

Mozambique peace process bulletin

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Mozambique's unarmed opposition

By September 1993, after almost three years of multi-party politics in Mozambique, more than 20 opposition groups had emerged. A few vanished into obscurity after an initial flurry of publicity, but others have stayed the course, despite splits and occasionally acrimonious disputes.

The process officially began when the Assembly of the Republic (Mozambique's parliament) adopted a multi-party constitution in November 1990. The Assembly later laid down rules for legal registration of political parties. One of these rules was that each party had to provide evidence that it had 1,100 supporters -- 100 from each of the country's 11 provinces (the capital, Maputo, has the legal status of a province).

On November 13, 1991, at peace talks in Rome between the Frelimo government and rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), the government accepted a Renamo demand to change the rules. Now, 2,000 supporters are needed nationwide; there is no requirement for geographical distribution.

Which parties are serious?

With the passage of nearly two years since the 2,000 signatures decision, one indicator of the degree of seriousness of a political grouping is whether or not its name figures on the list of parties which have met the registration criteria. It is not a completely reliable guide since some groups may have mustered more than 2,000 supporters but, like Renamo, refrained from registering for tactical or other reasons.

By the end of August, 1993, 10 parties had registered with the Justice Ministry or had been authorised to register, meaning they met the legal requirements:

- The ruling Frelimo party
- Mozambique National Union (UNAMO)
- National Convention Party (PCN)
- Mozambique People's Progress Party (PPPM)
- Mozambican Nationalist Movement (MONAMO)
- Mozambique United Front (FUMO).
- Mozambique Liberal & Democratic Party (PALMO)
- Mozambique Democratic Party (PADEMO)
- National Democratic Party (PANADE)
- Social-Liberal Democratic Party (SOL)

Another group, the Federal Party of Mozambique-Democratic Federalist (PAFEMO-DF) applied for registration but was turned down by the Justice Ministry in early September, on the grounds that its statutes violated the state constitution.

Another indicator of which opposition parties take themselves seriously is participation in the 16-delegation conference on a draft electoral law, aborted in April 1993 and resumed in August. This brought Frelimo, Renamo and the unarmed opposition into the same debating chamber for the first time. Renamo and the ten opposition parties listed above took part, along with three unregistered groups -- the PPLFCRM, PACODE and FAP -- plus the government and Frelimo in separate delegations.

An informal coalition of the 12 participating unarmed opposition parties emerged after they walked out of the conference in April. The 12 became 11 when they expelled FUMO in June and went back up to 12 when the newly-formed PACODE joined in August. By the end of August MONAMO, the PCN, FAP and the PPLFCRM had abandoned the 12, distancing themselves from the coalition in a dispute over numerical representation on the national commission which will supervise the elections.

An opinion poll carried out by the Mozambican firm Gestinform and published by the independent Maputo daily *MediaFax* on 6 May 1993, gave the unarmed opposition a poor showing. A hypothetical coalition of these groups attracted only 12%, while Renamo was the choice of 15% and 40% said they would vote for Frelimo. The poll sample was 500 people, all Maputo residents but born in different parts of the country.

The following month, the US polling organisation Louis Harris said it had interviewed 173 people in rural as well as urban areas of four provinces. The rural factor was significant since most of the potential voters live in the countryside, and illiteracy and ignorance of Portuguese are much higher there. The most striking finding was that the majority of those polled had never heard of the unarmed opposition parties, and knew only of Frelimo and Renamo.

Another Gestinform poll, conducted in August in Quelimane, capital of Zambezia province, indicated that Frelimo was the most popular single party in the city but could count on only 31% of the vote. Renamo scored 22% and the rest of the sample of 2,000 adults supported other opposition parties or were undecided.

10% said they would vote for MONAMO, whose leader, Maximo Dias, was born in Zambezia province. 5% opted for CODEMO, a Quelimane-based group practically unheard of in the rest of the country.

More than 2.5 million of Mozambique's estimated 15 million people live in Zambezia, making it the most populous province in the country. The poll was held only in the city of Quelimane and may not be a reliable indicator of preferences in the province as a whole, but it gave little comfort to Frelimo.

4 presidential candidates

By mid-1993, four men had announced their intention of contesting the presidential elections. They are President Joaquim Chissano, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama, FUMO leader Domingos Arouca and PPM leader Padimbe Kamati. A poll by Gestinform in July 1993 gave Chissano 49%, Dhlakama 16% and Arouca 2%. Asked to state their preferences in presidential elections, 37% of the Quelimane sample said they would vote for Chissano. Renamo leader Dhlakama scored 29% and Maximo Dias 8%.

The parties and what they stand for

The 22 unarmed opposition groups (excluding Renamo and Frelimo) are listed below, with the names of their leaders and a brief account of their political ideas.

The information comes from personal research, as well as from the Maputo daily paper *Noticias*, the Sunday *Domingo*, the weekly magazine *Tempo*, Radio Mozambique, the English-language monthly magazine *MozambiqueFile* published by the Mozambique News Agency AIM, and *MediaFax*.

The list is in alphabetical order, by Portuguese acronym. An (R) indicates the party is registered with the Justice Ministry. The full name is given in Portuguese and English, followed by names of leaders. Each description ends with telephone numbers (Maputo unless noted) and references for further information.

Confederaçao Democratica de Mocambique *Mozambique Democratic Federation*

Leader: Domingos Cardoso.

CODEMO was founded in 1991 in Quelimane, Zambezia province, by a local businessman, Domingos Cardoso. It was virtually unknown outside of Zambezia until the results of a Gestinform in Quelimane in August 1993 gave it 5% of the vote. Telephone: Domingos Cardoso - 04-2201 (Quelimane) {*MediaFax* no.30/92 and 2.9.93}

COINMO

Congresso Independente de Mocambique *Mozambique Independent Congress*

President: Victor Marcos Saene

General Secretary: Ilda Rabeca Tsinini

In July 1991, COINMO became the second opposition party to hold its founding congress inside the country, but only five delegates and Saene's wife and the man whose house they were living in turned up. Saene claimed his party had 32,000 members inside Mozambique, having earlier claimed 5,000 members in Kenya, where he grew up. He wanted Mozambique "to become a superpower in all spheres" but pledged to "conserve our traditional way of living".

On October 11, 1991, Saene and six members of the Patriotic Action Front tried to hold a "peace" demonstration in Maputo. Only about 20 people joined in. On October 31 a court held that the demonstration was illegal because the police had not been given the required four days warning. Saene was said in court to have a criminal record and was fined 30,000 meticaís (US\$ 17). The other six organisers were given suspended two-month jail sentences.

Before the end of 1991, Saene had abandoned the country, claiming he was being harassed by the authorities. He went first to Swaziland, then to Kenya. Ilda Tsinini remained in Mozambique to represent the party, which currently shows no sign of life.

{*MozambiqueFile* 177 (Apr 91), 181 (Aug 91), 184 (Nov 91)}

FAP

Frente de Accao Patriotica *Patriotic Action Front*

President: Jose Carlos Palaco

General Secretary: Raul da Conceicao.

Founded in February 1991 by students and ex-students of Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. FAP leaders include Joao Inroga, Francisco Sorte, Manuel Meque, Raul de Conceicao, Jose Matavele and Florentino Sagas, the six FAP men convicted of staging an illegal demonstration in October 1991 (see COINMO above). Palaco said in an interview with *Domingo* in the same month: "We support the formation of political, economic and cultural elites. We value the role of these elites in the development of civilisation." Other Palaco quotes: "We accept that the logic of freedom leads to material inequality" and "if a Nazi group is formed in Mozambique it should be put to the electorate. If they vote in favour, this means that the people want Nazism". Palaco first came to public attention in 1989, when he and a partner won first prize in a Mozambique television quiz show, answering questions on the French Revolution, to mark the bicentenary of the event.

{*Domingo* 27.10.91, *MozambiqueFile* No 184 (Nov 1991)}

**Frente Unida de Mocambique/Partido da Convergencia Democratica e Reconstrucao Nacional.
Mozambique United Front/Democratic
Convergence and National Reconstruction Party.**

President: Domingos Arouca.

Arouca, a lawyer, was arrested in the 1960s by the Portuguese colonial authorities for allegedly having radio contact with Frelimo in Tanzania. He claims that at the end of the independence war he was offered a government job but refused because he suspected Frelimo had become communist and he did not approve of that. He went into exile in Portugal and says he formed FUMO in 1976, but dropped out for health reasons in 1980. However on January 12, 1992, he resurfaced in a four-page interview in *Domingo*, declaring himself president of FUMO. He described his policy as "social democracy" (social-democracia) and denounced Frelimo for its democratic socialism (socialismo democratico). He said democratic socialism was Marxism-Leninism in disguise. A former owner of coconut plantations in Inhambane province, he is strongly opposed to state ownership of all land. He also says he sees FUMO as a "third force" between Frelimo and Renamo and will not consider a coalition until after elections. He visited Mozambique in February 1992, then returned to Portugal. While in Maputo Arouca named Eng. Pedro Loforte FUMO chief in Mozambique in the founder's absence.

FUMO applied for registration on 11 December 1992, and the Justice Ministry accepted FUMO's registration on 14 January 1993. Arouca returned to Mozambique to resume permanent residence in January 1993 and in the same month was re-elected as FUMO President at the party's first national congress, held in Maputo. The congress also named him as its candidate for the state presidency. Soon afterwards Arouca provoked a storm in opposition circles by saying that Afonso Dhlakama was not fit to be state president. His remarks were taken by some opposition leaders as intellectual arrogance against an ill-educated bush leader, but he later said he didn't think Chissano was fit to be president either.

In a May 1993 Gestinform opinion poll, Arouca came second to Maximo Dias of MONAMO when 500 citizens were asked which members of the unarmed opposition were most credible as presidential candidates. At the time neither Arouca (who scored 14%) nor Dias (14.4%) were eligible to stand for the presidency because they were Portuguese nationals. Another poll by Gestinform, in July 1993, gave Chissano 49% of the vote, Dhlakama 16% and Arouca 2%. Arouca is clearly sensitive to charges that he is hedging his bets by maintaining a Portuguese passport; at a rally in Inhambane in August 1993 he displayed his Mozambican passport and identity card. If he runs for the presidency he will have to renounce his Portuguese citizenship, since dual nationality, legal in Portugal, is prohibited in Mozambique.

Telephones: Pedro Loforte - 424727, 32972
{*Domingo* 12.1.92; *MediaFax* No.58/92}

MONAMO (R)

**Movimento Nacionalista Mocambicano - Partido
Mocambicano da Social Democracia.
Mozambique Nationalist Movement - Mozambican
Social Democracy Party**

General Secretary: Maximo Dias

Dias was leader of GUMO (Mozambique United Group), a political organisation which the Portuguese

fled after independence and set up MONAMO in Rhodesia in 1979, in an effort to give RENAMO "a political face", in his words. Dias later parted from RENAMO, and by the time of the Mozambican multi-party constitution in 1990 he had been domiciled in Portugal for many years. He gave his first news conference in Maputo on May 15, 1991. Asked about possible alliance between MONAMO and RENAMO he said: "In politics, anything can happen." He then returned to Portugal but in December 1991 he was back, speaking in Beira and Nampula. Dias is an Asian lawyer, born in Zambezia province, and most of his colleagues at the first news conference were also Asian. MONAMO documents are extremely hostile to FRELIMO, but only critical of RENAMO.

MONAMO held its first congress in Maputo in May 1992. The 100 congress delegates confirmed Dias in his post as General Secretary, and elected a 55-member National Council. MONAMO applied for registration on 4 November 1992, and the application was accepted January 14, 1993. In an August 1993 Gestinform opinion poll conducted in Quelimane, capital of Zambezia province, 10% of the 2,000-person sample said they would vote for MONAMO; 8% said Dias was their presidential choice.

Telephones: Guilhermino Fortes - 429456, 429467; Orlando Dias - 429519 (National Council members)
{*Noticias* 10.12.91, 19.12.91, 30.12.91; *MozambiqueFile* No 179 (June 1991), 191 (June 1992); *MediaFax* 2.9.93}

PACODE

**Partido do Congresso Democratico
Democratic Congress Party**

Founder: Vasco Campiro Momboya

PACODE is a splinter from the PCN. Momboya claims to have been a friend of the late Frelimo dissident Uria Simango and says he was the founder of the PCN, one of whose leaders is Simango's son Lutero. Momboya tried to suspend Lutero Simango and PCN coordinator Abel Mabunda in May 1993 in a dispute over a visit the latter two made to Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama at his bush headquarters (see PCN). Simango and Mabunda responded by suspending Momboya; he announced the creation of PACODE at a news conference 2 July 1993.

PADELIMO

**Partido Democratico da Libertacao de
Mocambique**

Democratic Party for the Liberation of Mozambique

President: Joaquim Jose Nyota (formerly Nyoka)

Advisor: Frederick U. James.

Stating its objectives in an October 1990 document, Kenya-based PADELIMO's first point is "to establish and maintain a God-fearing nation". Also wants "total abolition of communism". Claims to have 7 million members in Mozambique (almost the entire voting age population) and another 2 million in neighbouring countries. PADELIMO has no public presence.

PADEMO (R)

**Partido Democratico de Mocambique
Mozambique Democratic Party**

Leader: Wehia Ripua

Gave first Maputo news conference on 20 July 1991, claiming to have 28,000 members. Ripua, a Makuva, was a Frelimo guerrilla commander in the 1960s; when he quit Frelimo to create PADEMO in 1991, he was

federal system and a joint electoral front of all parties opposed to Frelimo. In May 1993 Ripua launched a fierce verbal attack on Domingos Arouca for maintaining his Portuguese citizenship, a criticism earlier voiced by President Chissano. FUMO Deputy President Carlos Jeque considered Ripua's attack "a betrayal" of the opposition.

Telephones: Wehia Rupua - 743271, 492041, 490222; Carlos Siteo - 426600 (work: Fabrica Gazela); Mr Chilambo - 723770 (work), 33715 (home).
{*MozambiqueFile* Aug 91; *Domingo* 8.9.91; *Noticias* 26.11.91}

PAFEMO

Partido Federal de Mocambique ***Mozambique Federal Party***

General Secretary: Manuel Panganane

At first Maputo news conference 21 December 1991, PAFEMO announced it wanted conversion of the present ten provinces into autonomous states, which would include territorial waters. If elected, PAFEMO would ensure that every citizen had a brick house. Party President Mariano Janeiro Pordina said he graduated in medicine in the Soviet Union and was among the founding members of UNAMO and PPPM. He claimed to have founded PAFEMO in February 1990 and said it had 5,000 members inside Mozambique. PAFEMO's first conference, in May 1993, ended with the expulsion of Pordina. On the eve of the conference he had embarrassed the rest of the leadership by declaring that he was commander of a previously unheard of Mozambican Federal Army (EXEFEMO), with 2,000 men under arms. "The war is not over in Mozambique, because without federalism there will be no democracy, and to achieve federalism we must fight. Our policy needs war, and on a large scale," said Pordina. A statement from the conference dismissed Pordina's claim as a lie and said PAFEMO was a peaceful party. The conference abolished the post of president, leaving General Secretary Manuel Panganane as the top official of a party slightly renamed as PAFEMO-DF. There has been no independent confirmation that Pordina's army exists and his wife was quoted as saying she suspected he was mentally ill. PAFEMO-DF applied for registration in 1993 but was turned down by the Justice Ministry in early September, on the grounds that its statutes violated the state constitution. It was the first party to be rejected by the Ministry.

Telephones: Cha Saide - 731234, 732890
{*Noticias* 25.12.91; *MozambiqueFile* 203 (June 93)}

PALMO (R)

Partido Democratico e Liberal de Mocambique ***Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party***

President: Martins Bilal

Bilal was born in Zambezia province and was a Frelimo member during the independence war. By the time opposition parties were permitted he was a Maputo businessman, running the Cofusel iron foundry which makes items such as manhole covers. In Maputo, on February 22, 1991, PALMO held the first legal opposition news conference since independence. It ought support from small and middle-level black businessmen; its initial policy document was hostile to non-blacks, especially Asians, but the racial aspect was toned down at first congress in Beira in May 1991. The party split at this congress, and founder member Casimiro Nyamitambo later formed new party called SOL. (See also SOL). Vice-President of PALMO is Dr

German Democratic Republic.

Telephones: Martins Bilal - 400816 (work), 415647 (home); Antonio Palange - 475147, 475144
{*MozambiqueFile* 176 (Mar 1991) and 184 (Nov 1991); *Domingo* 1.12.91; *Tempo* 3.3.91}

PAM

Partido Agrario de Mocambique ***Mozambique Agrarian Party***

Said to have been involved in the October 1991 Maputo demonstration, along with COINMO and FAP. But none of its members were charged. (See also COINMO above). No further information available.

{*MozambiqueFile* 184 (Nov 1991)}

PANADE (R)

Partido Nacional Democratico ***National Democratic Party***

Leader: Jose Massinga

Massinga addressed PANADE's first news conference in Maputo on 14 October 1992. The party defends "human rights and a democratic philosophy". It also claims to be able to "eradicate murderers, thieves and exploiters, and remove the yoke of dictators and settlers". Massinga was a member of Frelimo during the independence war but became a dissident while studying abroad. He returned to Mozambique soon after independence. He was appointed Director of Research and Personnel in the Foreign Ministry but was arrested in a crackdown on alleged CIA operations and confessed to being a CIA agent at a March 1981 international news conference in Maputo. He said he had been recruited by the CIA in 1975. He was never publicly tried but spent some years in jail before being amnestied and going into exile again.

{*MozambiqueFile* 196 (Nov 92); *Operacao Sexto Aniversario*, Abel Mutemba, INLD, Maputo, 1981}

PANAFE

Partido Nacionalista Federalista ***Nationalist Federalist Party***

Leader: Marcos Juma

A splinter from PADEMO, set up in August 1993 by Marcos Juma, former General Secretary of PADEMO, after allegations of financial wrongdoing. Tel: Marcos Juma - 431258; 400726/7; 415171 (home).

PCN (R)

Partido de Convencao Nacional de Mocambique ***National Convention Party***

General-Coordinator: Abel Mabunda.

External Relations Coordinator: Lutero Simango.

Information and Propaganda Coordinator: Inacio Chire.

Coordinator for Finance: Barnabe Lucas.

Mabunda has a degree in Economics. In a *Domingo* interview on August 18, 1991, Barnabe Lucas said: "PCN wants a market economy but one with a human face in which the state has a positive role in the defence of certain social strata through subsidising access to various services." It wants provincial governors to be elected and not appointed by the head of state (as in the 1990 constitution).

Lutero is the son of Uria Simango, who was vice-president of Frelimo in the 1960s, disgraced and expelled in 1970, arrested just before independence in 1975, and secretly executed some years later. But at first Maputo news conference on 6 December 1991,

of Uria Simango ... his children will have time for that". A constitutive conference was held in Maputo on 16 and 17 December 1991, with more than 70 delegates. *Domingo* estimated that more than half of them had intermediate or higher education. The conference was marked by debate on PCN policies, rather than repeated condemnations of Frelimo. The PCN delivered more than 2,000 signatures and other relevant documentation to the Justice Ministry at the end of November 1992; acceptance of its registration was announced the following month.

The PCN says the opposition (including Renamo) should join forces to oust Frelimo and, in February 1993, called in its monthly publication *A Familia* for a single opposition candidate for the presidential elections. "We are ready to support an opposition candidate who favours a semi-presidential system, with a clear separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, and who supports the formation of a national coalition government."

In May 1993 a PCN member, Vasco Campira Momboya, describing himself as the party's founder, announced he was suspending Mabunda and Simango, and dissolving the party's collective leadership, because they had made an "unauthorised" visit to meet Afonso Dhlakama at his bush headquarters in Maringue. Mabunda and Simango responded by saying the leadership was still in place and had decided to suspend Momboya. The dispute had tribal overtones. The coordinator of the PCN's Maputo nucleus, Tomas Donca, backed Momboya and said: "The tendency of the Ndaus inside the PCN is pro-Renamo, perhaps because it's said that Renamo is run by Ndaus." Momboya went on to found the Partido do Congresso Democratico (PACODE).

Telephones: Abel Mabunda - 03-325034 (Beira); Lutero Simango - 742442 (home), 450077/9 (work); Inacio Chire - 492813, 428238. {*Domingo* 18.8.91, 8.12.91, 22.12.91; *MozambiqueFile* 182 (Sep 91), 200 (Mar 93), 203 (June 93); *MediaFax* 1.12.92}

PIMO

Partido Independente de Mocambique *Mozambique Independent Party*

President: Ayacob Sibinde.

General Secretary: Mussagy Adul Remane
PIMO was launched at a Maputo news conference in August 1993. At the table were Sibinde, wearing a white turban, Remane and businessman Elias Varinde, former Chairman of the Commercial Association. Their political manifesto said they were in favour of a market economy, democracy and education and health care for all. Sibinde said he was a former soldier and Remane a Renamo dissident.

{*Domingo* 15.7.93}

PPLFCRM

Partido Progressivo e Liberal Federalista das Comunidades Religiosas de Mocambique. *Liberal Federal Progressive Party of Mozambican Religious Communities.*

President: Neves Serrano

Serrano was 33 years old and a businessman in the construction industry when he launched the PPLFCRM in February 1992. He claims he had previously held a senior post in the Criminal Investigation Police. The PPLFCRM was the first party to make a specific appeal to religion in its title and its emblem includes both a Christian cross and an outline of an Islamic

a member of the PPPM, then vice-president of PAFEMO. He wants Mozambique to become a federation, with each of the existing provinces granted statehood and with a central government holding strictly limited powers. In a February 1992 interview, Serrano declined to say which religion he adhered to but stated: "My church is that which accepts faith in God." In September 1992, Serrano attempted to hold a congress in a Maputo hotel but no delegates turned up. On 13 February 1993, Serrano inaugurated the PPLFCRM's headquarters in Maputo and said the party had recruited 3.8 million members.

{*MozambiqueFile* 188 (Mar 92)}

PPPM (R)

Partido do Progresso do Povo de Mocambique *Mozambique People's Progress Party*

President: Padimbe Kamate

Based in Lisbon where Kamate runs an export-import business, PPPM held its first Maputo news conference in August 1991. Kamate, a federalist, said his party's ideology was "neutral"; when asked how it would run the economy, he replied that economics "should be left to the economists". Kamate, who is a Makonde, said he will run for the presidency against Chissano and expects to win 85% of the vote. Registration accepted by the Justice Ministry in December 1992.

{*MozambiqueFile* 182 (Sep 91)}

PREPUMO

Partido Revolucionario do Povo Unido Mocambicano

Revolutionary Party of the United Mozambican People

Existence of this group was announced in October 1992 in an interview given to Radio Mozambique by one of its founders, Afonso Zunguza. He said the party would set up its headquarters in the town of Dondo, near Beira, in the central province of Sofala. By law, all parties must have their headquarters in Maputo if they wish to register and run in elections.

RECAMO

Regedores e Camponeses de Mocambique *Chiefs and Peasants of Mozambique*

RECAMO was founded by Arone Fijamo in Quelimane, Zambezia province, where he was born and lives. Fijamo wants to restore traditional authority. No further information immediately available.

{*MediaFax* 30/92}

SOL (R)

Partido Social-Liberal e Democratico *Social-Liberal Democratic Party*

Founder: Casimiro Nyamitambo

Breakaway from PALMO. At the first SOL news conference, in Maputo 22 November 1991, Nyamitambo said SOL stood for "an independent, sovereign, unitary state in lasting peace, governed by the rule of law, democratically decentralised, defending peaceful and non-violent forms of struggle." Nyamitambo grew up as a refugee in Tanzania and was a Frelimo member before becoming part of the group which formed PALMO. Journalists covering PALMO's first congress were impressed by Nyamitambo's evident charm and intellect and expected him to be elected to one of the top

rumour circulated that he was a Frelimo agent and he walked out in anger, refusing to stand for office. In December 1991 the PALMO rump publicly accused him of being a Frelimo agent and he threatened to sue. In mid-1993 SOL itself faced possible legal action over an article in its fortnightly magazine *O Grito* describing a prominent pro-Frelimo Tanzanian, Ali Mafudh, as a drug trafficker.

Telephone: Casimiro Nyamitambo - 33479 (home)

{*Domingo* 1.12.91, 8.12.91; *Tempo* 1.12.91}

UDEMOMO

Uniao Democratica de Mocambique

Mozambique Democratic Union

UDEMOMO was founded in April 1992 in the Namuli hills of Zambezia province by Gimo Phiri, a former top Renamo commander. Phiri broke away from Renamo in 1986, taking 1,500 men with him, and became first president of a new group called UNAMO (see entry below). He fell out with another UNAMO leader, Carlos Reis, in 1991. Reis held a UNAMO congress in November of that year, without Phiri, and was elected president. Reis did everything according to the book, presented enough proof to the government that his UNAMO was the real one, and was accepted as a legal opposition party. Phiri then founded UDEMOMO.

Telephone: Joao Camacho - 30011

{*Domingo* 10.11.91, 17.11.91 and 8.12.91; *Noticias* 11.11.91; *MozambiqueFile* 176 (Mar 91), 182 (Sep 91); *MediaFax* No 30/92}

UNAMO (R)

Uniao Nacional Mocambicana

Mozambique National Union

President: Carlos Reis

UNAMO emerged from a split in RENAMO in 1986, with a top ex-RENAMO commander, Gimo Phiri, as president. Carlos Reis, an exiled Zambezia province trader, later represented UNAMO in Europe and arrived in Mozambique in December, 1990. Calling himself General Secretary, he gave the first UNAMO news conference in Maputo on March 4, 1991, saying the party's ideology was "social democratic". In August 1991 he claimed it had 30,000 members and his remarks were unfriendly towards RENAMO. Reis said "RENAMO does not want to take a democratic position. It wants to take a dictatorial line." He also said UNAMO still had an armed force in Zambezia province, but was not engaged in combat, stressing that UNAMO was now peaceful.

On 4 November 1991, Phiri issued a communique denying that there was such a post as general secretary and expelling Reis from UNAMO. But later in the month Reis and his supporters held a UNAMO congress in Maputo at which he was elected president. He accused Phiri of being a Frelimo agent, a charge echoed by the PALMO branch in Zambezia province in December 1991. The outcome of the feud between Reis and Phiri for leadership of UNAMO was settled on 31 December 1991, when Reis presented to the Justice Ministry more than the necessary number of names of supporters and the other documentation needed for registration as a legal political party. It was the first opposition party to do so. Early in 1992 the Justice Ministry accepted UNAMO's registration and it became the first legal opposition party in Mozambique. Phiri then formed another party, UDEMOMO (See above).

Telephones: Carlos Reis - 742278, 417670

{*Domingo* 10.11.91, 17.11.91, 8.12.91; *Noticias* 11.11.91; *MozambiqueFile* 176 (Mar 91), 182 (Sep 91); *MediaFax* No 30/92}