: Hugo Orlando
Agricultor: Francisco Anzol
2 Regulos: Alberto Joao Nimale e Luciano Pinto

NAMPULA
ANGUCHE:
Governo:
Administrador: Teofilo Braga
Chefe de Posto (Namaponda): Adelino Assane Uajopwe
Dir. Agricultura: Filipe Jose Alfeu
Educacuo: Zeferino Monamela
Saude: Sergio Sional Moiane
DDJP Hab: Abilio Carlos Muigiri

Sociedade Civil:
Representante de Comerciantes: Abacar Raul
Representante de Agricultores: Tavares Rodrigues
Representante de Pescadores: Valentim Selemane
Representante de Comunidade Mussulmana: Momade Abdala
Representante de Comunidade Crista: Luciano Joao da Costa
Regulos Nicuaro e Assane Bachir

MONAPO:
Governo:
Administrador: Auseute
Chefe de Posto (Netia): Daniel Recula
Direccoes distritais:
Agricultura: Antonio Lobo
Educacao: Guilherme Cassino
Obras Publicas: Abdul Gafur
Saude: Celestino Anibal

Sociedade Civil:
Comerciantes: Guilherme Raisse
Agricultores: Raimundo Paina
Representante da Comunidade Crista: Gabriel Saide
Representante de Comunidade Mussulmana: Issufo Raja
Regulos Muire e Nacoto

RIBAUE:
Governo:
Administrador: Mario Barato Matacalia
Chefe de Posto: Nicolau Artur Macoro
Direccoes Distritais:
Agricultura: Artur Basilio Agusto
Educacuo: Daniel Augusto Mucore
Saude: Simao Pedro Sadoque
Obras Publicas: Carlos Fernando Madeira

Sociedade Civil:
Representante da Comunidade Crista: Joaquim Munassuca
Representante de Mussulmana: Abacar Leveque
Representante de ONG (Salama): Acta Joao e Rodrigues Henriques
Regulo Alberto Siveleque (Iapala)
Regulo Alberto Jose Nicurupo (Nameconha)

RAPALE

Governo:
Administrador: Bernardo Munhaque
Chefe de Posto (Anchilo): Gabriel Basilio
Direccoes Distritais:
Agricultura: Julio Orando Mario
Saude: Fernando Daniel Mut
Educacao: Juliao Lumenta

Sociedade Civil:
Representante da Comunidade Crista: Rosario Namucua
Representante de Mussulmana: Suailo Luis Pachero
Regulo Jose Ernesto Anchilo
Regulo Rico Caramaja-Caramaja

CONVIDADOS ESPECIAIS:
Governador da Provincia
Dir. Apoio e Controlo
Presidente do Concelho Municipal de Nampula
Bispo de Nampula: D. Manuel Vieira Pinto
Representante Mussulmano
Deputado Tertuliano Juma
Deputado Francisco Ferreira
Deputada Felizarda Clara de Castro
Deputada Margarida Adamugi Talapa
Deputada Matilde Macicate
Associacao Comercial e Industrial - Por confirmar
ONG's:

Assana: Dr. Albano Mayope ou seu representante
Karibu:
Amar:
Makalelo: Sr. Luciano de Castro ou seu represente
Presidente do Conselho Municipal de Nacala Caetano

Apresentadores: Prof. Bernardo Tchamo

Staff do IPC/USAID:
Carol Martin
Ed Connerley
Michael Turner
Arnaldo Tembe

Annex III

Seminário Nacional sobre a Descentralização
Relatório para os Participantes

Maputo, Julho, 1996

Co-Patrocinado por:

Projecto de Implementação de Política de Mudanças.
Management Systems International
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade.
Maputo, Moçambique

Financiado por:

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Administração Territorial
Finanças Locais
Recursos Humanos

2° Capítulo: Discursos do Seminário Nacional

"A Democracia e a Descentralização",
Dr. Brazão Mazula, Magnifico Reitor da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

"Discurso por Ocasião do Seminário Nacional do IPC sobre Descentralização",
Sr. Arnaldo Tembe, Director Residente do IPC

Apreciações ao Seminário de Descentralização
Dr. Michael McKinley, Charge d'Affaires a.i. da Embaixada dos Estados Unidos da América

Apêndice A: Lista dos Representantes Provinciais ao Seminário Nacional

Apêndice B: Lista dos Participantes ao Seminário Nacional

INTRODUÇÃO

As páginas que se seguem constituem um resumo do Seminário Nacional sobre a Descentralização realizado em Maputo, Moçambique, a 10 de Julho de 1996. O Seminário foi o culminar de 10 meses de trabalho sob a orientação do Projecto "Implementaçao de Política de Mudanças" (IPC), da Agência do E.U.A. para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (USAID)[1]. O Seminário Nacional foi precedido por extensos e detalhados seminários em três províncias: Zambézia (13-14, de Junho), Nampula (20-21, de Junho) e Sofala (27-28 Junho). Cada Seminário Provincial incluiu aproximadamente 60 participantes, com uma ligeira maioria para os participantes representativos de grupos da sociedade civil, sendo os restantes, membros do Governo e da Assembleia da República. A representatividade da sociedade civil incluíu régulos, membros de várias organizações não-governamentais, comerciantes e representantes de diversas comunidades religiosas. Os membros do Governo foram representados por administradores de distritos, directores de direcções distritais, alguns membros do Governo Provincial e deputados da Assembleia de República. Em cada província, a larga maioria dos participantes eram provenientes de três distritos rurais previamente selecionados, sendo os restantes da capital provincial. As recomendações dos três Seminários Provinciais foram consideradas os tópicos principais para discussão no Seminário Nacional. Sínteses destas recomendações e um relatório da discussão das mesmas no Seminário Nacional, estão insiridas no 1° capítulo deste documento.

Do Seminário Nacional fizeram parte 5 apresentações sobre temas e pontos de vista com respeito à descentralização. Três destas apresentações estão incluídas no 2° capítulo deste documento. As apreciações feitas pelo Dr. António Carvalho Neves da Fundaçao para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade e por D. Dinis Singulane, Bispo da Igreja Anglicana não foram preparadas como comunicações de carácter formal e deste modo, não foi possível incluí-las neste documento.

O trabalho do IPC no apoio ao processo de descentralizaçao do Governo de Moçambique está prioritariamente virado para o fortalecimento da opinião da sociedade civil no debate sobre a descentralizaçao e no desenvolvimento da capacidade de grupos da sociedade civil, na participação deste debate. Tendo em conta esta finalidade, cada Seminário Provincial e o Nacional foram co-patrocinados por grupos da sociedade civil Moçambicana. Na Província da Zambézia o co-patrocinador foi o Movimento Cívico da Zambézia (MOCIZA), em Nampula o co-patrocinador foi o Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (sede em Nampula). A Associaçao Comercial da Beira co-patrocinou o da Província de Sofala, enquanto que a Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade foi a co-patrocinadora do Seminário Nacional. É com grande satisfação e apreço que

reconhecemos a cooperação e o apoio activo destas organizações, incluindo os seus responsáveis, que foi vital para o sucesso destes seminários.

Um dos objectivos principais deste Seminário Nacional foi a troca de ideias com dirigentes a nível nacional, sobre os pontos de vista e preocupações dos moçambicanos das áreas rurais no que se refere ao processo de descentralização. Outro dos objectivo, era que este forum incluisse responsáveis ligados ao processo de descentralização e que, representantes dos grupos da sociedade civil Moçambicana predominassem. Os objectivos do seminário não foram na sua totalidade atingidos. Um dos problemas que contribuiu para que assim fosse, foi a ausência de grande parte dos referidos responsáveis ligados a este processo de descentralização.

Dado que, o objectivo principal do Seminário era trocar ideias com membros do Governo Central sobre as preocupações e opiniões dos Moçambicanos das várias províncias e distritos, convites foram enviados a todos os Ministros relevantes neste processo. Práticamente todos confirmaram a sua presença ou de seus representantes. Por razões da vária ordem, apenas o Ministro da Educação esteve presente. O Ministério da Administração Estatal, contraparte principal do IPC, fez-se representar pelo Director Nacional Adjunto para Adminstração Local.

Contudo, o Seminário foi uma oportunidade de representantes da sociedade civil das zonas Centro e Norte do país apresentarem os seus pontos de vista a membros influentes da sociedade civil de Maputo. As ideias expressas durante o Seminário (e, préviamente durante os seminários provinciais), foram amplamente cobertas pelos orgãos de informação, sendo assim, uma forma de as mesmas chegarem a todos os sectores.

Os participantes dos Seminários Provinciais demonstraram ter uma forte posição e opinião no que concerne aos vários aspectos que desejariam ver reflectidos nos futuros municípios. Por outro lado, revelaram pouco conhecimento das várias alternativas e cenários que estão a ser discutidas a nível central. Os participantes ao Seminário Nacional apesar de melhor informados, carecem ainda de conhecimentos mais profundos que os poderia habilitar a alcançar alguns consensos ou a definir as suas diferenças. Em termos amplos e gerais, parece haver três pontos de vista diferentes:

1. **Descentralização como Desenvolvimento.** Os que defendem este ponto de vista estão primeiramente preocupados com a manutenção, o melhoramento e a extensão das funções administrativas do Governo. Existe uma grande preocupaçao derivada da incapacidade e insucesso do sistema administrativo corrente, e, sendo assim, o receio de uma descentralização "muito rápida" ou "excessiva". Os proponentes desta ideia são a favor do "gradualismo" e de largos investimentos

de capital nos distritos, como pré-condição do processo da descentralização. Existe a preocupação de que o futuro governo municipal possa actuar de forma incompetente ou irresponsável, caso lhe seja dada demasiada autonomia.

2. **Descentralizaçao como Democracia.** Alguns participantes, essencialmente membros da sociedade civil, veem a descentralização primeiramente como um processo social e não, como um processo administrativo. A sua preocupação é assim, o fortalecimento dos poderes de decisão a nível local e individual.

Embora, certamente, este grupo não esteja contra o investimento de capital nos distritos, pretendem que a decisão de avançar o processo de descentralização não esteja condicionada a tais investimentos. A apresentação feita pelo Dr. Brazão Mazula no Seminário Nacional, inclusa neste documento, é um forte relato circunstanciado deste ponto de vista.

3. **Descentralizaçao como retorno aos valores tradicionais.** Este ponto de vista é defendido, mais consistentemente, pelos representantes da autoridade tradicional, isto é, régulos, nos seminários de descentralizaçao. Os defensores desta ideia parecem estar mais preocupados com os limites impostos pelas autoridades governamentais, do que com o processo de descentralização, ou mesmo administração ou tomada de decisões.

Foi muito dificil manter uma discussão produtiva centrada no tema "Descentralização", face à presença de pontos de vista tão divergentes e à falta de informação objectiva, no que concerne aos sistemas actuais e futuros que se pretendem de Administração Territorial. Devido às lacunas de informação e à falta de entendimento por parte dos participantes de cada um dos pontos de vista, deverá ser entendido que, as recomendações provinciais apresentadas sobre este assunto e os relatórios elaborados das discussões no Seminário Nacional, deverão apenas ser consideradas, na melhor das hipóteses, como representantivas dos principais pontos de vista, não significando de modo nenhum um consenso dos presentes. Houve frequentes e significantes desacordos acerca das recomendações provinciais apresentadas ao Seminário Nacional.

Este relatório irá ser distribuido a todos os participantes, quer dos Seminários Provinciais, como do Seminário Nacional. Esperamos que o mesmo contribua para que, aqueles que estiveram envolvidos nos vários seminários possam desenvolver outros debates neste assunto tão vital para o desenvolvimento de Moçambique.

AGENDA DO SEMINÁRIO NACIONAL
PARA A DESCENTRALIZAÇAO EM MOÇAMBIQUE
Maputo, 10 de Julho de 1996

8:15 - 8:45	Registo dos Participantes
8:45 - 9:00	Discurso de Abertura pelo Magnífico Reitor da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Dr. Brazão Mazula
9:00 - 9:15	Introdução e explicação da essência do IPC pelo Sr. Arnaldo Tembe, Director Residente do IPC.
9:15 - 9:30	Objectivos do Seminário Nacional pelo Dr. Antonio Carvalho Neves, Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade.
9:30 - 9:45	Intervalo para o Café
9:45 - 10:15	Trabalho dos três grupos temáticos (Administração Territorial, Recursos Humanos e Finanças Locais) para apresentação das recomendações dos seminários provinciais e perguntas chaves para posterior consideração em plenário
10:15 - 11:00	Discussão nos grupos temáticos
11:00 - 11:30	Reunião dos Grupos em Plenário. Resposta dos Grupos Temáticos às suas perguntas chaves.
11:30 - 11:50	Comentários sobre recomendações provinciais e sugestões dos Grupos Temáticos por Sua Excelência Alfredo Gamito, Ministro da Administração Estatal.
11:50 - 12:10	Comentários sobre as recomendações provinciais e sugestões dos grupos temáticos, por Michael McKinley, Charge d'Affaires a.i. da Embaixada dos Estados Unidos da América.
12:10 - 12:30	Encerramento por Dom Dinis Singulane, Bispo, Igreja Anglicana.

Iº Capítulo:

DISCUSSÃO DOS TEMAS DO SEMINÁRIO

Introdução

Os tópicos para a discussão nos "Grupos Temáticos" no Seminário Nacional foram os mesmos escolhidos para as discussões dos Seminários Provinciais. Os três temas (Administraçao Territorial, Finanças Locais e Recursos Humanos) foram identificados pelos organizadores do seminário como matérias importantes para a descentralização, no decorrer de várias visitas efectuadas a distritos rurais e urbanos, posteriormente convidados a participarem nos seminários provinciais. Estas visitas ocorreram entre Novembro de 1995 e Março de 1996.

As discussões temáticas de grupo no Seminário Nacional duraram entre 1h a 1:15h e foram conduzidas simultâneamente. Os participantes escolheram livremente o grupo temático em que desejavam participar e eram livres de mudar de grupo durante a sessão, embora muito poucos o tenham feito. A discussão dos pontos temáticos foi iniciada com a apresentação das recomendações feitas nos três seminários provinciais relacionadas com o tema em discussão. Estas apresentações, foram feitas por oradores eleitos em cada seminário provincial. Cada grupo temático incluía oradores das três províncias nas quais os seminários provinciais foram realizados. Realizou-se também uma discussão sobre os três temas durante aproximadamente trinta minutos, na sessão plenária.

Tema: ADMINISTRAÇAO TERRITORIAL

As recomendações provinciais relativas à administração territorial foram claramente e sucintamente apresentadas pelos oradores provinciais e estão presentes no capítulo que se segue. Todavia, houve uma considerável discussão acerca do sentido dos termos chaves e da necessidade de uma maior clarificação do sentido desses mesmos termos. Houve também uma considerável preocupação na definição do poder e funções das autoridades tradicionais a ser legislado em Moçambique. Embora muitos participantes tivessem concordado com a noção de "condições mínimas" para a municipalizaçao, houve pouca concordância no que se refere às condições específicas a serem requeridas. Uma considerável preocupação sobre quem eventualmente estaria autorizado a decidir acerca das "condições mínimas" foi manifestada, existindo um sentimento muito forte de que "o povo" deverá participar nesta decisão. O significado do termo "gradualismo", mereceu forte discussão, tendo os participantes manifestado a preocupação e opinião de que este, não deve constituir desculpa, para o enfraquecimento e/ou atraso substancial do processo de descentralização. "Perguntas chaves" relacionadas com a Administração Territorial foram identificadas pelo grupo temático da administração territorial e são apresentadas após as recomendações provinciais.

Recomendações Provinciais na área da Administração Territorial

As Províncias de Nampula, Zambézia e Sofala, por nós representadas, propõem:

1. "Que a descentralização seja gradual."

Devendo começar nos distritos mais favorecidos - Economicamente estáveis e com infraestruturas mínimas para acolher as autarquias; implicando aos restantes distritos menos favorecidos a criação de condições mínimas para permitir o gradualismo, evitando deste modo o desequilíbrio no desenvolvimento económico.

2. "Que seja aprovada o mais urgente possível a legislação do enquadramento das autoridades tradicionais".

Permite resolver o actual problema da falta de definição clara de competências e atribuição de tarefas concretas.

Muitas vezes, o régulo no lugar de servir os interesses do Governo, acaba sendo induzido a assumir compromissos partidários - permite que seja neutral.

Divergências entre Secretário do Bairro - Régulo e Muene ou cabo de Terra, etc.

3. "Que haja um relacionamento estreito entre o Governo Provincial e o Governo Local; fora das relações de tutela preconizadas por lei."

Para além do que vem tutelado na lei, as relações a serem desenvolvidas entre o Governo Provincial e Governo Local devem ser de estreita colaboração.

4. "Que haja maior divulgação do processo de descentralização junto dos funcionários públicos e da população ou geral."

Recomenda-se o uso de todos os meios disponíveis e possíveis, incluindo a utilização de línguas locais, na divulgação do processo de descentralização e dos vários cenários possíveis de aplicar.

5. "Que a Assembleia da República, ao aprovar a lei de divisão Territorial, tenha em conta os factores históricos, sócio - económicos e culturais da população.

Perguntas Chaves Identificadas no Seminário Nacional:

1. O que se entende por condições mínimas para a descentralização de um determinado município?

2. Quem decide se estão criadas essas condições mínimas?

3. Qual será a constitucionalidade do gradualismo ?

Tema: FINANÇAS LOCAIS

Este capítulo sumariza a discussão havida no grupo de trabalho sobre Finanças Locais. O tempo disponível foi insuficiente para permitir uma discussão ampla e ordenada, dada a complexidade da mesma. Foi assim impossível atingir-se um consenso sobre as recomendações.

Um membro do grupo iniciou a discussão alegando que o sistema corrente de aplicação de impostos poderia ser caracterizado como "Impostos para os pobres". Este participante referiu que Moçambicanos com grandes vantagens económicas deveriam ser submetidos a impostos do Governo Local e sugeriu que, os impostos pelo uso da terra, imóveis, comércio informal e licença de exploraçao de recursos naturais eram bons exemplos de impostos básicos que deveriam incidir sobre pessoas mais abastadas. Ele referiu que, grande parte do "comércio informal" era dirigido por grandes empresas que deste modo escapam ao pagamento de impostos, sobre as suas actividades. Argumentou, tambem, que o "Imposto de Reconstrução Nacional" para além de ser "imposto para os pobres" era mais oneroso colectá-lo do que as receitas produzidas e instou que fosse abandonado, aplicando-se impostos sobre os ricos. Outros membros deste grupo, sentiram que era importante manter pelo menos alguns impostos para os menos favorecidos da sociedade, de forma que eles se sintam cidadãos e que exijam serviços dos governos locais.

Forte discussão foi mantida sobre a percepção corrente dos cidadãos (ou falta dela) do seu dever de pagar impostos. É fortemente sentido, que os cidadãos não percebem que o Governo lhes presta serviços públicos, e que é essencial o pagamento de impostos apesar da relutância em pagá-lo. O Governo tem a difícil tarefa de reconstruir a confiança do cidadão na eficiência do Governo. Foi sugerido que os candidatos para Presidente do Conselho em eventuais eleições locais deveriam apresentar um programa de impostos e serviços que iriam implementar, caso fossem eleitos ("programas eleitorais locais").

Foi referido que os governos locais deveriam continuar a receber apoio financeiro do governo central ("dotaçoes O.G.E.") e que outras grandes despesas (saúde e educação) estarão provavelmente para além da capacidade dos governos locais e deveriam ser retidas pelo governo central ("Separar as Despesas").

Os membros do grupo enfantizaram que, a resolução dos problemas na área de finanças locais irão requerer um esforço permanente durante um longo periodo de tempo ("Tempo, Gestão"; "Organização da Contabilidade Municipal").

Os membros do grupo sentiram, também, que era muito importante manter uma certa igualdade entre as localidades ricas e pobres dentro do país através do sistema de "subsídios cruzados". Receitas "adicionais" dos distritos "ricos" deveriam ser transferidos para os distritos pobres.

O grupo de Finanças Locais não identificou "Perguntas-Chave".

Recomendações Provinciais na àrea de Finanças Locais

1. Levantamento e aproveitamento de recursos financeiros locais.

2. Colocação de técnicos especializados para o apoio necessário.

3. Adoptar o método de recenseamento dos contribuintes.

4. Adoptar a estratégia de educação cívica nos municípios sobre a importância das contribuições de taxas e impostos.

5. Capacitação do pessoal na área de gestão financeira.

6. 70% do I.R.N. e contribuições voluntárias deveriam constituir receitas consignadas ao município.
   - Contribuição industrial, impostos de consumo e outros a negóciar com o Governo Central.

7. Fiscalização rigorosa e transparência na utilização de fundos.

Discusão no Seminário Nacional na àrea de Finanças Locais

A discusão no Seminário Nacional na àrea de Finanças Locais incluiu discussão sobre os seguintes pontos:

* Impostos sobre os pobres.

* Pagar para quê ?

* Censo Nacional (1997).

* Programas eleitorais locais.

* Gestão de parte dos fundos, por agentes Económicos.

* Impostos sobre Terra (uso), imóveis, comércio informal, licenças para exploração de Recursos Naturais.

* Dotações do O.G.E.

* Separar as despesas (saúde e educação).

* Tempo, Gestão.

* Organização da contabilidade Municipal.

* Subsídios cruzados.

Tema: RECURSOS HUMANOS

O grupo de trabalho sobre essa matéria mostrou-se bastante interessado em dar as suas contribuições sobre este tema. Guiados pela análise do sumário de recomendações vindas dos seminários provinciais, que de certa forma algumas foram tidas por alguns participantes como muito gerais e não específicas. Apesar dos comentários úteis que este grupo transmitiu, o factor tempo não permitiu uma abordagem suficiente para se chegar a nenhum consenso. Aliás, acordou-se que o objectivo principal, era gerar mais reflexões sobre o tema ao invés de procurar soluções definitivas.

Contudo, é possível tecer as seguintes explicações à volta tanto das recomendações, como das perguntas chave produzidas:

Recomendações Provinciais na àrea dos Recursos Humanos

1. Maior clareza sobre a situação actual de recursos humanos ao nível local, será possível através de um levantamento detalhado de todos os recursos humanos e forças vivas da Sociedade Civil nos municípios, vizando maior participação da população local na resolução dos seus problemas e o desenvolvimento das próprias comunidades locais.

2. Os Seminários realizados recomendam a valorização, aproveitamento e racionalização dos quadros existentes.

3. Recomendam ainda que, o processo de admissão de quadros nas Autarquias Locais, deva ser mediante as suas capacidades sem distinção de origem.

4. Que a formação / capacitação dos quadros seja contínua.

5. A necessidade de atrair incentivos para os quadros como estímulo.

6. Que se deve acelerar o processo de criação de Institutos Médios de Administração Pública nas zonas Centro e Norte e estudar a possibilidade de introdução de formação superior nesta área, dentro do País.

7. Recomenda ainda que sejam criadas facilidades de acesso aos cursos por correspondência em Administração Pública nas Autarquias locais.

Perguntas Chaves:

- A explicação relativa à primeira pergunta sobre o que o grupo tinha em mente é a seguinte: Fala-se da participação da Sociedade Civil nos futuros municípios a pergunta é: como, quais os critérios a adoptar para permitir essa participação?

- Sobre os recursos excedentários: Vão todos a "reforma compulsiva" ou são reintegrados noutras actividades ?

Perguntas Chaves Identificadas no Seminário Nacional:

1. Que mecanismos se devem adoptar de modo a contemplar a participação dos Recursos Humanos informais (ONG'S, Autoridades Tradicionais, Igrejas e outras forças) na tomada de decisões a nível da base ?

2. O que vai acontecer com Recursos Humanos excendentários ?

3. Que formação se vai dar aos órgãos Eleitos e outros e, de quem será a responsabilidade?

IIº Capítulo:

DISCURSOS DO SEMINÁRIO NACIONAL

DISCURSO POR OCASIAO DO SEMINÁRIO IPC NACIONAL
SOBRE A DESCENTRALIZAÇÃO

"A DEMOCRACIA E A DESCENTRALIZAÇÃO"

Proferido pelo: Dr. Brazao Mazula
Reitor da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

Tenho de reconhecer que, quanto mais passam os dias, mais complexo se torna falar da Democracia e, agora, sobretudo, quando o tema "Eleições Autárquicas" parece constituir moda de pesquisa para uns, tema de mobilização ideológica para os políticos e assunto de maquinação jurídica ao nível das instituições. Mais se complexifica, quando se problemiza a descentralização.

Vou me explicar melhor e ficarei por aqui para, metodologicamente, provocar o debate.
Há tempos, o Semanário Domingo entrevistou-me sobre o que eu pensava da Democracia. Como sempre, nao faço afirmações categóricas sobre o tema, porque entendo que ela é um processo de construção de novas relações sociais, económicas, políticas e culturais que se faz com permanente participação do povo e de maneira pacífica. Nao há, entao, uma fórmula resolvente de Democracia. O povo, em permanente diálogo comunicativo e consequente, vai construindo a Democracia. Assim vou refletindo tendo em atenção a realidade social em construção, após o conflito armado e após as Eleições Gerais Multipartidárias de Outubro de 1994. Aquele semanário, que conduziu bem a entrevista, e acabou encabeçando-a, nas páginas centrais, com a fórmula resolvente " a democracia de Mazula". Quando lí aquele cabeçalho, achei graça e sorri. Alguém sugeriu-me na altura que eu deveria "mandar" corrigir aquele título. Mandar? Achei engraçado e, no fim, disse a mim mesmo, que devia aceitar esta diferença de leitura, mesmo capsiosa.

Tenho acompanhado o esforço e o envolvimento de várias pessoas colectivas, na realidade, iniciativa no sentido de promove encontros e organizar seminários de esclarecimento as populações sobre as Eleições Autárquicas. Sao iniciativas oportunas, quando elas nao sao para um esclarecer e outro ser esclarecido, ou seja, um ser activo e outro ser passivo. Os políticos dizem, eufemisticamente, que é para "fazer ver", em substituição da expressao "mobilizar". A esta postura, está subjacente, muitas vezes, a ideia de que quem esclarece é quem sabe da Democracia, das Autárquicas e da descentralização e outro deve apenas aprender, isto é, ouvir e fazer. Um fala e outro deve apenas agir.

Finalmente, verifico que a convicção da certeza da própria verdade, enraizada em alguns sectores e meios políticos, induz a imposições, mesmo que indirectamente, justificada pela vitória das eleições, pela luta pela democracia, pela inevitabilidade da oposição necessária á democracia, pela força de ser maioria suficiente para fazer aprovar um Projecto Lei. Nao questiono o peso desses argumentos aparentemente válidos.

Interrogo-me, apenas, se eles facilitam ou ajudam o processo de construção da Democracia Moçambicana.
Suponho que este seminário, patrocinado conjuntamente pela USAID e pela Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade, e parabens!- nao seja para encontrar a fórmula resolvente da Democracia, isto é, para descobrir e apropriar-se da "Democracia da USAID" ou "da Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade". Também entendi que nao é seminário para um ensinar e outro aprender e muito menos se organiza na posse de certeza da verdade sobre a Democracia e Descentralização. Trata-se, sim, de reflectir em conjunto.
Nao participei nos seminários realizados nas Províncias. Por aquilo que me foi dado a conhecer sobre o que se passou, sentí que o valor da iniciativa destes seminários começa naquilo que posso chamar de descetralização de pensamento.

A Democracia começa por conhecer que o outro pensa diferentemente de mim. Devo aceitar esse pensar diferente e reconhecer o valor dessa diferença de pensar.
Cirurgicamente, significa aceitar que eu nao tenho o monopólio da verdade e que é preciso operar as minhas "resistências" (Freud) ou "ideologias" (Morin e Geertz), para encontrar verdade individual, organizaciional ou partidária, e aceitar o diálogo consequente com o outro, que consiste a descentralização do pensamento. A confiança no outro é uma atitude fundamentalmente cirúrgica, que supoe a eliminação dos medos, preconceitos e estreotipos. Estou a falar concretamente da descentralização do pensamento dos Partidos, do Governo, da Assembleia da República, das Organizações Nao Governamentais nacionais e estrangeiras, das Agências financeiras nacionais e internacionais, das nossas instituições, dos nossos pensamentos individuais. Estes seminários devem activar a descentralização do pensamento nacional.

No seu resultado, a descentralização do pensamento implica a adequação do pensamento a realidade social, cultural, económica e política. Resulta enfim um conhecimento sociológico da realidade. E em função desse conhecimento que a vida social se deve organizar. Tomo vida social no sentido amplo. Por isso é que a democracia implica necessariamente e descentralização do poder, das instituições e a desconcentração das actividades administrativas, se se quiser que o povo participe realmente na governação do país e no processo do seu desenvolvimento.

As Autárquicas nao sao senao o processo de descentralização do poder, para fazer o povo participar na governação e no processo do seu desenvolvimento. O que observo hoje com certa apreensao é que, quando se fala da democracia, há a tendência de confiná-la ás zonas urbanas, onde residem as estrturas centrais do poder. É a esta que chamo Democracia iluminista. Quando se trata das zonas rurais, o discurso é orientado já para o poder tradicional, esta expressao bonita que substitui a "autoridade gentílica". Falta apenas um corajoso que faça revivescer. Está se a dizer que se aceitam ou se toleram as autárquicas como forma citadina da democracia e nas zonas rurais deve tolerar-se convivência com o poder tradicional. Daí, sobre o ponto de vista filosófico, um certo receio que se manifesta em toda a ginástica da preparação das Eleições Autárquicas.

Estrategicamente, se decide quer por gradualismo se insiste nas implicações financeiras da descentralização, etc. Nao é fácil de entender esta forma de pensar a democracia. Por isso disse no princípio que nao é fácil de entender esta forma de pensar a democracia. Por isso disse no princípio que nao é fácil entender, hoje, a democracia.

As Autárquicas, como espaço de expressao da descentralização do poder e da participação institucional do povo, vao obrigar a definir as novas regras de jogo democrático. É nisto, me parece, que está outro receio de ver ameaçado ou fragilizado o poder central.

Este receio de ameaça e fragilização do poder central leva-me a considerar a democracia como direito de cidadania. O cidadao é aquele que tem direito e dever de falar e agir(Habernas). A participação do cidadao, como sujeito e actor da historia, consiste no falar e no agir. Reparé-se que só o cidadao quando ele tem a possibilidade de realizar cumulativamente o direito de falar e agir. No falar tem a possibilidade e a capacidade de expressar a opiniao própria, de dar o seu parecer e de poder criticar. Pelo agir, ele participa na definição, selecção de acções a serem realizadas e na tomada de decisoes. Desta maneira, ele vincula-se mais ao projecto social. O falar é mais comunicativo, enquanto o agir é mais estratégico. Quando há pouco tempo me referí as zonas urbanas e rurais, era precisamente para me interrogar porquê duvidar,- recear-, da capacidade de falar e de agir para todos, se realmente forem cidadaos. A descentralização é um processo de reconhecimento e prática do direito e dever do cidadao falar e agir, ela é a configuração da participação do povo no poder. As Autárquicas sao o espaço mais próximo e mais realista do exercício desse falar e agir.

Nao pretendí esgotar o tema. Também tenho consciêcia de ter cansado com reflexoes teóricas. É talvez a mania de nao entender a prática, ou melhor a praxis como prática consciente e responsabilizada, sem teoria. Cinji-me a reflexao da democracia, implicando a descentralização do poder. Sem igualmente esgotar a abordagem da descentralização, fiquei em três níveis de

descentralização que considerei fundamentais para o nosso debate: A descentralização do pensamento, a descentralização do poder, a descentralização contida na democracia como direito de cidadania, provocando, em parte, atenção ao tema sobre o poder dito tradicional.

DISCURSO POR OCASIAO DO SEMINARIO IPC NACIONAL SOBRE DESCENTRALIZACAO

Proferido por: **Arnaldo Tembe**
Director Residente do Projecto IPC

MAPUTO, 10 DE JULHO DE 1996

Bemvindos a este importante evento sobre um tema que poderá ser determinante no futuro deste país.

Exmos Senhores representantes dos seminários sobre descentralização das províncias de Zambézia, Nampula e Sofala e aos distintos e ilustres convidados ao Seminário Nacional do IPC co-patrocinado pela Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade que desde os primeiros momentos deu a sua cooperação.

Começaria por explicar o que é essencialmente o IPC -Implementação de Política de Mudanças: O IPC criado pela USAID - Agência dos Estados Unidos para o Desenvolvimento Internacional, apoia na implementaçao de políticas usando uma abordagem de gestão estratégica. Existem duas componentes primárias do Projecto IPC: Cooperação técnica, usando técnicas de gestão e abordagem participativa para o melhoramento das possibilidades de sucesso na implementação de políticas, através da assistência técnica de curta ou longa duração; a da pesquisa, usando as conclusões e outro tipo de dados comparativos, daí resultando lições sobre a substância e processos de implementação de políticas. O grupo IPC ganhou muita experiência através de actividades desenvolvidas em mais de 25 países pelo mundo, muito em especial em vários países de Africa; assistindo esses países numa diversa gama de políticas, incluindo políticas económicas, governação e gestão de recursos naturais.

Em Moçambique, o IPC já desenvolveu actividades com os Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique com incidência nos Recursos Humanos.

O Projecto IPC sobre Descentralizaçao é financiado pela USAID- Agência dos Estados Unidos para o Desenvolvimento Internacional cujos objectivos principais são os de auscultar as opiniões, expectativas e aspirações dos moçambicanos a vários níveis sobre este grande tema de descentralizaçao.

Usando o mêtodo participativo acima referido, o IPC identificou os seguintes accionistas para o processo a nível local: Funcionários do governo distrital bem como representantes da sociedade civil a nível local nomeadamente: Comunidades religiosas, comerciantes, associações de diversa índole, ONG's nacionais, autoridade tradicional e outros cidadãos de reconhecida credibilidade nos distritos e localidades.

A metodologia seguida pelas equipes conjuntas do IPC/USAID foi a de ouvir em primeiro lugar as sensibilidades dos vários accionistas do processo a nível da base, através de reuniões tanto com elementos dos governos distritais como da sociedade civil e autoridade tradicional em separado ou em conjunto e trazê-las posteriormente aos seminários provinciais. Os distritos alvo para este trabalho piloto foram os de Angoche, Monapo, Ribáue e Rapale na província de Nampula; Mocuba, Ile e Maganja da Costa na Província de Zambézia; Caia, Gorongoza e Nhamatanda na província de Sofala.

O trabalho preliminar realizado a partir de Novembro de 1995 com conhecimento da Direcção Nacional de Admnistração Local e dos Gabinetes de Apoio e Controlo de cada província, concluiu que, dos temas de interesse para uma possível abordagem em Seminários provinciais destacavam-se o de Finanças Públicas Locais, Administração Territorial e Capacitação dos Recursos Humanos.

Para além das pessoas acima referidas, os trabalhos preparatórios bem como os próprios seminários provinciais tiveram a participação de diversas individualidades da sociedade civil e do Governo a nível provincial, bem como de deputados da Assembleia da República.

Os Seminários provinciais da Zambézia (13-14 de Junho), Nampula (19-20 de Junho) e Sofala(27-28) realizados nas respectivas capitais provinciais, produziram sugestões e recomendações que serão apresentadas neste Seminário pelos respectivos portas vozes que foram eleitos de uma forma transparente e democrática pelos participantes aos seminários acima referenciados.

Sabido que, vários estudos e seminários já foram realizados sobre este assunto, o Projecto IPC não teve e nem tem a pretensão de sobrepôr-se ou duplicar o esforço e empenho dos respectivos organizadores, mas sim de juntar-se a eles num tema tão inesgotável como delicado quanto o é, a descentralização.

Está claro para o IPC/USAID que os seminários e estudos são um ponto de partida para sugerir acções concretas a nível local, cujo tamanho dependerá dos recursos financeiros disponíveis.

A terminar, cabe-me agradecer em nome da IPC/USAID . a parceria que nos foi oferecida pela FDC - Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade ao co- patrocinar este evento, agradecer ao Doutor Brazão Mazula pelas sábias palavras há pouco proferidas. Agradecer aos ilustres convidados que apesar das suas inúmeras e importantes actividades no seu dia a dia, aceitaram partilhar conosco as cerca de quatro horas de reflexão sobre um tema tão importante como o da Descentralização.

Muito Obrigado.

DISCURSO POR OCASIÃO DO SEMINARIO NACIONAL SOBRE DESCENTRALIZAÇÃO

Proferido pelo: Dr. Michael McKinley
Charge d'Affaires a.i.,
Embaixada dos Estados Unidos da America

MAPUTO, 10 DE JULHO DE 1996

Em primeiro lugar, quero exprimir o prazer da missão norte Americana em participar e ter a oportunidade de contribuir no Desenvolvimento deste importante debate sobre o futuro do Processo de descentralização no pais. Como temos ultimamente ouvido, è uma questão que abrange, directa ou indirectamente, Todos os aspectos da vida nacional -- o fornecimento de serviços Publicos como a saúde, a educação, e a segurança; a forma como melhor actualizar a divisão territorial e delimitar as competências dos orgãos nacionais e autarquicos; e a forma de racionalizar as despesas do orçamento geral do estado. Esta questão, tambem téra um dramático impacto sobre o futuro do desenvolvimento economico das diferentes regiões do pais.

Sobre a contribuição até agora feita pelos nossos Apresentadores, gostaria de destacar em especial a participação dos representantes distritais e provinciais que nos acompanham esta manhã. Eles levantaram grandes questões de fundo em relação aos importantes temas de finanças, administração, e recursos humanos. Não tentarei resumir as varias apresentações que foram feitas. Acho que o trabalho já foi bem feito na plénaria. Gostaria sim de apresentar algumas observações e perguntas que surgiram na nossa participação em varios séminarios provinciais, e em conversas de hoje.

-- Em primeiro lugar, existe de facto ao nivel provincial e local, uma exigencia forte para um governo e administração estatal descentralizado. Foi expressa consistentemente nos séminarios para administradores, representantes da sociedade civil, e aceite por representantes do governo central nos séminarios.

-- Em segundo lugar, a transparência na gestão dos assuntos publicos foi a mais forte preocupação apresentada. A descentralização ajudara o processo de transparência, mas uma simples aproximação ao cidadão nao téra o efeito desejado. A transparência verdadeira requer que o governo central tome a liderança em desenvolver a transparência, tornando as suas operações mais abertas ao escrutinio publico, e simplificando os requerimentos administrativos e regulamentos. As eleições autarquicas tambem podem conduzir a maior transparência como

indicou o magnifico reitor brazão mazula. Hà tambem de facto um forte desejo e uma forte necessidade de uma maior divulgação publica de informação relacionada com a reforma de finanças publicas e sua relação com o processo de descentralização. Acho que o compromisso que o ministério de administração estatal tomou em apoiar esta série de séminarios foi uma boa expressão da vontade de abrir o debate nesse sentido.

-- Os doadores também tem um papel a jogar nesta questão. Eles tem que sistematicamente estudar as suas operações para assegurar que os seus projectos sejam transparentes ao nivel local.

-- Em terceiro lugar, ha um debate e diferenças importantes sobre a questão de transferência de fundos entre os orgãos de estado e dos distritos e municipios. Surgiram sugestões tais como 70% das receitas cobradas nos distritos devem ficar la. Tambem existe uma preocupação grande com a fiscalização rigorosa das despesas -- e um desejo de melhor definir as responsabilidades dos distritos mesmo antes de se definirem as questões de orçamento. É óbvio que algums distritos terão uma base económica mais fraca que outros. É tambem óbvio que as reformas fiscais a nivel nacional terão grande impacto a nivel local.

-- De facto existe também um grande temor de que a descentralização seja restringida pela falta de financiamento em distritos sem forte base económica, que o processo das autarquicas e definição de poderes seja complicado pela falta de financiamento. Em primeiro lugar, alguns analistas tem assinalado, eu acho correctamente, que os custos da descentralização não serão conhecidos até haver uma melhor ideia dos custos actuais da administração dos poderes provinciais e locais. O custo final de descentralização sera determinado, em maior parte, pelos detalhes de implementação de novas leis sobre finanças locais, de tutela administrativa, sobre reformas do sistema de taxas comerciais.

-- Se estas leis forem elaboradas com cautela, é bem possivel que a descentralização possa ser levada a cabo a um custo muito mais baixo do que o esperado. Em el salvador, por exemplo, a descentralização resultou em que os projetos relacionados com os serviços publicos fossem em média 45% menos custosos que os projetos financiados pelo governo central. Outro ponto a considerar é que existe a possibilidade de poupanças reais resultando de uma redução no tamanho da administração local do estado. E os cidadãos dos distritos no futuro podem estar mais interessados em pagar as taxas e fazer as contribuções para a manutenção de governos autarquicos quando sentem que o governo esta mais perto deles, e é deles, e esta para prestar serviços. A presente duvida, que foi abertamente expressa nos séminarios sera revertida.

-- Em quarto lugar, é importante enfatizar que todos aqueles que participaram nos séminarios reconhecem a necesidade de fortalecer a capacidade dos presentes recursos humanos ao serviço do governo provincial e distrital. Todos apontam a necessidade de maior formação de quadros, maior profissionalismo no lugar de trabalho, e a necessidade de envolver a comunidade civil no apoio ao trabalho de governos distritais. Qual, por exemplo, séra o verdadeiro papel dos poderes tradicionais? Ainda falta muito para definir nesta area, mas acho que estudos como os recentemente levados a cabo pela pnud e acnur nos distritos onde foi activa na ajuda ao reassentamento de retornados e deslocados internos vão fornecer uma fonte rica para ter maiores conhecimentos do problema que nos enfrenta.

-- A outra questão surgida dos séminarios é a ideia de que os distritos devem ter uma maior liberdade em decidir quantos funcionarios publicos vão trabalhar lá, mesmo aceitando que a tutela de ministérios encarregados da saúde, educação, e outros serviços vão manter um certo controlo administrativo nas suas respectivas areas. Mais, as decisões devem tomar em conta as diferênças dentro dos distritos. Vai ser necessaria uma cuidadosa coordenação entre o governo central e os doadores interessados em apoiar a formação e fortalecimento das capacidades ao nivel local através de programas de formação pelo trabalho e escolas adicionais.

-- finalmente queria assinalar que parece existir um forte desejo ao nivel dos distritos e municipios de intensificar o processo de desconcentração mesmo antes das eleições autarquicas, e estabelecer maior independencia em decisões locais e (parece paradoxal mas não é) maior coordenação nas decisões a nivel central, provincial, e local.

O processo de descentralizacao tem muito caminho a percorrer, e Hoje apenas representa um outro passo. Mas deve ficar evidente Que do proceso de descentralização depende o sucesso de muitos Outros esforços que estão sendo elaborados para impulsionar o Desenvolvimento do pais. Um processo de descentralização bem Elaborado que esclarece e reforma o regime tributário e Comercial do pais levara a uma maior actividade económica, e com Isso maior produção, maior comercio, maiores lucros, e mais Emprego nas regiões. Um processo de descentralização que esclarece a divisão de responsabilidades a diferente niveis da administração estatal levara a uma maior eficiência, maior resposta, e maior empenho no trabalho de funcionarios publicos que podem definir o seu trabalho numa relação mais directa com o cidadão. E um processo de descentralização que valoriza, aproveita, racionaliza, e facilita a participação de cada cidadão moçambicano no processo de construir um novo pais aprofundara o sentido de uma naçao unida face aos problemas inévitaveis

do desenvolvimento. Por isso é também importante levar a cabo o processo de eleições autarquicas mesmo quando ainda não se concluiu o processo de desconcentração e de descentralização. As eleições podem mesmo ajudar o processo a avançar de forma mais seguro com o apoio de um povo engajado.

Muito obrigado e boa sorte.

APENDICE A: LISTA DOS PORTA VOZES PROVINCIAIS AO SEMINÁRIO NACIONAL

Nampula
Margarida Talapa
Manuel Teófilo Braga
Felisbela Lázaro
Acita João
António Mutuia
Abacar Raúl

Sofala
Chico Francisco
Chivavice Muchangage
Simões Augusto Zalembessa
Matias Agostinho Tesoura
Raul João Gumaçanze
Jacinto Isaías

Zambézia
Rafael Manso
Loborino Alamane
Zeferino Álvaro
Luciano Pinto
João Inroga
Almeida Malango

PESSOAL DO IPC

ED CONNERLEY
ARNALDO TEMBE
MICHAEL TURNER

APENDICE B: LISTA DOS PARTICIPANTES AO SEMINÁRIO NACIONAL - HOTEL POLANA. 10 DE JULHO DE 1996

NOME	ORGANIZAÇÃO
Guy Mullin	Link Forum de ONGs
Dr. Antonio Carvalho Neves	F.D.C.
Sergio Guzman	USAID
Matias Tesoura	Representante C.Crista
Luciano D.Pinto	Rep. dos Regulos-Zambezia
Jacinto Isaias	Presi. de UDAC-Nhamatanda
Loborino Alamane	Portavoz da prov. Zamb.
Almeida Malango	Portavoz da prov. Zamb.
Simoes A.Zalembesse	Portavoz da prov. Sofala
Dr.Brazao Mazula	Univers. Eduardo Mondlane
Moises Venancio	PNUD
Peter Kramer	PNUD
Raul Gumançanze	Régulo - Caia, Sofala
Rafael Jose Manso	Portavoz-Zambézia
Roberto Chavez	Representante Banco Mundial
Fernanda Farinha	African American Institu.
Antonio Motiua	Portavoz-Nampula
Abacar Raul	Portavoz-Nampula
Argentina Matavel	Visao Mundial
Elisabeth Sequeira	Associacao Progresso
Paul Fauvet	AIM
Grahan Saul	Oxfam-UK-Ireland
Mario Ussene	A.C.M.
Luisa Matola	AMRU
Fernanda Teixeira	C.V.M.
Emmanuel Langa	T.V.M
Bonifacio Antonia	AIM

NOME	ORGANIZAÇÃO
Estefanio Muholeve	D.M.
Francisco Ferreira	U.A.A.Republica
Domingos Superior	R.T.K
Nelson Mbazima	R.T.K
Bartolomeu de Oliveira	R.T.K
Celia Diniz	African American Inst.
Celestino Bento	RENAMO Deputado -AR
D. Diniz Sengulane	F.D.C.
Zeferino Humberto	Portavoz- Zambezia
Maria Felicidade Felix Lazaro	Protavoz- Nampula
Margarida Talapa	Portavoz- Nampula
Teofilo Braga	Portavoz- Nampula
Marta Cumbe	F.D.C.
Carol Lynn Martin	USAID
Irae Batista Lundin	Min. Admin. Estatal (MAE)
Euridia Azevedo	USAID
Joao Inroga	Portavoz Zambézia
Artemisa Franco	MBEU
Fernando R Macamo	MAE/DNAL
Angela Abdula	NDI
Maria Alice Mabota	Liga Dir. Humanos
Domingos Mboa	ONG/KULIMA
Naftal Donaldo	"Zero" Semanário
Boaventura Zita	CCM- Maputo
Simao Sevene	AJAM-Ass. Agric. Moça.
Elisa Muianga	AMME-Ass. Moç.Mulheres
Olinda Mugabe	AMODEFA
Carlos Cardoso	Media Fax
José Negrao	NET - UEM
Salomao Muiambo	Notícias
Mussá Mahomed	Notícias

NOME	ORGANIZAÇÃO
Louis Helling	UEM
Felisberto Laice	Notícias
António Bernardo Tchamo	MINED/Técnico
Maria Leonor Joaquim	AMMCJ-Ass. Jurídica

1. Para uma explicação detalhada dos métodos e trabalho do IPC em Moçambique, ver a apresentação feita por Arnaldo Tembe, em anexo.

Annex IV

MOZAMBIQUE DECENTRALIZATION STAKEHOLDERS (ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS) UNDER IPC DECENTRALIZATION PROJECT

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

MAE ➢Ministry of State Administration -- Maputo Mozambique Implemented by DNAL-National Directorate of Local Administration. Contact persons: Director Jose Manuel Guambe; Fax (258-1)421968; Dr. Irae Lundin (Traditional Authority Consultant for MAE); Phone: 492134/421555.

MAPUTO:
FDC ➢ Fudancao paro o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade. Address: Maputo Mozambique Av Eduardo Mondlane; Phone: 429677/9; Contact Person: Graca Machel/Carvalho Neves.
CCM ➢ Mozambique's Christian Council-Maputo. Contact person: Mr. Boaventura Zitha; Phone: 425103/422836.

NAMPULA:
CCM ➢Nampula. Contact person: Alberto Ulisses; Phone: 215302; Fax: 215302
ASSANA ➢ Civic Association for Nampula Residents. Contact person:
Concelho Municipal de Nampula ➢ Contact person: Aly Baraca, Mayor:.

SOFALA:
ACB ➢Associacao Comercial da Beira, Beira-Mozambique. Contact person: Dr. Antonio Soeiro; Phone: 327650; Fax: 328679.
ADESSO-ASSOCIACAO DE DESENVOLVIMENTO DE SOFALA ➢ Sofala Development Association. Phone 328752; Fax: 328853.
SOTEMAZA ➢ Association for Development of Sofala, Tete, Manica and Zambezia. Based in Beira.
Concelho Municipal da Beira ➢ Contact person: Mr. Lucas Renco, Mayor; Phone: 322299, Fax: 329709.

ZAMBEZIA:
MOCIZA ➢ Movimento Civico da Zambezia-Quelimane. Contact person: Antonio Muedo; Phone: 212596; Fax: 212596.
Concelho Municipal de Quelimane ➢ Zambezia: Contact person: Mr. Jaime Gerente - Mayor. Phone 212329, 232053, Fax: 212018

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:
***FRENCH, SWISS** Through their respective Missions in Mozambique.
GERMAN GOVERNMENT through different organizations, the most important is Friederich Ebert Foundation in 1994 organized a series of seminars on decentralization in the country.

SNV-Dutch Development Organization. Based in Maputo with offices in Angoche-Nampula. Phone: 215497 Fax: 215498

INDIVIDUAL STAKEHOLDERS:

Dr. Helder Muteia; Dr. Abdul Carimo; Ms. Margarida Talapa MP's for Frelimo Dr. Chico Francisco; Mr. Augusto Chauviro MP's for Fenamo in the Parliament; Dr. Graça Machel and Dr. Carvalho Neves -- FDC; Dr. Brazao Mazula Chancelor at Eduardo Mondlane University; Dr. Antonio Saraiva de Sousa -- Vice Chancelor UEM; Dr. José Negrão -- Land Tenure Studies at University Eduardo Mondlane; Alexandrino José -- African Studies Centre at University Eduardo Mondlane; Pastor Jamisse -- Director International Relations Institute (trains diplomats); Dr. Alice Mabota -- Human Rights League; Dr. Leonor Joaquim --- Juridicial Women Association; Roberto Chaves -- World Bank Office in Maputo; Roland Van de Geer -- Dutch Embassy-Maputo; Guy Mulin -- LINK (NGO Council in Mozambique); Olinda Mugabe -- AMODEFA (Association for Family Development); Celia Diniz; Fernanda Farinha -- AAI-African American Institute; Daphne Case -- UNDP-Maputo; Mario Ussene -- ACM (Mozambique Comercial Association) based in Maputo; Maria dos Anjos -- AMDU (Urban Development Organization); Arnaldo Nhavoto -- Minister of Education (the only cabinet Minister that participated in the National Seminar); Dom Dinis Sengulane -- Bishop at Anglican Church; Carlos Cardoso -- Journalist Independent Media FAX; Naftal Donaldo -- Journalist Independent Zero; Andrea Wolfe -- SUNY (State University of New York); Charlotte Cerf -- NDI; John Unruh -- LTC (PVO).

NB: Local Stakeholders (district level) are in the participant list that was sent in due time.

*These were not directly involved with the project.