

ABSTRACT

The present work is an abstract of my PhD. in History and Philosophical Social-Sciences and my second PhD in Philosophy. The Promoter and moderator were Prof. Giovanni Dessì, PhD. and as second readers: Prof. Alessandro Ferrara, PhD. and Prof. Claudio Corradetti, PhD.

Following a convention between the University of Rome-Tor Vergata and the Pontifical University Sant'Anselmo in Rome I therefore obtained my first and second PhD from these schools, respectively based on the thesis. The Thesis defence was held at the Pontifical University Sant'Anselmo in Rome, on 24 November 2018. The Sant'Anselmo team the moderator and advisor of thesis was Prof. Debora Tonelli, PhD. Giuseppe Mazza, ST.D. and David Foster, M.A, Ph. L were the second readers. The title of the thesis is: *Frontiers of Democracy: Mozambique as case study*, which analyses the case of democracy in Mozambique, in order to devise a hypothetical political and philosophical background capable of contributing to its full realisation.

The point of departure was in trying to overcome the antithetical dualism of the realistic model and the normative model as the tradition of political theory has been handed down to us. We felt it is important to understand the political theory, by associating the two lines of research and proposing a new model of politics that is the contextual theoretical political model or contextual political philosophy.

This dissertation focuses on the involution of liberal democracy in Mozambique, its limits, its vulnerability and puts forward a thought of cultural values that in African philosophy would evidently lead us to the *ubuntu* philosophy. The reason that leads us to this extent is the liberal democracy in Mozambique, which to date consists of a strong individualistic interest, a fact that led it to its current state of involution. Instead, *ubuntu* philosophy aims at incarnating individual and social values which are something similar to what Charles Taylor would call “*personal resonance*” of values, ensuring that these values become to an individual, a point of departure for his interaction in the political and social life.

In *ubuntu*, the basis for all consists in “humanity”, “cooperation” and “solidarity”; thus, it implies that there is no space for individualism, like in the case of Robert Nozick and Friedrich Hayek. Differently from individualism, *Ubuntu* defends the values of solidarity, fraternity, liberty, cooperation, equality and hospitality. It's in favour of the person and the society at the same time. In few words, it is all about the human person. The theoretical reason for this research is in the question of: *What kind of democracy in the Mozambican context can we create besides the liberal democracy (in existence that is) suffering from such an involution?*

From an African perspective, the contextual method would avoid the importation of democracy coming from outside the Mozambican context. Therefore, the thesis proceeds from endogenous and inductive analytical critical method, and not from an exogenous one, which has been in use in the history of African Mozambican political theory.

From my point of view, the contextual philosophical and political theory is considered as the starting point. The idea is to suggest that the modern State and its institutions must indeed improve values that may help it to sustain itself and start its dialogue with the African vision of life, which we call “Ubuntu”.

Endogenous studies are in dialogue with exogenous studies. With this dissertation, we intend to reach a dialogical approach with respect to intercultural (dialogue between cultures) and transcultural (shared culture proceeding from intercultural dialogue) definitions. With the same process, there is a verification taking place between western and African Mozambican scholars.

We shall examine two authors in particular: Severino Elias Ngoenha and Colin Crouch. Both of them demonstrate the instances of democratic involution. The first one refers to the Mozambican democracy as a post politics, that is, politics without ideas. The second one talks about post democratic condition in the western world as a condition where we are moving more and more to a widespread sense of disillusionment and disappointment for the level of participation and the relationship between the political class and the mass of citizens in many, perhaps in most, advanced democracies.

Besides, by demonstrating the democratic involution these two authors are at risk of reducing *tout court* democracy to liberal democracy. In this thesis, I wish to point out that democracy itself encompasses liberal democracy which in itself is not able to respond to the globalized world.

Under impulses of globalization, political philosophy searches for new models in order to respond to the complexity of the modern world. The discussion is concerned with global justice, democracy as such, human rights, ecology and poverty. Political philosophy deals with relationships between economy, new liberalism and politics, furthermore, with the relationships between individuals and society, national and transnational. There's number of verified dilemmas, in finding the solution to problems which seem to be national, but rather they have a transnational character. There comes into reflection also the question on human rights, on whether they are the same to all people or not. In addition to this, there is the world's peace issue and the crisis of liberal democracy.

However the principles of democracy; liberty, equality, justice, fraternity appears to permeate even with different forms, various cultures, and societies as affirmed by A. Sen. Therefore democracy cannot be exported, but should rather help in developing these democratic values which exists within a given society, to form a contextualized democracy. In an attempt to create a contextualized democracy, it is important to integrate two systems of governance: Modern and traditional system in Mozambique. On one hand, the modern state enjoys the legitimacy of democracy and legality, and on the other hand, the tradition system enjoys the traditional history, which is highly appreciated by local population.

This coincides with the contextual political philosophy model. Hence, the contextual democracy is very important for the democratic updates today. In Mozambique, therefore, there is a need of a contextualized democracy, where the traditional institutions and those of the modern State enter into dialogue. So, that the cultural values may help sustain the Mozambican State, which is also secularized, being it a result of the modern western state. Humanism "Ubuntu" is a presupposed foundation to sustain the Mozambican democracy. How? We can say through education of a democratic culture in Mozambique.

So, the *status quaestionis* of "*Frontier of democracy: Mozambique as a case study*" is a reasonable and critical presentation of a Mozambican reality aimed at proposing a new democratic model beyond that of a liberal democracy which now is involution, starting from values and a contextual democratic model. Today one cannot

analyse a political philosophical model (democracy in this case) without taking into consideration the fact that, this comes as the product of a historical-cultural fact, of a determined cultural-historical and geographical context.

For the recognition of the importance of its contents to be realized beyond the normal, it is a must to consider the specific context in which it ought to be inserted. The reasons for the existence of this study, from some of the findings: that the liberal democracy in Mozambique is facing crisis and the Mozambican people cannot manage to go ahead with this model. They cannot identify themselves with it. The liberal democracy has become something strange to the Mozambican people and contrary to traditional values, it is incompatible to “Ubuntu”, due to the concept it has of a person.

For the liberal democracy, a person is the one who has individual rights which are to be defended at all costs. So individualism is one of the characteristics of liberal democracy as it is the case for nationalism and universalism. While the “Ubuntu” starts from an anthropological relation of the idea that “I am because we are”, from the very same idea, it means an individual “he/she individuates while socializing, and s/he socializes while individuating oneself.

That is why the crisis of the Mozambican liberal democracy in general starts from the anthropological vision, of the liberal democratic model. They have its influences from the anthropological vision model, and in general of the complexity of our society. Practically the anthropological vision is the point of departure, of the liberal model, that has its critical consequences in the political sphere leading to post-political and post- democratically forms.

The scientific contribution to political philosophy of this research is to bring out the focus the contextual political philosophy as the criteria for understanding the present political involution of Mozambique. This work tries to demonstrate with the Mozambican context, with its history, tradition and values of Ubuntu, it is possible to build a new frontier of democracy: *demobuntocracy*.

During the research, one fundamental question keeps coming up. *Can demobuntocracy succeed where liberal democracy has failed, like in the Mozambican context?*

This research is divided into two parts, with nine chapters and each chapter with an introduction, where the fundamental questions that the chapter seeks to reflect are answered. All parts have a general introduction and a general conclusion. The first part is historical criticism that tries to show that the involution of Mozambican democracy has its historical causes of an application of a decontextualized democratic model.

In the first part we see the historical process of the transition from revolutionary democracy to liberal democracy without a clear choice of values but dictated by international conjecture. Reading the histories in a realistic form it becomes clear that the condition of democratic involution that Mozambique lives today is dictated by the lack of contextualisation of democracy. The second part, with a utopian normativity vision, seeks to propose a democratic model starting from African deliberative democracy with the vision that has been called *demobuntocracy* through education to democratic culture.

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