

Mozambique peace process bulletin



Issue 16a – November 1995

Special for AWEPA/UNDP colloquium on One Year of Democracy Building

Edited by Joseph Hanlon

Material may be freely reprinted

Published by AWEPA, the European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa

Prins Hendrikkade 48, 1012 AC Amsterdam, Netherlands
Tel: (31) 20 626 66 39 Fax: (31) 20 622 01 30
e-mail: awepa@antenna.nl

In Maputo, Mozambique, AWEPA is moving to:
Rua Licenciado Coutinho 77 (CP 2648), Maputo
e-mail: awepa@hanlon.uem.mz (no phone or fax yet)

Local elections delayed

Parliament forced the government to withdraw its package of three bills for local elections, on the grounds that they were unconstitutional. The three parties in parliament, in consultation with the government, will agree a new elections timetable before the end of this session in late December. It is unlikely that the first local elections can now be held before 1997.

The Municipalities Law (3/94) approved by the old one-party parliament on 13 September 1994 calls for elections of mayors and city councils in at least the ten provincial capitals and Maputo city at a date set before 1 October 1996.

The government's package of three bills covered the actual election, setting up a national election commission, and registration. But the parliamentary legal affairs committee unanimously ruled the bills unconstitutional. The ruling effectively says that the original Municipalities Law is unconstitutional, which

was surprising, as the committee is chaired by Ussumane Aly Dauto, who was justice minister when the Municipalities Law was passed, and who now accepts that he allowed an unconstitutional law to be passed. (See page 4 for details.)

The government decided to go ahead with the bills, arguing that they were constitutional. But it decided to withdraw them after two days of debate when it became clear that not only was Renamo opposed to the bills as unconstitutional, but that some Frelimo MPs agreed with Renamo and thus the bills would be defeated.

This was remarkable and unexpected for two reasons. First, Frelimo MPs were prepared to stand up to their own party in government. Second, Renamo MPs put constitutionality over their own repeated demands for early elections. Both are marks of the rapidly growing maturity of the new parliament.

Dual administration continues

Renamo continues to rule some of the areas it controlled at the end of the war three years ago, and to exclude government officials. The problem is most serious in Manica and Sofala provinces in central Mozambique, and in Nampula province in the north. Two incidents in Sofala in October increased tensions.

In Maringuè, Renamo's war-time capital in Sofala, the first visit by provincial governor Felisberto Tomás on 10 October provoked a major confrontation. Two officials sent by the governor to prepare the visit were beaten and expelled. The governor decided to go in any case, but the party was met on the road 25 kilometres from the town by the district administrator,

Nobre Meque, and the five local policemen, telling them to turn back.

Meque is a Renamo member nominated for the post by Renamo and appointed by the government under the terms of the Rome peace accord. But he and the police had been driven out the night before by Renamo, who burned the tents that housed the policemen and who said they would kill Meque if he allowed the governor to visit.

Meque told the Beira daily *Diário de Moçambique* (13 October): "they say I have been bought by Frelimo because I don't obey the orders of Renamo. I am a government official and I have one boss – I cannot obey two masters." He continued: "Renamo maintains

its objectives secret, but it does not want to see the rebuilding of Maringuè.”

Governor Tomás and the journalists continued and did visit the town, where Tomás gave a speech to several hundred people.

But it was an expedition to a foreign land; Renamo retains total control of the area. It is widely reported that Renamo continues to maintain an armed force of several hundred men in Maringuè, perhaps composed of demobilised soldiers who returned to the former Renamo capital.

The Maringuè visit follows Renamo's beating and kidnapping of Rui Frank, the Frelimo party head in Gorongosa, also in Sofala, on 3 October. This highly public incident, done in front of journalists, seemed intended to be a formal expulsion of Frelimo from a district where Renamo received more than three times as many votes as Frelimo in the election last year.

The kidnapping led to a public protest by the new (and vociferously non-party) Human Rights League. In a statement on 19 October, League president Maria Alice Mabota, said that “after receiving orders from their leader, men of the security guard of [Renamo President Afonso] Dhlakama invaded the district administrator's house” in Gorongosa where they “committed corporal offences” against the administrator's heavily pregnant wife, and threatened to kill the administrator. They then “severely beat” Frank, tied him up, and took him from the house.

Dhlakama was speaking in Gorongosa on the day of the incident. Frank says that with his arms and legs bound, he was taken to the rally and shown to the crowd by Dhlakama. Still bound, he was then taken to the provincial capital, Beira, where he was put into a hotel room and then released.

Dual administration: Confusion and conflict

Although reconciliation and reintegration moves forward in some places, there have been a number of incidents in which Renamo has expelled or excluded government officials – including some nominated by Renamo. There have also been several reports that Renamo still maintains groups of armed men.

And Renamo has been encouraging traditional leaders to not cooperate with the government; traditional leaders supported by armed men allegedly linked to Renamo actually took control of the town of Dombe for several days in July.

In Manica, Sofala and Nampula provinces, local Renamo officials have been telling people not to cooperate with the government, urging refusal to: pay taxes, send their children to government schools, help the police or attend meetings.

In Nhampoca in Sofala, Renamo expelled a vaccination team which it said was giving “harmful Frelimo vaccines.” Renamo has also tried to rename the local school there after its first leader, André Matsangaíssa.

Concern is growing about the continued problems of dual administration. The Ministry of State Administration has set up an investigation headed by José Guambe, national director for local administration, which is visiting some of the districts concerned.

IS FRELIMO TOO RIGID?

As well as the obvious desire of some local Renamo officials to keep control of their areas, two other factors seem to be fuelling the continued conflict. One is the parsimoniousness by some Frelimo officials unwilling to give Renamo any more than legally required. The other is a genuine lack of understanding about the winner-take-all, European-style election system imposed on Mozambique.

Under the peace accord, the government agreed to name Renamo nominees as district and locality administrators in certain zones formerly controlled by Renamo. In Chapa locality in Cabo Delgado, the Renamo nominated administrator died, and Renamo asked to nominate the new one. Governor Jorge Nuanhumo refused, pointing out correctly that Renamo no longer had the right. But it seems a provocatively legalistic decision.

Domingo, the outspokenly pro-Frelimo Sunday newspaper, said it had information that Nampula Governor Rosário Mualeia had sacked a district administrator “for being a friend of Dhlakama”.

As well as administrators, Renamo had also demanded the appointment of lower level officials, and the integration into the state apparatus of its teachers, health workers, and police. Here the response has been extremely variable. The Ministry of Health is already retraining 257 former Renamo health workers, even though two-thirds have less than six years of schooling. And the Ministry of Interior has agreed to retrain and integrate into the police 141 ex-guerrillas nominated by Renamo.

But the Ministry of Education has steadfastly refused to integrate into the state system any Renamo teachers who are not fully qualified – which few are. In some parts of Manica and Sofala, Renamo teachers are continuing to teach in places where the government has still not been able to send trained teachers. People who have visited the schools say that many of the teachers are committed and despite their own lack of training, are doing an acceptable if rudimentary job. All are teaching without pay, and some have gained strong support from local parents.

Lack of understanding

There is obvious confusion throughout the country about the significance of one party winning the most votes in a district or province but losing the election. In some speeches, Dhlakama has been saying that Renamo “won” in those areas and should nominate governors, administrators and other officials. The Frelimo government in those areas is “illegal”, he says. In some places, particularly in Nampula where Dhlakama drew large crowds during an October tour, people have been calling for new elections because Renamo “won” but Frelimo remains in power.

Mozambique is a country which has always – in pre-colonial, colonial, and one-party post-independence eras – had single strong leaders and a rigidly hierarchic system. Last year's elections were the first multi-party ones ever, and many saw it simply as a way of selecting a new chief. Thus people are genuinely confused in a province where a majority of MPs are

yet Frelimo and Chissano run the province.

Local elections will compound the problem, because there is no history in Mozambique of national and local governments being in the hands of different parties – something which often causes tension in Europe where there is a lot more experience.

Finally, there may be over sensitivity on both sides to criticisms and statements that are part of a robust multi-party process. Manuel Lole, Renamo's national mobilisation chief, justified the kidnapping of Rui Frank because he was telling people not to go to Dhlakama's rally. Furthermore, "Frank told the population that president Dhlakama is a bandit, thief and assassin. Sincerely, these words are not reconciliatory and transcend the boundaries of political action. Thus, we had to take measures," Lole told the independent weekly *Savana*.

Urging people not to attend a rally or calling the opposition leader a thief and assassin would be considered not beyond the political bounds in many European countries. But are they in an African state where respect for elders and leaders is still important?

It is also clear that many people cannot understand why the MPs they elected are giving speeches saying the government is bad or incompetent. Are they not part of the government?

What is apparent is that many people do not understand the adversarial system of government which has been imposed on them, and which goes against many of their traditions. The limits of political action and the role of the opposition in this new system are not clearly defined or understood. Because the system is such a sharp break from tradition, there is a need for substantial civic education.

Coup plot?

Rumours of a coup plot, perhaps involving former Renamo guerrilla commanders and their old South African backers, flew around Maputo the weekend of 28-29 October.

The rumours followed a sudden and unplanned visit by South African vice-president Thabo Mbeki and Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad on 27 October to meet Prime Minister Pascoal Mocumbi in Maputo and Renamo head Afonso Dhlakama in Nacala. The independent weekly *Demos* reported that there had been Mozambican military movements along the Swazi and South African borders at about the same time. *Demos* reported that earlier in the month Dhlakama held a meeting with former Renamo guerrilla generals, both inside and outside the new joint army.

The rumours were never confirmed nor denied. President Chissano and the new joint army both distanced themselves from the rumours without formally denying them. *Savana* dismissed the coup as "fiction" and argued that the rumour itself had been started to create instability. No arrests or changes in the army have been reported, so if there was a "plot", it cannot have been very serious.

Mbeki was reported by the South African press and widely believed in Mozambique to have gone to see Dhlakama after a request from Chissano to South African president Nelson Mandela. Mbeki had been one of those who pushed Dhlakama back into the

he is believed to have pressed Dhlakama this time to stay within the peace process.

But the rumour and Mbeki's visit were vivid reminders of the rising tension caused by the Rui Frank kidnapping and increasingly outspoken statements by Renamo on the illegitimacy of the Frelimo government in zones where Renamo gained most votes.

As *Demos* commented, the rumours "showed the extreme fragility of the new democratic order."

Parliament:

Home of consensus

In sharp contrast to the tensions between the parties outside and the sharp disputes that marked the first parliamentary session last December, consensus is now the word inside parliament. Cooperation is close between parties and between MPs. Few issues actually come to a vote; both sides have withdrawn bills which would otherwise have been defeated. The standing committees largely work by consensus.

This has led to divisions and some tensions between the two parliamentary parties and their respective non-parliamentary leaderships. One Frelimo MP complained that the government still thinks in a one-party way and can simply tell Frelimo MPs what to do, while the MPs themselves are now thinking in a multi-party way. "We are changing because we work with Renamo and influence each other," the MP commented.

Helder Muteia, the Frelimo chair of the Agriculture and Regional Development Committee, said: "We are not just legislators; we have to monitor the government and keep a critical distance from it. We want to be constructive critics and the government must react to comment from outside."

So far parliament has largely dealt with bills submitted by government and with its own internal organisation. But where it has been free to act, it has shown itself close to public thinking.

A law on petitions from the public was put forward by the standing legal affairs committee and approved by parliament in October. The constitution gives citizens the right to petition the government but sets no rules. The new law gives citizens broad rights and imposes tight constraints on government. A "petition" is any complaint, request or proposal to any government department or agency. It can be made in any form and requires no tax payment (ending the system in which requests must be on special paper with fiscal stamps). No one can be penalised for a petition. And government must reply within 60 days.

Under the new standing orders, the government comes to parliament to answer questions three times in each session. Frelimo's first questions to its own government were pointed, raising issues which were the subject of widespread public discussion: privatisation and who benefits, the soaring cost of living, criminality and drugs, IMF negotiations, and education (especially corruption). As *Savana's* headline said: "This week, MPs remembered the people."

MPs showed themselves not quite aware of how to use the question system, however. Neither Renamo nor the UD submitted their questions in time. The government was only prepared to answer the last two

the education replies provoked such a lengthy debate – with extensive criticism of the education system by Renamo – that there was no time for Finance Minister Tomas Salomão to answer the IMF question.

Commissions meet

Most of the seven standing committees set up at the April parliamentary session met regularly throughout the recess. The chairmanships and secretaryships of the committees are distributed between the three parties. Frelimo as majority party was able to choose which committees it wanted to chair. Each party selected its members for the committees and named the chair or secretary where appropriate.

Both Frelimo and Renamo tried to choose members and especially chairs with related experience. Agriculture chair Muteia is a veterinarian; the Renamo chair of the Economic Activities Committee, Chico Francisco, is a geologist.

The commissions have not simply dealt with bills proposed by the government. They have begun discussions of issues within their area, and also asked relevant ministers to appear before them to discuss forthcoming legislation. The Agriculture committee talked to the Agriculture Minister about the new land law, which is now under discussion but which will not go to parliament until the second session next year.

Good press

Press coverage of the new parliament has been generally well done and press-parliament relations are good. Radio and TV report parliamentary sessions in daily news programmes; TV also has a weekly hour-long summary of the week in parliament. As well as reporting the sessions, the daily *Noticias* has also been interviewing MPs on the topics of the day.

Press registration was smooth and simple. A press credential was given to any journalist submitting a letter. The credential entitles the journalist to one copy of all documents and to free access to the parliament building. MPs and journalists are able to mix freely during the hour-long daily coffee break. Journalists have been making good use of that contact to discuss a wide range of issues with MPs.

All standing committee sessions have been open to the press and public, and journalists have attended some of them. Regular parliamentary correspondents have telephone numbers of committee chairs or secretaries and party spokespeople, who they contact when they have been unable to attend meetings. Indeed, committee members often contact the press to report on what has happened at a meeting.

Local elections:

Donors, MPs combine

The government's bills for local elections were defeated by an unusual combination of donor pressure and a new spirit of independence by the parliament. The decision to delay local elections was all the more surprising, because both donors and the

wide-ranging local elections.

Minister of State Administration Alfredo Gamito said in the Sunday newspaper *Domingo* (12 Nov) that a major reason to withdraw the bill was donor demands for all-party agreement on any local election law. Pushing ahead for a law Renamo did not support would mean no donor money to run the election.

But as soon as the bills were presented, it was clear they had no chance of passing. The parliamentary legal affairs committee had ruled unanimously the bills were unconstitutional, and MPs seemed genuinely offended that the government had made no concession and proposed no changes to the bills. Frelimo MPs on the legal affairs committee, who had already called the bills unconstitutional, made clear that they could hardly be expected to change their mind just because the government decided to press ahead. Thus the government would not have had a majority.

Renamo had three political reasons for opposing the bill. First, it had earlier withdrawn bills, including one to force donors to declare aid details and another on redrawing district boundaries, after the legal affairs committee found them unconstitutional. Thus, with some political glee, it took a hard line on government measures considered unconstitutional.

Second, Renamo has been pressing for an early revision of the constitution. Thus it was happy for another argument to support the need to amend the constitution – in this case to permit local elections.

Third, although Renamo has publicly pushed for early local elections in all districts, it was coming to realise that it would have trouble organising for them, and privately would be happy with a year's delay.

Most interesting, however, is a subtle change in all parties leading to a new respect for constitutionality. In debates throughout this session of parliament, MPs from all three parties have expressed a genuine commitment to the constitution as the supreme law of the land. For its part, Renamo may want to change the constitution, but it is not prepared to bypass it. On the other side, some Frelimo MPs who were formerly in government admit that in the past they did not look too closely at the constitution when drafting laws, and that only now have they come to realise the importance of the constitution. And they are critical of present government ministers for not understanding that this change in attitude is genuine.

'Designating' mayors

The key constitutional issue hinges on interpretation and language. The constitution talks of two types of local government bodies: "representative" bodies, such as councils, which are "elected", and "executive" bodies and officials, including district administrators and mayors, which are "designated". When the 1990 constitution was drafted, this distinction was made because the drafters intended that mayors and administrators would still be nominated by central government, even if councils were to be elected.

The question was: Even if the constitution's drafters did not intend it, could mayors still be elected? Supporters of the bill argued that election was a possible form of "designation"; opponents said that by making a distinction between the two, the

and not election.

Implicit in the debate is that if the local election law is unconstitutional, then so is the 1994 Municipalities Law. Parliamentary negotiators will now have to decide if it is possible to amend the 1994 law, or if the problem is so basic that a constitutional amendment is required to allow the election of mayors.

The other constitutional issue relates to another bill in the package, to set up a new National Election Commission (CNE), similar to one which ran presidential and parliamentary elections last year. However, part of the Rome peace accord included the waiving of the section of the constitution covering the election machinery to allow an independent CNE. That waiver is no longer in force, and the constitution assigns supervision of elections to the Constitutional Council, and before it is appointed, to the Supreme Court. The law must be redrafted to take this into account, although this is not a fundamental problem.

Gradualism

It would be "utopian" to expect to be able to hold local elections everywhere in the country next year, argued Alfredo Gamito, the Minister of State Administration.

The government's policy set out in the 1994 Municipalities Law is that when districts have a basic set of conditions – including a small town hall with basic equipment (a typewriter, a safe for tax revenues, etc) and a small staff, housing for officials, and places where councillors can stay during meetings (as many districts are too large for councillors to go home at night between meeting days) – they will be called "municipalities" and elect a council and a mayor (for cities) or an administrator (for districts). The law defined the ten provincial capitals and Maputo city as "municipalities" already, and said a local election date had to be set before 1 October 1996.

The Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration (STAE) from last year's elections had been reappointed, with Arménio Correia as director general. It was planning for registration in March and elections in September in these 11 cities. Elections in remaining districts would be in 1997 and 1998.

The second phase would have been 18 districts – 12 which contain places already designated as cities (Chókwè, Dondo, Mocuba, Nacala, etc.) and the six districts being assisted under the Swedish pilot district (PROL) programme (Lichinga district, Mocímboa da Praia, Monapo, Angónia, Búzi, and Boane).

Elections in these 18 would have taken place in 1997. If there was pressure from parliament and sufficient donor money, then these 18 could have been added to the September 1996 list.

Elections in the remaining 102 districts would have been in 1997 and 1998.

The principle of "gradualism" in elections had three roots. First, the government felt there was no point in electing councils for districts that had no functioning administrative structure. Second, a gradual approach allows elections to be more Mozambican-run and less donor-dependent (although even elections in 11 cities will need \$20 million in donor funds). Third, starting in cities that already have functioning administrations will be a good test of the whole

and regulations before elections in other municipalities.

The new schedule to be agreed by the parties in parliament will cover all districts, and determine if elections will be phased or all at the same time.

Donor demands

Donors have made local elections a high priority. The independent weekly *Demos* (1 November) published the text of demands to the government issued by the Aid for Democracy (AfD) donor group in September.

The six point statement is not signed by individual donors and does not even identify the source, because it is a collection of individual donor demands. It is somewhat confused and contradictory, and not all AfD donors support all six points. But donor representatives said they felt the need to have something in writing to give to government, even if it was not a fully agreed statement.

The first point, which does have widespread donor support, is "Consensus: The most important factor which will determine the degree of donor support ... Consensus should be reached in parliament as soon as possible regarding the way in which the elections will be conducted."

Donors said that they would not support an election if the law had been pushed through parliament over Renamo opposition. Thus Renamo has an effective veto, and Gamito cited donor views when he withdrew the bill. At least some donors say they will accept a delay until 1997, so long as it is agreed by Renamo and Frelimo.

The first point also talks of consensus of "extra parliamentary parties", but this has less support.

Second, the donors effectively support gradualism. "Donors believe the elections should be held promptly in as many districts as possible" but if they are not held in all districts in 1996, then "a timetable should be announced".

The fourth point partly contradicts the second. It opposes gradualism and the structure of the 1994 Municipalities Law. "Existence of a tax base or a requirement for the local entity to be declared a municipality should not be preconditions to representative local government."

The United States, Britain and Germany are the main donors opposed to gradualism and the 1994 law, and the fourth point reflects their view. The European Union and the Like Minded Group have generally supported the phased approach, and the second point rather than the fourth reflects their view.

The third point is that "elections should be held at minimum cost. ... Elements which are not cost effective or verifiable by political parties and other monitors should be avoided and will not be supported."

The other two points are self-evident. Fifth, that "powers and responsibilities given to local government should be carefully delineated". (This is the core of intensive donor-funded activity already under way within the Ministry of State Administration.) Sixth, "local authorities should be accountable to local voters." (This is already covered in the 1994 law.)

Garnito's statement that he was withdrawing the law because of donor conditions drew an angry editorial from *Domingo* (12 November). "The donor community has returned to showing a firm hand and imposing directions on political questions in our country. ... The lessons that *Domingo* draws are not new: those who hand out the 'bread' continue to define the rules of the game and always do it to benefit those who support donor interests."

Privately, donors agree. They admit that such a statement made by foreign countries about their own local elections would be totally unacceptable. But they stress that Mozambique must accept such impositions because it is dependent on donors for more than half its budget. One donor representative commented: "the 1994 elections only took place because of donor pressure, and there will be local elections only if donors keep up the pressure now."

From their side, the Mozambican government is taking a put-up or shut-up line. If donors want the first elections in more than 11 cities, they will have to pay the costs. And if they expect elections across the entire country, then they will have to provide some money to rebuild town halls destroyed in war – which so far donors have refused to do and which IMF spending restrictions make it impossible for the government to do.

Donor politics: Opposition to IMF

Donor representatives in Maputo issued an unprecedented statement attacking IMF policies.

The issue came to a head during the visit of an International Monetary Fund official, Sérgio Leite. During a 23 September televised press conference, Leite took the unusual step of publicly criticising a 37.5% increase in the minimum wage that had just been agreed in three-way talks between government, industry and labour. Although only half the rate of inflation and leading to a minimum wage of less than US\$ 1 per day, Leite called the increase "excessive" and said it was being given too soon. He repeated his view during a 26 September meeting with donors, which was reported in detail the following day in the independent daily *MediaFax*.

Leite told donors that Mozambique had made "great efforts", including cutting government spending even more than planned, and had satisfied most of the conditions imposed by the IMF. Nevertheless, inflation was still rising too rapidly, and this required further cuts in credit and spending; thus he opposed the rise in the minimum wage.

Further, Leite warned that the IMF might be forced to declare Mozambique "off-track", which would have had automatic and disastrous consequences. Some aid would stop automatically, and Mozambique would not be allowed to negotiate further debt reductions later this year. Finance Minister Tomás Salomão was summoned to Washington for further negotiations.

This caused widespread concern among donors in Maputo, leading to a statement issued on 6 October and sent to the IMF and World Bank, as well as the government. The statement said "the donor community is impressed with the commitment made by the new government's economic team to implement an

ambitious reform agenda. A disruption in international support could jeopardize further progress." It also appealed, in technical language, for the programme not to be declared off-track.

And in an unusually open criticism of IMF policy, it continued: "While we endorse the demand management approach of the IMF and the government to combat inflation, we are deeply concerned about the lack of a supply response in the Mozambican economy." Decoded, this means: making the world's poorest country even poorer in order to reduce demand will not rebuild a war-torn economy; something must also be done to increase production.

In the end, the statement was signed by only five donor ambassadors or representatives in Maputo, but they were key ones: United States, European Union, United Nations, Netherlands, and Switzerland. Nordic donors helped draft the statement, but were stopped from signing at the last minute by their capitals, who felt statements about the IMF should not come from ambassadors in Maputo; privately, however, they make clear their continued support for the statement.

The statement worked. Soon after it was released, the government confirmed the increase in the minimum wage. The IMF did not declare Mozambique off-track, and Salomão told donors later that it was partly due to the donor statement.

But the price was high. The donor statement specifically called on government to "increase budgetary allocations to education and health" but Salomão was forced to promise the IMF further cuts in health and education spending. Mozambique must also cut back on donor-funded rebuilding of war damaged infrastructure, such as roads, because this spending is considered by the IMF to be inflationary. The IMF made no concessions on the supply side, but donors expect to press for this when the IMF team returns to Maputo in early December.

CG delayed

The World Bank-convened donor Consultative Group (CG) meeting in Paris which normally occurs in December has still not been scheduled. The 1994 meeting had been delayed until 14-15 March 1995, because of the elections. Now the 1995 meeting will now be delayed until March 1996 or even later.

The more supportive donors see this as helpful to the government – it has enough donor funds committed until mid-1996, and this will allow government more space to meet the targets it committed itself to in March.

They also want to allow government to present a budget to parliament at this session, before it is given to donors at the CG; although they admit government will still need to negotiate the budget with donors before going to parliament, some donors feel that democratisation requires that parliament be allowed at least a token say in the budget.

Donors now accept that they forced government to commit itself to an over ambitious programme at the March 1995 CG. The 6 October donor statement also called for the government "to focus its resources on a few key areas which, taken together, will enhance the chances for economic recovery." There must be

existing policy framework.”

The statement went on to identify for government the four economic priority areas on which expected action is demanded before the CG:

- tax and custom reform,
- financial sector reform,
- private sector development, and
- combating corruption.”

Democratisation and decentralisation will be the non-economic priority areas for the CG.

Donor scandals

Two very different donor scandals have arisen in recent months. In one, Sweden is holding back aid funds and delaying seed for the currently planting season because of a \$ 2.3 million corruption scandal in the emergency seeds and tools programme (PSEU). Payments were allegedly made for inappropriate goods or goods which were never delivered, and there was a failure of accounting within the programme. Swedish as well as Mozambican nationals are alleged to have benefited.

In the other, the United States is accused of threatening the withdrawal of aid if Mozambique did not sign an unfavourable contract with the US firm Enron for the exploitation of gas at Pande, in Inhambane. Minerals Minister John Kachamila told the *Houston Chronicle* “there were outright threats to withhold development funds if we didn’t sign and sign soon. Their diplomats ... pressured me to sign a deal which was not good for Mozambique.” Kachamila also accused the embassy of a “smear campaign” by telling the press he would not sign the contract because he wanted a big kickback. US Ambassador Dennis Jett told the *Chronicle* “The role of international trade to the US is tremendously important. We see their governments helping their businesses, and we aren’t going to stand by and not help ours.”

AWEPA: Seminars

Parliament has moved unexpectedly rapidly to set its own agenda and take effective control of its affairs. Several seminars seem to have been important in propelling this process, including three by AWEPA.

250 MPs participated in a seminar in March shortly after the opening of the second session of parliament. For many new MPs, it was their first information on the functioning of a multi-party parliament.

A key aspect of the seminar was a simulation of a approving a new law; MPs were divided into new parties, the press, and pressure groups. They had to work together, looking for compromises in committees and considering the interests of several groups in society.

The most important result was diminishing tension between the three parties. “The seminar helped us to move away from conflicts between the parties; it broke down differences,” commented Rui de Sousa, a Renamo MP. But he noted, too, that “democratisation takes time; there is a long learning process.”

In September there was a special seminar for parliamentary staff, to help them cope with the demands of the new multi-party parliament despite their lack of equipment and training.

third session, there was a three day seminar in Pemba for all Cabo Delgado MPs, as well as provincial and local government, community and traditional leaders. The heart of the seminar was an intensive debate about decentralisation and the relative powers of MPs, national government and provincial officials.

Marcos Juma, a UD MP and one of the vice presidents of Parliament, in his summing up of the seminar stressed that they had learned it was not simply a case of MPs giving orders, demanding information and making promises that are impossible to keep; rather it was an issue of questions and answers, and learning what was the responsibility of the province rather than parliament. Increasing the information flow between province and parliament was seen as critical.

In a small way, the seminars may have tempered a growing arrogance on the part of MPs. Zegania Kameta, a vice president of the Namibian parliament, reminded the MPs in Pemba that they cannot use material limitations as an excuse for not acting for their constituents. “I have no office, no telephone paid by the government, and my house is my office; this clearly complicates the life of my family. But I cannot wait for all my privileges before I start work – the problems of the people don’t wait,” Kameta said.

Civic Education

AWEPA begins a new program on civic education in February. It will be in coordination with STAE (Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration) and will work with four sets of Mozambican non-government organisations:

- CCM (Christian Council) and member churches;
- OMM (Mozambican Women’s Organisation) and other women’s groups;
- OTM (Organisation of Trade Unions) and independent trade unions; and
- OJM (Youth Organisation), Fresa and other youth groups.

With most of those partners an intensive civic education program was done in 1993/94, before the national elections, on basic rights, democracy, the peace process and the elections. These working groups will also organise the new training.

Subjects will include: basic rights and democratic principles; post-election situation; possible influence of civil society; and decentralisation, separation of powers, and local elections.

Publications

AWEPA has published the following, which are available from the Maputo and Amsterdam offices:

- *Report of AWEPA’s observation of the Mozambique Electoral Process*. By Joseph Hanlon with photographs by Pieter Boersma (in English and soon in Portuguese).
- *E muitos participaram!*, by Obede Baloi. A study on civic education and the role of NGOs (Portuguese only).

Several other reports will be available shortly:

- National Elections Commission report on the 1994 elections (In Portuguese and English).
- Parliamentary regulations and rules for MPs.
- *Quem e quem na Assembleia da Republica*. (Who is who in parliament).