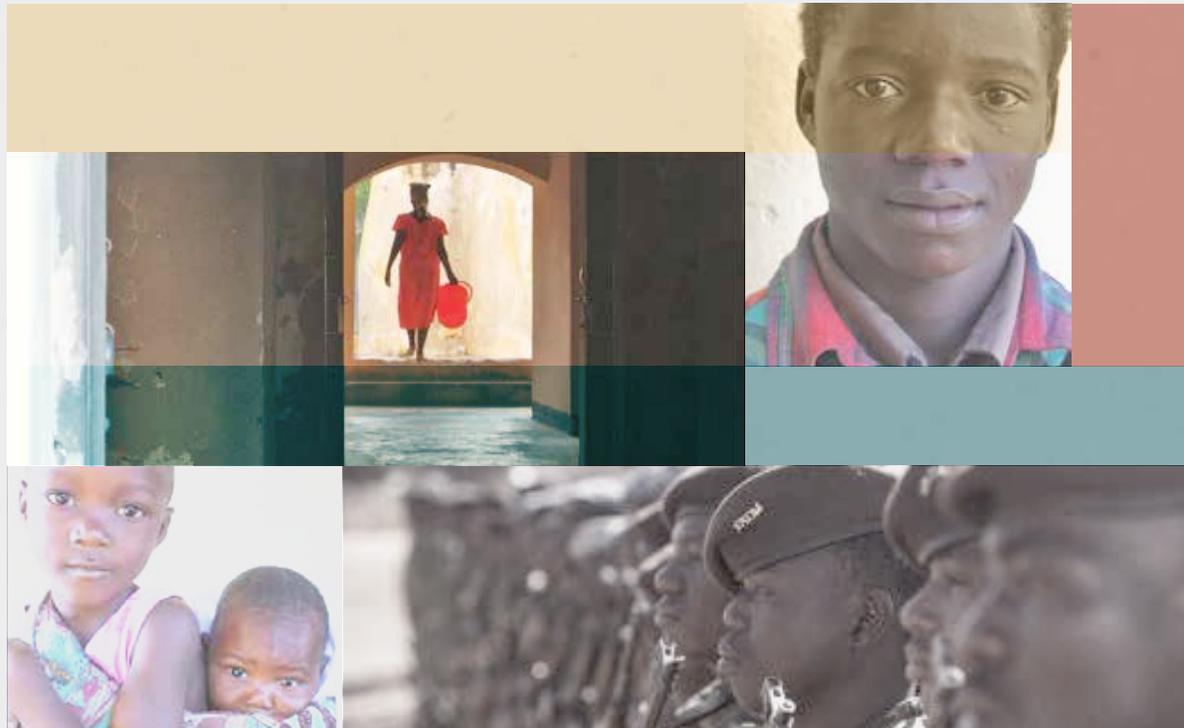


Mozambique

Outlook Report



This report is a practical guide to understand the cultural factors that reinforce social tensions in Mozambique, bring to light the dominant social tensions that currently exist, and present general recommendations for mitigating risks. Incorporating a community-based approach into existing security and corporate social responsibility activities creates more effective engagement strategies that are legitimate in the eyes of the Mozambican population, and fundamentally support the needs of Mozambique's communities where our clients operate.

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ENODO Global's population-centric risk analysis fills the gap between traditional geo-political analysis and physical and technical security, uncovering true drivers of instability that emanate from civil societies. ENODO solves clients' complex social problems, predicts conflicts they will likely encounter, and mitigates risk so clients can establish and maintain a social license to operate in any geo-political, socio-economic, or ethno-religious environment.



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RENAMO

Axis of Growing
Discontent & Unrest
Among Society at Large

DISRUPTIVE CAPACITY
EXPLOITATIVE
RESOURCED

POLITICAL DOMINANCE
ECONOMIC CONTROL
PERCEIVED CORRUPTION

MDM

FRELIMO

Overview

The future stability of Mozambique remains uncertain; however, it need

not prohibit investment in exploration or development. By understanding the population and the communities in which they live, corporations can create stable operating environments to safeguard against potential threats to operations. The social tensions that create insecurity are knowable and can be countered using narratives and engagement strategies that resonate with communities in affected areas.

Vast stores of natural resources in Mozambique, including coal and natural gas, provide tremendous opportunity for the Mozambican government to deliver basic services, international corporations to generate significant revenue, and local communities to improve their quality of life. However, Mozambique continues to face political and social tensions, which adversely affect the economy and increase risk to production.

In early 2013, political instability in Mozambique entered a phase of mobilized violence between the FRELIMO¹-led government¹ and the main political opposition party, RENAMO². Most geo-political analysts predicted the situation would resolve itself quickly, but that is not the case. The situation is characterized by social and political agitation, with recent violent attacks by RENAMO against political and economic targets. At the same time, popular grievances against government and commercial enterprises are on the rise. Left unchecked, political and social tensions are likely to escalate and manifest in broader instability.



Tri-Fold
Political Tension

Divisive Partitioning
Within Communities



Cultural Dynamics

Underpinning social tensions in Mozambique are cultural dynamics that are often overlooked. Identity and ethnicity; religion and spiritualism; and traditional values and ethics are all cultural factors that impact facets of interaction from negotiations to operations. This section identifies specific Mozambican cultural dynamics that require consideration when designing effective engagement strategies.

Identity and Ethnicity

One of the central issues that challenges corporations dealing with Mozambique's individuals and communities concerns the nature of identity - both self-identity and the perception of others' identity.

In Mozambique, family, kin, and communities supersede the idea of individualism within society. Understanding identity is fundamental to implementing an effective engagement strategy or development program. To know how the individual is linked to the community, and what responsibilities he or she holds, will provide a distinct advantage to ENODO client corporations when conducting negotiations.

Ethnicity is the foundation of indigenous Mozambican society because it is the repository of culture and history, and is fundamental to identity creation. Like most African states, Mozambique is multi-ethnic; therefore engagement must include, rather than avoid, the ethnic dimensions of Mozambique society.

There is a link between identity and community. Mozambicans consider themselves and their individuality with that of the collective identity of the community from which they originate. Therefore, the community, not the individual, is considered first and foremost. For example, when an individual achieves material success, he is expected to share first with his immediate family, and then with the extended family of the community. Individual success is not sought, and can have severe negative consequences within the community if it is mishandled.

Religion and Spiritualism

Rural Mozambican society is deeply spiritual. Ancestral spirits are responsible for everyday events, including: accidents, illness, death, famine, and drought. The link between the living and the dead is central, with no clear-cut division between religion and mysticism.



Spiritual mysticism within Mozambican society is not an occult practice. Rather it is seen as a force to heal individuals, bind them to their communities, and balance social tensions. Essentially, the practice of spiritualism contributes to the cohesion of communities by providing a treatment for social discontent like poverty, wealth envy, unemployment, and violence. So strong are the beliefs in religion and mysticism that political leaders often consult with spiritual advisors who act as mediums to summon and appease the spirits of ancestors.

Traditional Stewardship Ethic

In many communities in Mozambique, the local word used for the community leader – usually translated as “chief” – is more accurately synonymous with “steward”. Stewards are responsible for the people, land, and resources under their jurisdiction. This stewardship ethic is equally applicable to corporations, and local communities hold corporate actors accountable for their stewardship over people, land, and resources. It is important for companies to recognize the role to which they are assigned by the community. Violations of the stewardship ethic, such as environmental damage, community resettlement, and the perception of unfair wealth distribution and resource management, will increase tension considerably between the community and the corporation.



Social Tensions

Communities across Mozambique share the desire for fair representative governance, increased economic opportunity, protection from violent criminal activity and predatory behaviors of multi-national corporations, and a return from wealth generated from natural resources. Frustration with government nepotism and corruption; exploitative business practices by government officials; political instability, and violence now permeate large segments of Mozambique society.

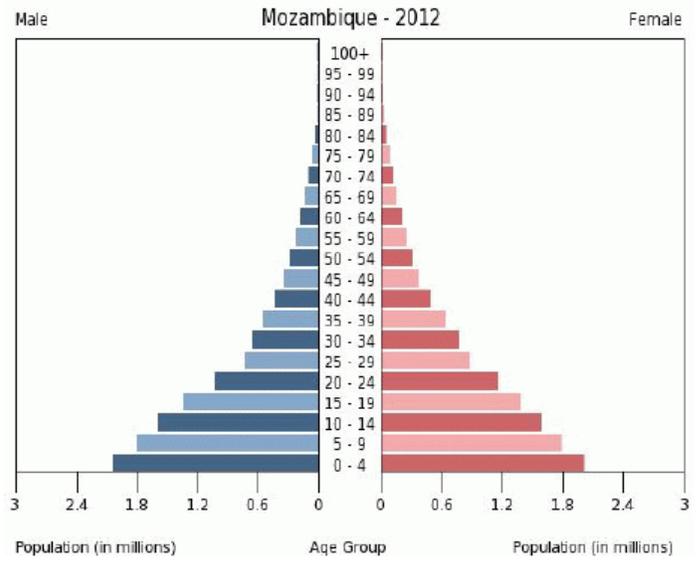
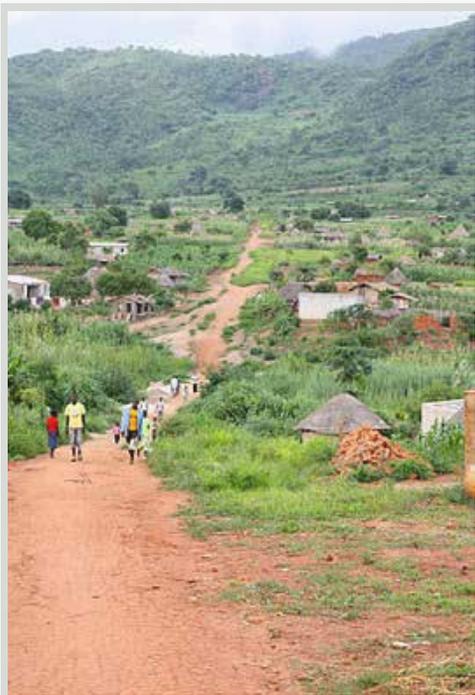
These social tensions are stressed by historical events including: government resettlement programs, the lack of distribution of mineral wealth, and a lack of government protection against RENAMO armed attacks, kidnappings, and illegal activities. This section delves into several factors that accelerate the social tensions and active grievances found within Mozambique society. These factors could undermine the stability of local Mozambican communities and affect these communities' relationships with ENODO clients.

Youth Bulge

Approximately 75% of Mozambique's population is under the age of 26, the majority of whom live in rural areas. Employment and education opportunities are limited for most rural Mozambican youth due to the government's focus on urban-centric economic growth. A large constituency of unemployed male youth, weakened traditional structures, lack of tangible economic opportunities, and widespread discontent among the population create significant social challenges and a climate ripe for violence.

Population

More than 65% of the Mozambican population lives at or close to subsistence level. Rural, subsistence farmers are found in most areas where companies extract or process resources. This rural population maintains strong traditional beliefs, practices spiritualism, and values stewardship ethics and family and kinship networks. Although the communities are generally submissive to authority, active grievances among the rural population have manifested into protests, which could easily lead to violence.



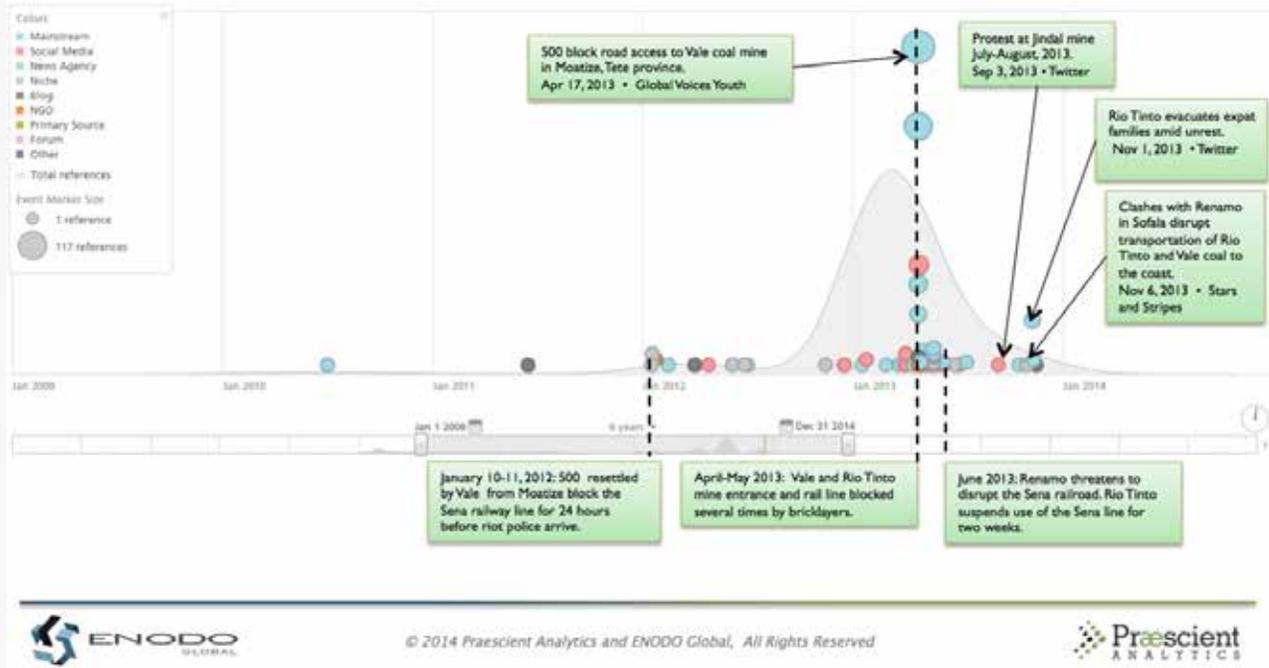
Resettlement

The practice of resettlement revives negative, historical sentiment among the rural population. Forced resettlement by the FRELIMO-led government in the 1970s and 1980s typically resulted in a decrease in quality of life and resentment when government-promised services remained unavailable. Resettled territory is usually considered substandard, and often invokes complaints of less fertile land. Additionally, residents believe that resettlement disrupts their social and economic rights.

As an example, residents from several communities in Tete province (Mozambique's central northwestern province bordering Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) were resettled to expand coal-mining operations. These Tete communities accused the central government and corporations (such as mineral extraction conglomerate Rio Tinto) of severely disrupting their access to adequate food, water, income, and healthcare. Local protests were organized in 2012 and 2013 to demonstrate against the expansion of projects and disruption of social services.

Resettlement Protests in Tete Target Rio Tinto, Vale, and Jindal

- Foreign mining companies and the government of Mozambique have been accused of "serious shortcomings" in resettling communities to make way for coal mines near in Tete Province, leaving thousands without proper homes, food or sources of income. At the same time, Renamo has threatened to disrupt rail lines connecting the coals mines to the coastal port of Beira, and clashes with government forces have disrupted transportation lines in Sofala Province.



In Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces in the northeast of Mozambique, the government granted several corporations licenses to explore and develop natural gas resources. While most activities will take place offshore, processing and production will require above ground facilities on shore. In one community, preliminary estimates state approximately 1500 households will require resettlement to accommodate the proposed liquid natural gas (LNG) processing plant. LNG facilities are planned in areas currently used by locals for subsistence fishing activities. Although development and construction are years out, communities are already holding protests to air their grievances.

Economic Discontent

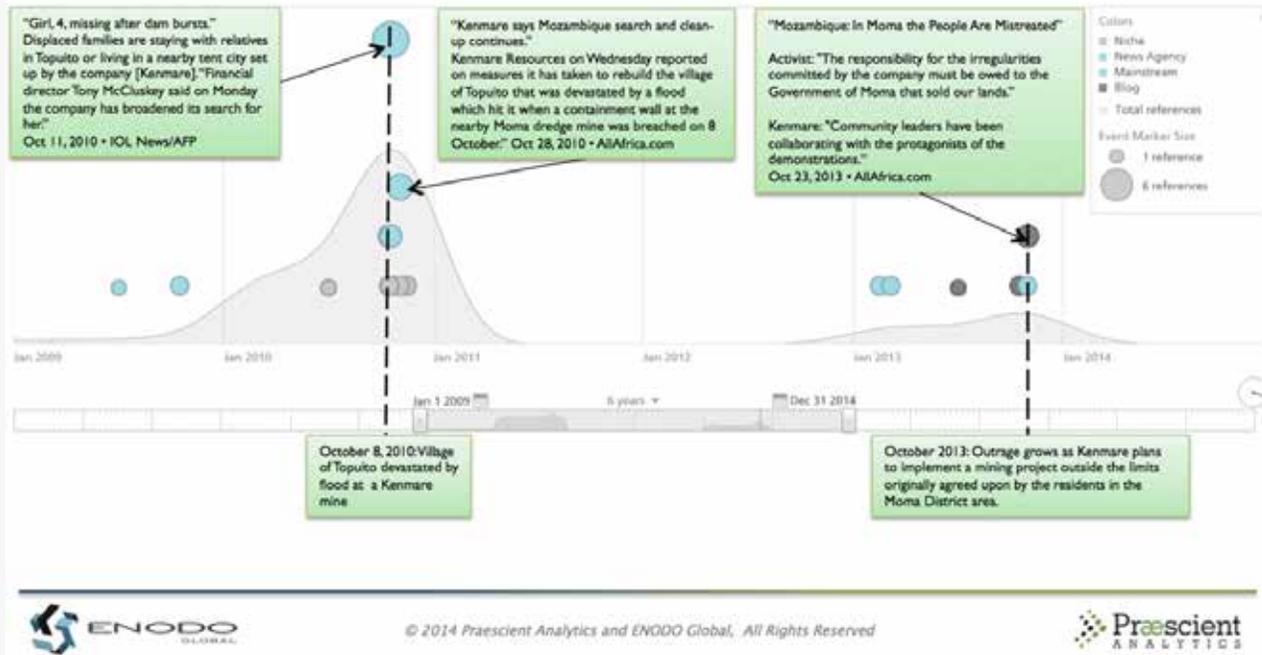
Economic growth in both the urban industrial sectors and resource extraction industries has not improved the quality of life for Mozambique's rural population. The majority of the population

lives near or below the subsistence level; their communities are negatively impacted by environmental damage caused by extraction activities. They expect the jobs created by the energy industry to benefit family and friends of the current government and those from the urban, educated classes. For these reasons, distrust of commerce is rampant in affected communities and surrounding areas. For subsistence farmers and fishermen, environmental damage is particularly devastating, and the resultant losses provide local villagers another reason to blame the government and affiliated corporations.

An example of the negative effects of resource extraction on communities occurred in October 2010 in Nampula, on the northeast coast of Mozambique. Significant destruction and forced displacement of residents occurred when a tailings dam³ burst at the Kenmare Resources mining site, their Moma Titanium Minerals Mine. Despite company efforts to repair the damage

Kenmare Resources accused of mistreating residents of Moma

- Devastation caused by a flood at a Kenmare mining site in 2010 and the company's plans to expand operations are fueling outrage in the Moma district area. Residents are blaming the government for allowing Kenmare to operate without restrictions. Kenmare has accused community representatives of promoting unrest and being opposition party militants.

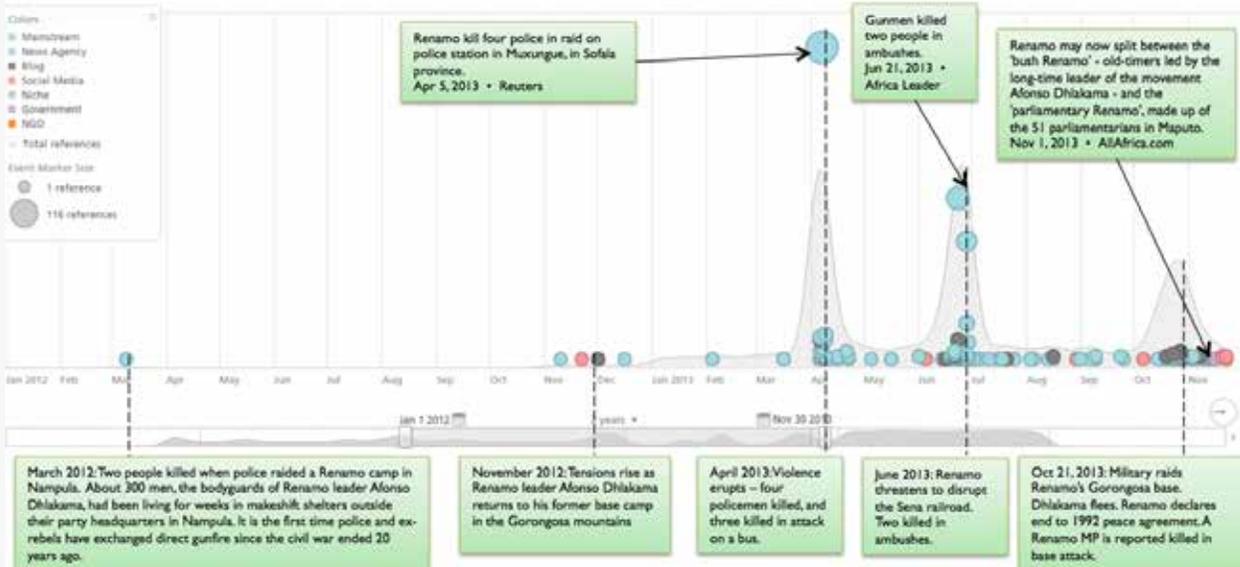


using legislation and political appointments, to prevent opposition party members from having a meaningful effect on public policy. RENAMO believes it is politically constrained by a corrupt, FRELIMO-dominated state. RENAMO refused to participate in the November 2013 municipal elections in an attempt to force political concessions that it could not generate through legislation. Due to its inability to successfully generate political momentum within the current system, RENAMO returned to the violent tactics employed during the civil war. During the height of its campaign against FRELIMO, RENAMO support came from the rural population. In the latest flare-ups, RENAMO returned to the countryside to generate support from a frustrated population and to launch attacks. Rural grievances against the state, and the corporations it sponsors, provide RENAMO ample opportunity to foment agitation.

RENAMO's claim as the sole and preferred alternative to FRELIMO is diminishing, however. The Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM)⁴ is gaining a foothold among urban populations who are seeking change from the current government. In the municipal elections of 2013, MDM won in three of the four largest cities and gained council seats in all but two urban areas. Large segments of Mozambique society, especially the young, view FRELIMO and RENAMO as organizations dominated by old guard leadership out-of-touch with existing social issues. Further disenfranchisement of the population in the political realm is evidenced in voter turnout and a flawed electoral process. Voter turnout decreases each election cycle, particularly among rural voters who have little confidence that political change will occur, or have a positive impact on their lives. During each election cycle, FRELIMO is the target of complaints of electoral inconsistency and interference. Frustrated citizens who have abandoned the ballot may be more inclined to participate in protests and civil unrest.

Tracing Renamo's Political Evolution (Jan 2012 to Nov 2013)

- Recent violence signals Renamo's shift from politics to armed banditry. Clashes between Renamo and the ruling Frelimo party has largely been confined to Sofala and Nampula provinces. The unrest comes ahead of municipal elections on Nov. 20, 2013, which Renamo has threatened to boycott and disrupt. Some observers believe Renamo's leadership has returned to arms as a desperate attempt to discredit Frelimo and to grab a share of the natural resource wealth that is reshaping the country.

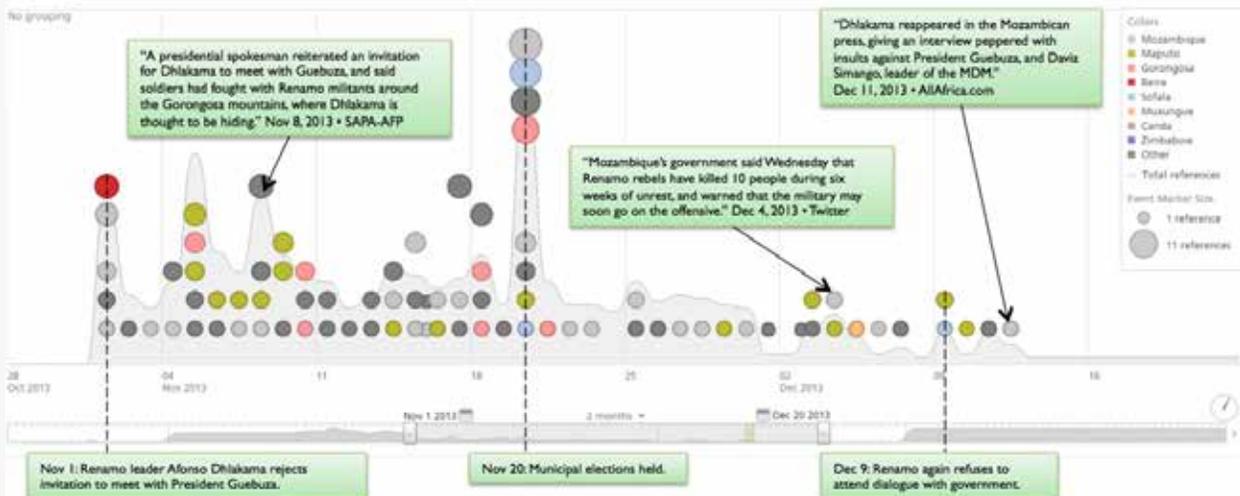


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Reaction to November 2013 Municipal Elections

- Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) won control of three of Mozambique's four largest cities in recent elections, demonstrating a strong organization and get-out-the-vote capability – confirming its emergence as a credible challenger for the 2014 general election. Renamo, which had boycotted the elections, continues to refuse to meet with government negotiators, demanding that the talks be opened to international observers, and that legislation governing Mozambique's electoral process be amended to give Renamo greater representation.

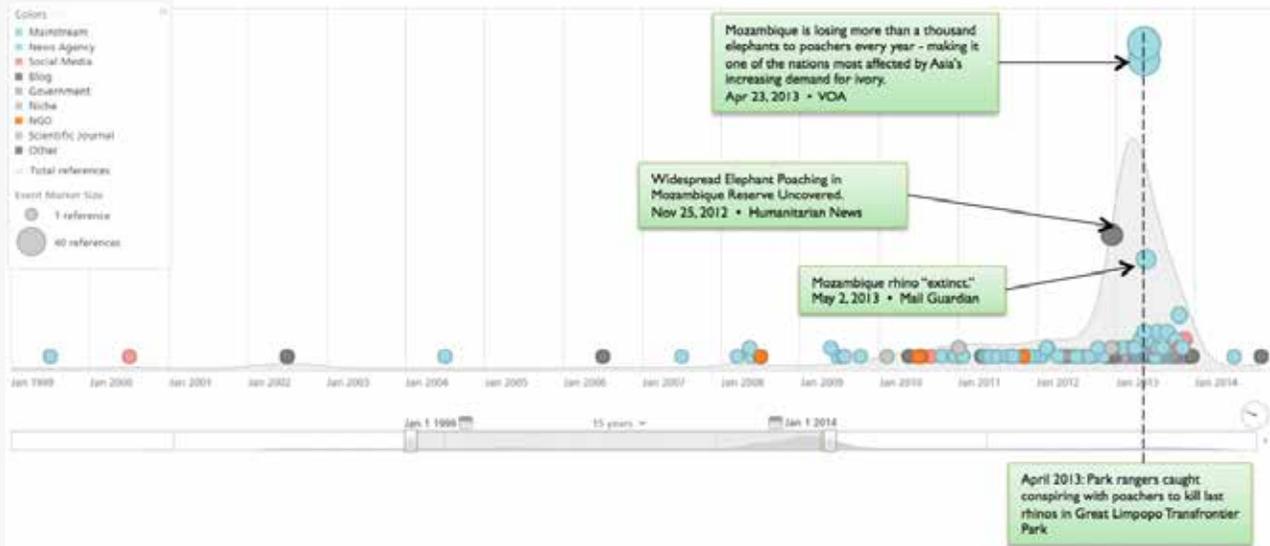


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Growing Concerns Over Poaching

- *Elephant and rhinoceros ivory could present Renamo with a lucrative source of income. Mozambique's legal code considers poaching a misdemeanor offense. The rhino population in Mozambique, which was wiped out by large game hunters a century ago and later reintroduced to national parks, has again been eradicated – this time with the connivance of park rangers.*



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Systemic Corruption

As in most sub-Saharan countries, nepotism, patronage networks, and corruption dominate Mozambican political structures. Many believe that only FRELIMO party members and influential supporters receive any economic benefits from foreign investment in coal and natural gas resources. Reinforcing this belief, the majority of wealth and opportunity is concentrated at the top among members of government and society in urban centers located in the capital, Maputo (located at the extreme southern end of the country). The scope of corruption is evidenced in Mozambique's illicit rhinoceros poaching black market that generated more than \$52 million U.S. Dollars (USD) in 2013, each slain animal producing an estimated value of \$65,000 USD. The government is believed to be complicit in poaching activities, through either direct involvement, or acceptance

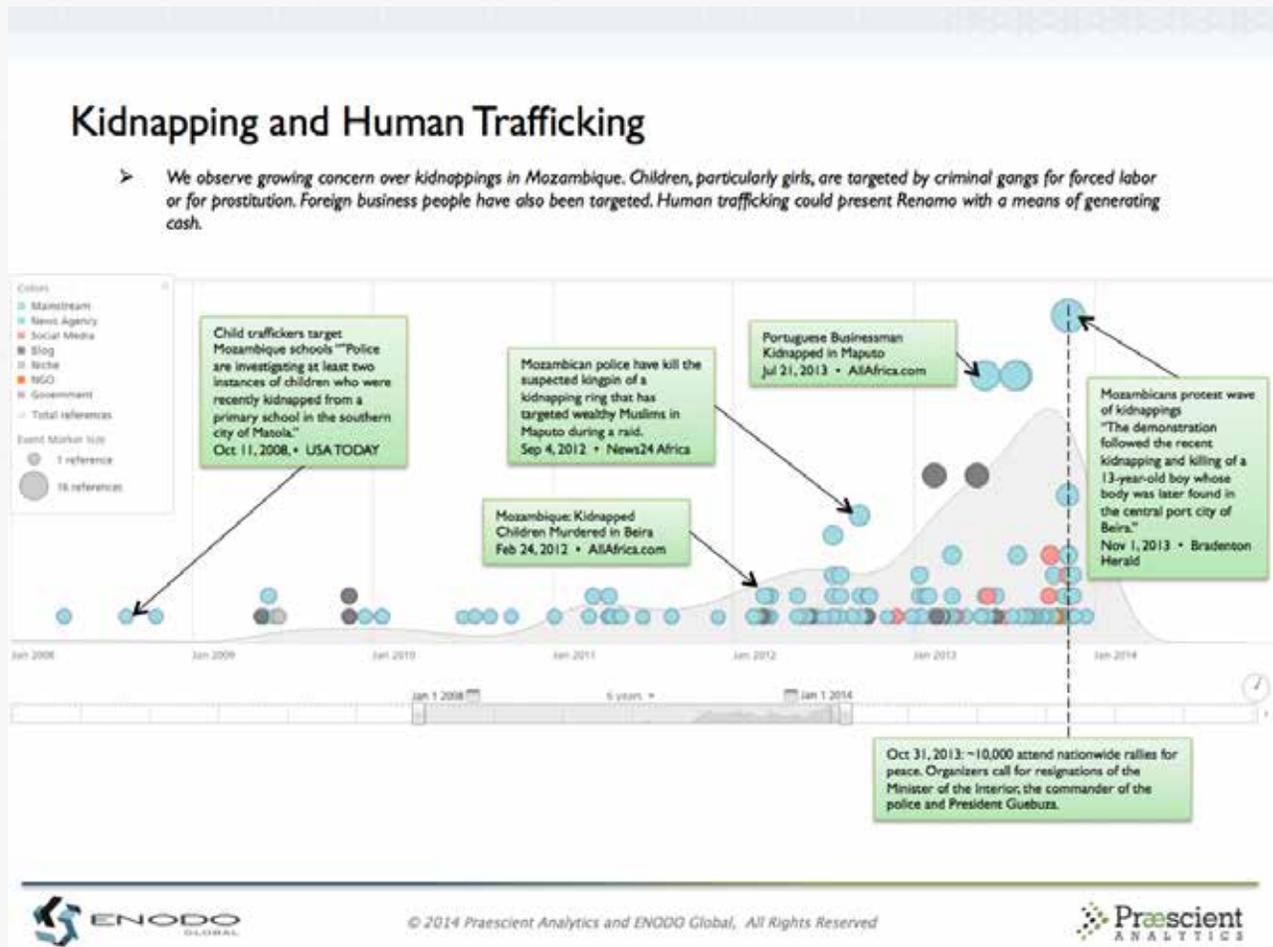


FANG TRADERS WITH IVORY.

of bribes by poachers to continue their 'trade'. Further, poaching occurs across international borders and, in response to Mozambique poacher activities, South Africa recently stepped up patrolling and interdiction activities along its border.



Kidnapping, human trafficking, and criminal gang activity is on the rise, particularly affecting the urban middle class and foreigners living and working in Mozambique. While steps have been taken to address the danger, the government is viewed as incapable of completely stemming the threat. Recently, in Maputo, several police officials were tried and convicted for their participation in criminal activities. Rather than alleviate local concerns, these convictions further undermine public trust in the government and its representatives to protect the population.



Potential Threats to Stability

Impact of Severe Climatology

In Mozambique, floods and droughts are common occurrences, with alternating events occurring biannually, on average. When the events are extreme, food production and prices are dramatically impacted. The Mozambican government was unprepared to provide sufficient relief when devastating floods struck Mozambique in 2000 – the worst in a 50-year span. Since then, the government has worked to improve its responsiveness; however, even minor disruptions in access to adequate food and shelter for the affected population fuels long-term discontent.

Foreign Influence

Zimbabwe and South Africa each support the FRELIMO-led government, for both ideological and economic reasons. The landlocked nations of Zimbabwe and Zambia rely on access to Mozambique’s ports, and South Africa is the main source of foreign investment and primary trading partner. Additionally, tourism from South Africa provides Mozambique significant revenue.

In 1987 during the civil war, Zimbabwe intervened in Mozambique against RENAMO. In a recent interview with the BBC, Zimbabwe’s Deputy Foreign Minister Christopher Mutsvangwa said “It will be misguided for RENAMO to bring instability and expect Zimbabwe to watch.” It is possible Zimbabwe could once again provide military support for FRELIMO along their borders and within Mozambique if violence escalates.



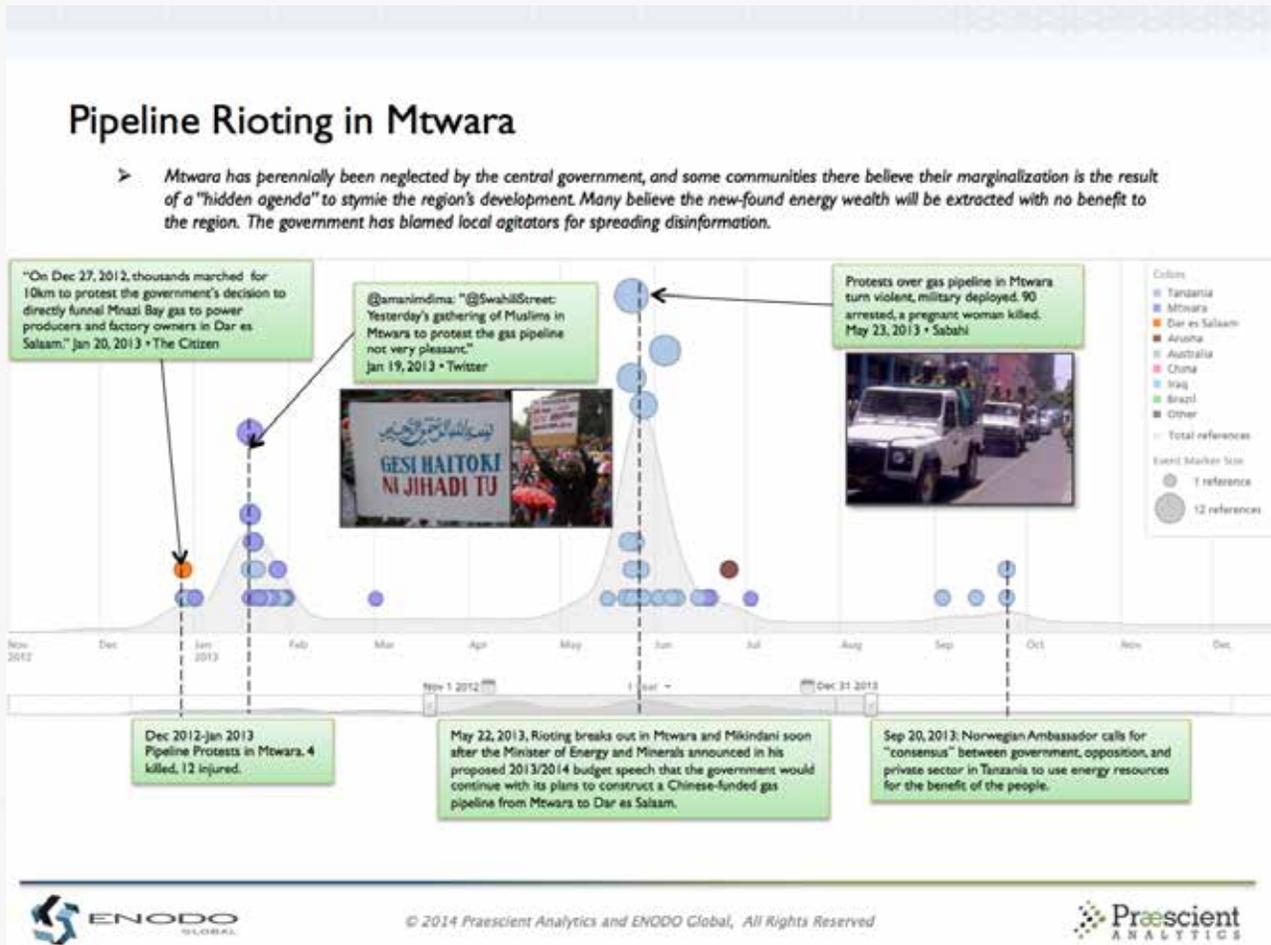
Islamic Extremism

Islamic extremism is spreading along the East African coast, although political Islam has not yet become a threat to Mozambique. While Sufi Islam is traditionally practiced in Mozambique, the more radical Wahhabism has gained significant ground through its relationship with the FRELIMO government. Muslims are principally located in the northern provinces Niassa, Cabo Delgado, and the central provinces Nampula, and Zambezia. There is also a small Muslim population in Maputo, stemming primarily from international commerce and trade activities in the capital.

Reports indicate al-Shabaab in Tanzania, is making inroads among a restive population that fears government co-optation of natural gas reserves in its community. In the Tanzanian province of Mtwara, which border's Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province in the north, natural gas

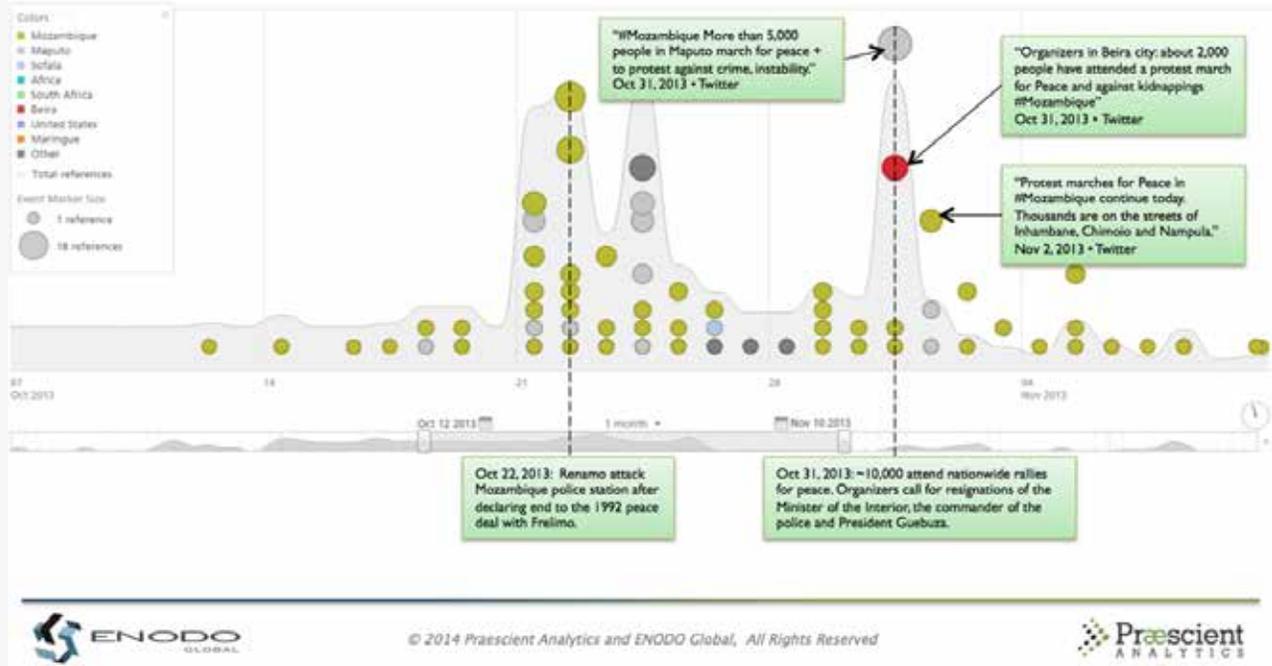
discoveries sparked demonstrations and attacks on pipelines, road infrastructure, and journalists. The local Muslim population believes the wealth extracted from their territory will be siphoned to government officials in Dar es-Salaam, and extreme Islamic organizations are capitalizing on their concerns.

The demonstrations and attacks in Tanzania include members of ethnic and sectarian groups similar to those in northern Mozambique. Muslim communities in the northern provinces of Mozambique are among those affected by the discovery of natural gas and coal reserves. It is possible a regional, extreme Islamic social movement could take similar advantage of the grievances in Mozambique against the government, and against any gas and mineral extraction company perceived to be affiliated with the government.



Civil Society and Religious Groups Unite for Peace March

- Thousands demonstrated against government inertia towards the wave of kidnappings in Mozambican cities, and for a return to peace amid Renamo's threats of civil war. The march was organized by several civil society organizations, including the Human Rights League (LDH), and the coalition of women's rights groups, known as the Women's Forum. Representatives from all of Mozambique's main religious groups – Christian, Muslim, and Hindu – were also present. Mozambican Muslims of Asian origin have been the victims of most of the kidnappings.



‘Grass Roots’ Social Movement

Public demonstrations calling for peace and improved security are becoming more common throughout the country. In one example, on 31 October 2013 religious and humanitarian aid groups conducted a peace march in multiple cities in response to kidnappings, criminal gang activity, and renewed fighting between RENAMO and FRELIMO. Fighting between RENAMO and FRELIMO has led to thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs) inside Mozambique. This has impacted the rural and urban populations who do not want to see widespread violence.

In another example, in the late 1980s during the civil war, a spirit-based social movement called Naprama formed with little notice in Zambezia

province. It spread rapidly among the populations of Nampula, Zambezia, and Tete, dislodging both RENAMO and FRELIMO as social forces for a period of time. The movement continued until the early 1990s when its founder, Manuel Antonio, was killed.

A charismatic leader, who takes advantage of the existing grievances in the spirit cultures of Sofala, Cabo Delgado, Tete, Zambezia, or Nampula, could once again generate a new social movement. As the population grows weary of the violence, political tensions, and lack of economic opportunity, it is more likely to support such a movement. Corporations and groups affiliated with local grievances against FRELIMO or RENAMO could find themselves in a hostile environment with little notice.



Risk Mitigation

The current political and economic landscape remains bleak for people and communities in rural areas of Mozambique. Social tensions, resentment against corporations, resettlement issues, a restive youth bulge, and a lack of opportunity permeate society. However, these challenges are not insurmountable. Once identified, social tension can be effectively countered. Companies can create pockets of security and mitigate risk to production by understanding the community's needs and designing culturally attuned, sustainable, technologically appropriate development programs to meet their needs.

To address specific, local grievances it is necessary to conduct interviews and investigations for each affected community. Customized engagement strategies and recommendations require detailed analysis on targeted communities or geographic areas where operations are planned or exist. The solutions that resolve problems for one community may not be applicable to

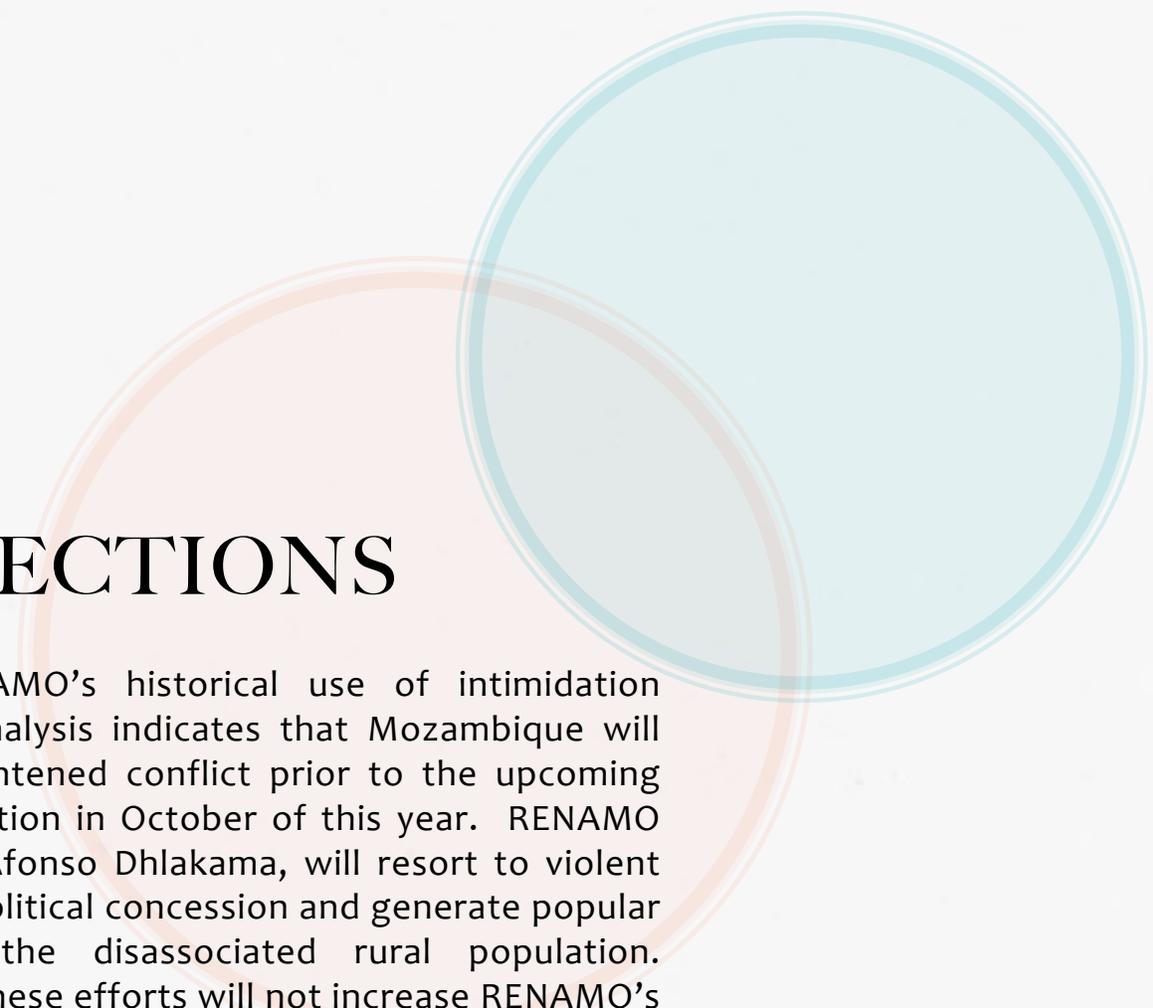
the neighboring communities. Building schools and health clinics, digging wells, generating electricity, establishing micro-lending programs, scholarship award provisions, and other activities can be beneficial when they fulfill the needs of the community. However, it is inadvisable to assume that the lack of a specific resource or opportunity in a community equals a need for that community.



ENODO provides the following as a framework to be applied generally across Mozambique:

- Focus on local community issues and build capacity where government shortfalls exist;
- Allocate a development budget to deliver projects within affected communities; keep it open throughout the entire lifecycle of your project;
- Engage in proper consultation with the entire community; expand interactions beyond chiefs and elders, include spiritual leaders and mystics, women, and youth representatives;
- Leverage local development specialists to design, implement, and oversee initiatives;
- Avoid philanthropic gestures, such as donating goods or services, or initiating public activity programs, resources, or infrastructure without first engaging with the communities;
- Do not try to buy community leader support with gifts and donations; offer genuine development that will benefit the community (by tapping their steward responsibilities);
- Avoid focus on internal technical or managerial solutions;
- Identify early and integrate the host community's basic needs and concerns;
- Reserve applicable contracts and jobs for entities within local communities; and
- Allow the community to select recipients for education initiatives and scholarships.





PROJECTIONS

Based on RENAMO's historical use of intimidation and violence, analysis indicates that Mozambique will experience heightened conflict prior to the upcoming presidential election in October of this year. RENAMO and its leader, Afonso Dhlakama, will resort to violent tactics to gain political concession and generate popular support from the disassociated rural population. Unfortunately, these efforts will not increase RENAMO's political foothold within the FRELIMO-led government and will only intensify social tensions that exist within Mozambique society. The MDM is forecasted to increase political momentum from previous elections. However, their popular bases of support and influence networks are not mature enough to pose a credible threat to FRELIMO.

Social tensions within rural communities throughout Mozambique will continue to rise. Companies operating in rural areas near will face increased protests, and possibly violence, as the government fails to meet the basic needs of its populace. With the government far removed, communities often vent their frustration on corporate facilities that are viewed as both a symbol and cause of their grievances. Corporations are inevitably linked to the government by association, and will remain targets of these communities' frustration.

RENAMO's Uptick in Violence: Run-Up to the October 2014 Elections

Before the 1992 Peace Accords were implemented, RENAMO established arms caches across the country in areas where it traditionally generated influence and support. Manica and Sofala provinces in central Mozambique provided RENAMO its strongest base of support, although it was also able to co-opt significant support from populations in Tete, Zambezia, and Nampula provinces. RENAMO continues to use Gorongosa Nature Preserve in Sofala as its primary base of operations.

In order to become a popular movement, RENAMO must mobilize the rural population to support its political agenda, despite its history of extreme atrocities and current use of violent means. RENAMO will attempt to draw support based on current grievances against the government and its affiliates. If RENAMO is unable to garner popular support and decides to proceed in a violent strategy against FRELIMO, it will likely attempt to co-opt support from the rural population using the fear-based domination and extreme tactics of the past.

Since RENAMO and government FRELIMO forces clashed in Gorongosa in October 2013, the majority of attacks have occurred along Highway 1 in Sofala province between the Save and Zambezi Rivers. RENAMO attacks are primarily against military convoys, but some included civilian buses and transport vehicles. Government officials, military personnel, and civilians have been injured or killed in these attacks. Although media reports do not explicitly name RENAMO as perpetrators of the violence, it is widely assessed they are responsible.

RENAMO has the capacity to disrupt the economic foundation in Mozambique by attacking transportation infrastructure between the coal facilities in Tete province and the ports of Sofala, Zambezia, and Nampula. Direct attacks on facilities would discourage future investment in Mozambique's economy. As rural areas are economically cut off from the rest of the country, grievances will likely escalate against the government.



The majority of recent attacks have targeted military and government officials along main transportation routes. Roads and rail are especially susceptible to damage as they traverse RENAMO strongholds and communities with intense grievances. Even without support from the population, RENAMO will continue its efforts to disrupt the economy to discredit the government.

Transportation and communication is challenging in Mozambique. Two large river valleys running east to west divide the country and impede the overland transport of goods and services from north and south. These same valleys isolate populations from one another and cut rural populations off from the cities.

ENODO's Specific Areas of Concern & Final Analysis for Mozambique

Based on historic influences and contemporary factors, the following regions require heightened monitoring for clients with operations in Mozambique:

- Highway 1 in Sofala province;
- Manica province along the Zimbabwe border;
- Resettlement zones in Tete province;
- Tete province along the Malawi border;
- Nampula City, Moma, and the northern coast of Nampula province; and
- Natural gas development sites in Cabo Delgado.

The following facts support ENODO's analysis:

- FRELIMO's patronage networks do not extend to local communities which creates resentment within the rural population against the government and corporations associated with the government;
- A substantial portion of the Mozambican population does not believe RENAMO or FRELIMO represent their interests, and has little confidence in the current political system;



- RENAMO maintains sufficient freedom of movement in rural Mozambique to maneuver, and has sufficient resources to conduct a protracted campaign of violence;
- FRELIMO constituency remains strongest in the south and among limited, primarily urban, populations in the central and northern regions, but it is also starting to see competition from the MDM;
- The FRELIMO-dominated government maintains control of the political and economic spheres, while RENAMO has the capacity to disrupt both; and
- Current social grievances are sufficient for RENAMO, or other actors, to generate support and further isolate the population from the government.

ENODO assesses the following:

- Unresolved social tensions will increase in occurrence and magnitude, manifesting in the form of attacks against foreign companies operating close to insulated Mozambican communities, particularly in areas far removed from major urban centers;
- RENAMO will continue to use intimidation and violence in order to gain political concessions from the dominant FRELIMO-led government;
- MDM's foothold within the government will increase, but will not have enough support to challenge FRELIMO in the general elections of October this year; and
- As long as deeply rooted political, social, and economic grievances remain unresolved, Mozambique will be ripe for wider civil conflict.

Notes:

- 1 FRELIMO = Front for the Liberation of Mozambique or Frente de Libertação de Moçambique; formerly enshrined Marxist ideology and one-party rule, it was formed in 1962 as a resistance organization leading a lengthy insurgency with Portugal's colonial authorities. After Mozambique achieved independence from Portugal in 1975, FRELIMO assumed power. It won the majority vote in every national election, including the latest held on 28 Oct 2009.
- 2 RENAMO = Mozambique National Resistance or Resistência Nacional Moçambicana; formed in 1975 to counter FRELIMO communist ideology (as well as activities by Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwean African National Union or ZANU). It fought a civil war with FRELIMO from 1975 until 1992 when it was brought into the national political structure following the adoption of the Rome General Peace Accords. The first general elections to include RENAMO were held in 1994; it is the main minority party in Mozambique.
- 3 A "tailings dam" typically contains toxic materials as an offshoot of the mining process; its embankments are usually lined with impervious materials while the embankments themselves are constructed of earth and tailings.
- 4 MDM = Mozambique Democratic Movement or Movimento Democrático de Moçambique; was formed in March 2009, after its leadership broke from RENAMO. Since 2009, it has experienced steady growth while political support RENAMO continues to decline.

Pipeline Rioting in Mtwara

LNG Development Likely to Affect Area Communities

Several Communities Resettled to Expand Coal-mining Operations

RENAMO Threats to Disrupt Rail & Transportation Lines

October 2013 clashes between RENAMO & FRELIMO

RENAMO Support Concentration

Several Police Officials Tried & Convicted in Criminal Activities

