

Mozambique peace process bulletin

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Fears grow over slow progress

The agonisingly slow pace of the Mozambican peace process is causing growing concern in Maputo. On the plus side, the four peace commissions chaired by the United Nations have begun cautious meetings, both sides in early August sent troops to Nyanga for training as instructors for the new army, and all parties are meeting to discuss the election law. This led the observer countries on the highest peace-keeping body, the Supervision and Control Commission (CSC), to issue a statement on 2 August praising a "new and positive momentum".

But no progress has been made on three issues: territorial administration, troop demobilisation, and demining roads. Several cease-fire violations suggest that inactive troops and local commanders are growing restless.

By June the mood of the international community had swung decisively. Previously there had been a tendency to be even handed and blame both sides. But diplomats began openly blaming Renamo for foot-dragging -- breaking promises and reversing decisions, making unacceptable new demands, and failing to give commission members authority to negotiate -- as well as for cease-fire violations.

ONUMOZ, the UN operation in Mozambique, has also changed. One Mozambican official called United Nations Special Envoy Aldo Ajello "a referee who won't blow the whistle when the rules are broken." This criticism has been accepted.

Ajello accepts that "quiet diplomacy didn't work" and that the strategy of diplomatic persuasion failed to move Renamo. "The wishy-washy phase is over," he said, promising that in the August report of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the Security Council, "if there are parties responsible for violating the peace accord, their names will be given".

In late July, the diplomatic balance shifted again. Just when the government seemed to be occupying

the diplomatic and moral high ground, government troops were reported to have pushed Renamo out of three villages in Tete, in a clear cease-fire violation. Ajello's first strong public condemnation under the new policy was of the government; the international community also sharply criticised the government.

At a 23 July press conference, Ajello admitted the "deterioration of the situation." On 4 August Renamo threatened to attack a Frelimo "strategic target". Ajello then accused both sides of "playing stupid games" which could lead back to war.

At the very least, there is now a real danger that the process will degenerate into the protracted wrangling over petty issues and jockeying for position that characterised the Rome talks.

Privately a high ONUMOZ official said "the period after the signing of the peace accord should have been one of mutual confidence building; instead we have been building solid mistrust."

Renamo demands

Renamo's escalating demands were key to the changed diplomatic mood. Having gained a \$10 million trust fund, Renamo used the 8-9 June donors meeting in Maputo to demand more.

Before Renamo soldiers go to assembly points, Renamo told the international community it must: 1) set Renamo up with offices -- including faxes, photocopiers, food and transport -- throughout Mozambique and abroad "to help transform Renamo from a political-military movement into a political party"; 2) guarantee money to allow Renamo leaders to travel abroad; 3) fund training centres for all Renamo and Frelimo soldiers not going into the new joint army; and 4) provide uniforms for all Renamo soldiers now in bases, including "trousers and shirts, boots and socks, belts and hats, cloaks, bags and cutlery". This last list seemed odd as soldiers must

undiplomatic language and at the brazenness of the new demands. They used the meeting to tell Renamo that it could not expect more money and should stop stalling. But a few delegates, including representatives of the St. Egidio Community who had helped to mediate the Rome peace accord, said that Renamo's attitude was understandable as it equates Frelimo with the state and cannot see why Frelimo (as the state) should have advantages.

In subsequent weeks Renamo made more demands which it said had to be met before demobilisation: the right to name three to five governors, representatives in the Ministry of Interior, representatives on boards of the mass media, and prior demobilisation of all militias.

Ajello used a press conference to stress that the peace accord says nothing about governors. And he went on to strongly criticise Renamo for violating the accord by impeding free movement in areas it controls.

Renamo also refused to participate in three key commissions which, under the peace accord, are named by President Chissano, because Chissano also named the chairmen whom Renamo says should be chosen by the members.

Presidents' meeting delayed

The failure of Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama to come to Maputo or to meet with President Joaquim Chissano fuelled the growing pessimism.

UN Special Envoy Ajello had pinpointed two issues: mistrust between the two sides, and the inability of Renamo delegates in Maputo to take even small decisions without reference back to Renamo headquarters in Maringue. Ajello had argued that a meeting between the two leaders would start a positive spiral of confidence building, and is the best way to resolve the conflict about territorial administration. He also said the presence of Dhlakama in Maputo would speed up the peace process.

Now high UN officials are privately saying they do not expect Dhlakama to make any more than fleeting visits to Maputo, and that he definitely will not live there. And any face-to-face meeting between the presidents looks increasingly likely to be a formal, diplomatic affair.

Although a meeting between the leaders of the two sides was demanded by Dhlakama and scheduled 17 July in Maputo, the Renamo leader suddenly announced a few days before that he would not attend because an acceptable agenda had not been agreed.

The new US Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, George Moose, had visited Dhlakama at his Maringue headquarters in mid-June and was personally assured that the meeting would take place. Moose then told UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who included plans for the meeting in his report to the Security Council.

Thus when Dhlakama suddenly changed his mind and refused to meet Chissano, it was an unacceptable loss of face for a new US senior diplomat. The US

South Africa and Kenya, which had backed Renamo militarily with the apparent acquiescence of the US, both sent envoys to meet Dhlakama in Lurio, Nampula province, to tell him to meet Chissano.

Finally, Dhlakama agreed to meet Chissano without prior conditions. The talks were suggested for early August (later delayed) after Dhlakama had completed his north-to-south tour of Renamo areas -- a trip apparently modelled on Samora Machel's triumphal 1975 tour from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Two states or one?

Administration of and access to Renamo-controlled areas are proving to be the most fraught issues. Renamo continues to insist that there are two administrations in Mozambique and that Renamo controls what goes on in its areas.

In particular, Renamo claims the right to control economic activity and to prevent the entry of government officials. Detentions in Salamanga and Nhamatanda are intended to reinforce the point.



Administrative principals

Civil administration is governed by Protocol V of the peace accord, which states:

- "public administration ... will continue to obey the law in force and be conducted through the institutions provided by law."
- "laws and legislative provisions of the Republic of Mozambique, as well as civil and political rights of citizens ... shall be respected ... in all parts of the national territory"
- "institutions provided for by law for the conduct of public administration in areas controlled by Renamo shall employ only citizens resident in those areas, who may be members of Renamo."
- "The relationship between the Ministry of State Administration and the administration in the areas controlled by Renamo shall be conducted through a National Commission."
- "The parties undertake to guarantee throughout the national territory the exercise of democratic rights and freedoms by all citizens, as well as the performance of party work by all political parties."
- "The parties guarantee access by ... the representatives and officials of the state institutions provided for by law and their officials to any part of the national territory to which they may need to proceed on official business, as well as the right to freedom of movement"

In addition, Protocol III states:

- "All citizens shall have the right to move throughout the country without having to obtain administrative authorisation."



one of his strongest statements to the press, Ajello stressed that the peace accord calls for "freedom of movement" and that explicitly includes government officials. But at a 1 August meeting of its National Council, Renamo restated its insistence on "division of territorial administration."

In early August, Dhlakama said that in his meeting with Chissano he meant to negotiate the naming of Renamo-approved governors for five of the nation's 11 provinces, probably including Zambezia, Sofala, Manica and Tete.

"We control our zones. These must be integrated in the state administration. But look, how can we accept that our zones stay under the control of governors belonging to the ruling Frelimo party?", asked Renamo's leader.

A member of Frelimo's Political Commission, Alcidio Guenha, said that in no circumstances would his party agree to negotiate the issue of governors. "Renamo is afraid of elections, so they want to divide administration of the country now, and threaten not to demobilise their troops until we give them governors. But if we do that, they will need their soldiers to control the territory, so they won't demobilise and the peace accord will be meaningless. It could lead to another war", Guenha said.

The Diplomatic Advisor to President Chissano and the man preparing the summit with Dhlakama, Francisco Madeira, added: "This demand cannot be contemplated within the terms of the peace accord, and if we go outside the peace accord, what relationship do we have with Renamo?"

Meanwhile Renamo has prevented any kind of economic activity in zones under its control, by people without authorisation or licences from Renamo.

In July, vaccination teams including personnel from some non-government organisations and from the Ministry of Health were authorised to carry out vaccinations in Renamo areas in Morrumbala, Mopeia, and Maganja Da Costa districts. "But we didn't escape mistrust and certain menaces from Renamo soldiers", said a nurse in one brigade.

UN officials say in some areas, Renamo continues to obstruct humanitarian aid from reaching the population in areas under its control. "There are still some places where Renamo forces us to leave the food in a place chosen by them, for them to later hand to the needy. This is a problem, because it means we have no way to control whether the food is reaching the people or not", a UN official said.

In general, the international community is opposed to Renamo's territorial claims, but it seems to have gained support from the United States and Italy on this issue. The US forced the security council to water down its 9 July resolution on this point. The initial draft had called for the prompt extension of government administration to the entire country, which the US forced to be modified to "early establishment of the Commission of State Administration, and the application throughout the country of the provisions of the general peace agreement concerning public

control of resources and control of votes". Thus the US demands for administrators in some districts.

Dhlakama's demand for governors was first presented to the government by the Italian ambassador Manfredo di Camerana in early July, the day after he visited Dhlakama in Maringue -- and two weeks after the visit to Maringue by Moose. Government sources -- and some ONUMOZ officials -- are convinced the proposal was suggested and even drafted by di Camerana.

Who speaks for Renamo?

The centralisation of Renamo decision-making power in Maringue and the poor communications between Maringue and Maputo are key factors in slowing progress and leading to repeated contradictions and apparent changes.

Renamo's magazine *Novos Tempos* said in its May issue that Dhlakama would move to the Hotel Cardoso in Maputo. But he did not.

On 3 July an ONUMOZ delegation accompanied by Herminio Morais, head of the Renamo delegation to the CFC, went to Salamanga when Renamo said the 25 detainees would be released that day. But on arrival, they were told that orders had been received "from Maringue" not to release the men.

The 29 July walk-out from the election conference followed by the 30 July apology showed the confusion.

Renamo has not appointed permanent teams to all commissions. For example, at the first meeting of the mine clearance subcommittee, the Renamo delegation said it could only listen and report to Maringue -- it had no mandate to make decisions.

One high UN official said that even Raul Domingos, the Renamo number two and head of the CSC delegation, "has no authority. He cannot always get in touch with his president and is scared to take decisions on his own. At least Madeira can get in touch with his president quickly."

One result is that although there are informal meetings between Renamo and the government, they are of little use. The Renamo representatives frequently change, so they do not get to know their government counterparts. And Renamo people have no authority to negotiate, even on small points.

ONUMOZ and the international community are anxious that Dhlakama spend time in Maputo, even if he does not live there. They feel that regular informal contact with Chissano would speed the process, build confidence, and set the tone for informal working contacts at lower level.

The fear is that Dhlakama is growing to believe that Maringue is the capital of a separate administration equal to Maputo, and that this is encouraged by the frequent international visitors to Maringue. Even US officials admit that Moose's visit to Maringue was followed by a month of Renamo inaction -- perhaps even halting progress that had begun in early June.

to come to Maputo."

A UN official who has been to Maringue said that "the international community is supporting his view of himself as king of the bush. He is a hero there and he is in total control. He comes when he wants. He keeps visitors waiting and offers them a meal or not on whim. He is chief there." The official pointed to the May issue of the Renamo magazine *Novos Tempos* with its cover picture of a smiling Ajello standing next to Dhlakama at Maringue.

ONUMOZ privately notes that this concern has growing support in the diplomatic community, and that the number of diplomatic tourists visiting Maringue has dropped off. Even Ajello said he would not return to Maringue before Dhlakama comes to Maputo.

Pre-election deal likely

"Some people in New York think the western winner-takes-all model of democracy is too 'geometrical' for Africa, and some kind of pre-election compromise on power is viable," commented Ajello on his return from a trip to UN headquarters in July.

This idea was offered earlier by the new US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, George Moose, on his first visit to Mozambique, in June. With Angola in mind, Moose said: "Where there's no tradition of a 'loyal opposition', it's crucial to ensure the losers have a continuing stake in the democratic process, or else they will lose faith and start a new form of tyranny".

UN sources in Maputo confirm a post-Angola, US-influenced thinking in New York, that peace will only result if both sides have a future stake in power. Opposing parties should find a way to guarantee this, before elections.

The argument is that in poor, African countries, political power is one of the only ways to economic security. When losers have nothing to start with, there's nothing to stop them fighting for power.

When Frelimo took power in 1975, 90% of colonials fled the country. A UN source commented: "Not surprisingly many people here see elections as a once-and-for-all political battle -- the results will be forever. They can't imagine these are just the first elections, in an on-going process".

Suggestions range from fully-fledged "power-sharing" -- being pushed by Italy and Portugal but unlikely to be acceptable -- to a gentleman's agreement or public pledge that a certain number of votes gets a ministry or a vice president.

Mozambique's non-armed opposition are sympathetic in the belief it would give them a look-in. A Pademo spokesman said "power-sharing is key to avoid future conflicts".

Diplomatic advisor Francisco Madeira said individual diplomats have presented the power-sharing idea. "Until recently they told us we should have multi-party elections, now they say power-sharing. What is the point in elections then?"

Italian officials in Rome recently advised Renamo

accord was signed. The demand for governorships may be a back-door attempt to form such a government. "If we start splitting power before elections, why hold them?" Madeira asked.

Another high official said "we must bind the west to their own compromise -- they demanded elections and must accept the outcome."

However, the government does seem prepared to discuss a pre-election agreement which accepts the outcome of the election but still guarantees a role for parties which do not gain the largest vote. A member of Frelimo's Political Committee and chief delegate to the election law conference, Alcidio Guenha, said in July this idea was already on the table.

In its meetings with opposition parties, including Renamo, Guenha said, "Frelimo's key concern is trust building, and that includes making compromises -- the peace accord does allow space for that. Now we're in the early stages, but as we progress, we can start discussing these compromises".

He said the idea that a certain number of votes could win a ministership, for example, was a reasonable one.

June 1995 election?

The peace process is moving so slowly that there is now widespread talk of postponing the election to June 1995, although October 1994 remains the official date.

Even if the commissions speed up their work, the high level of mistrust will make the process slow. And all sides may think they benefit from delay. Both Renamo and Frelimo may feel they will gain as the war becomes a more distant memory; Renamo, Frelimo and the non-armed opposition parties will all gain from more time to organise. On the other hand, the government grows steadily weaker while the unexpected weakness of Renamo is more exposed.

Renamo's position was always anomalous. The peace accord gave it status equal to the government, when in practice it was smaller and weaker. Initially the goal of the international community and ONUMOZ was to build Renamo into a credible political party and give it confidence it would have a place after elections.

But there is a growing feeling that Renamo has become greedy. One Nordic diplomat said that Dhlakama's European tour was simply asking for money; there was no discussion about Renamo's political policies or goals.

Indeed, some Renamo officials seem to have assumed that there was an aid "cake" which was going to Frelimo. Now Renamo had won the right to eat, and by holding out long enough it would be possible to negotiate a larger slice of the cake.

This has led some diplomats and high ONUMOZ officials to argue that the real need is for an economic rather than a political or power-sharing deal. Renamo leaders need farms, businesses, and loans which will ensure them a place in post-election society.

Renamo's only leverage now is through refusing to go to assembly points and refusing to demobilise its

argue that the territorial administration dispute is purely another means of delay.

The international community seems divided and unsure how to proceed. It is paying the bills but has only limited leverage. It can make future assistance to Renamo conditional on demobilisation, and it can withhold the diplomatic approval Dhlakama craves. The United States, for example, stresses that the Renamo leader is welcome to visit any time he wishes, but that the visit will go much better if demobilisation has begun and an election law has been agreed.

Cease-fire: Renamo violations hit

Renamo violated the cease-fire by moving troops into Salamanga, 60 km south of Maputo, 18 days after the signing of the Rome peace accord, the UN head of the Cease-Fire Commission (CCF) has concluded. And he strongly condemned Renamo for taking 25 prisoners in Salamanga and holding them for three weeks in June.

Evidence collected by investigators from ONUMOZ (the UN mission in Mozambique) and presented at the CCF meeting 30 June included a photograph of writing on a wall at Renamo's base in Salamanga, taken by one of the UN experts, which showed it occupied the area after the cease-fire.

On 24 June in Salamanga, Renamo detained 10 people, including a member of parliament, Aurelio Manhica, for "illegal hunting in zones controlled by Renamo". Renamo further alleged that the prisoners were caught in possession of offensive weapons including AK-47 machine guns, and that they had caused panic among the local civilian population by firing guns while hunting. The detained people held government-issued licences hunting and for carrying firearms for their own protection. Another 15 people were detained later. All were freed on 14 July after UN envoy Ajello's personal intervention.

Renamo justified the detentions on the grounds that it was defending the natural environment, and on its widely disputed claim that there exists two administrations in Mozambique. On their release, Renamo CFC delegation head General Herminio Morais said other people caught "illegally" in Renamo-held zones would still be arrested.

But the UN, according to the daily *Noticias*, said that "the prolonged detention of 25 people by Renamo was a serious violation of several provisions in the general peace accord" guaranteeing free movement of goods and people.

The incident was seen as a Renamo attempt to push its claim to hold Salamanga, where it wants one of its assembly points, as well as an attempt to enforce its claim to separate administration of areas it controls.

Renamo refused to accept the judgment by the CFC head and so the CFC was unable to make a formal ruling; by early August Renamo had not moved out of Salamanga. And on 17 July, just three days after the Salamanga release, Renamo detained 17

Mhamatanda in the Beira corridor in Sofala province. In early August, the men were still being held.

Government violations in Tete

Government military units forced Renamo out of Samoa, Chiritse, and Necungas localities, in the districts of Moatize, Chiuta, and Maturara in Tete province in June.

Renamo raised the issue in July. Ajello condemned the Government moves as a "serious violation of the cease-fire". On 2 August, representatives of the foreign members of the CSC -- France, Germany, Britain, Italy, Portugal, the US, and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) -- issued a statement supporting Ajello's condemnation of the government.

Tete Governor Cadmiel Muthemba said the villages had been occupied by Renamo after the cease-fire began. "We sent members of the district government to these places to persuade Renamo to go back to their bases. They agreed to go, but never went. They built up their war material in these zones, intimidated the people and some members of the local government, tearing away Frelimo party cards and replacing them with Renamo cards", he said, according to *Noticias*. Faced with Renamo's refusal to abandon these positions, "we sent our troops in to see how they would react, and they fled in fear. There were no shots fired."

But Ajello and the CSC members were particularly angry because the government had already made a complaint to the CCF about Renamo occupying two of the three villages. The complaint had been investigated and was due to be discussed by the CCF. Ajello said the government should have waited for the complaints procedure to be followed, particularly when the CCF was meeting.

"I don't have the authority to send troops to kick them [Renamo] out. But we have the moral authority and support of the UN and international community. We must be allowed to act," he said.

Ajello warned the initiative to retaliate was a serious cease-fire violation and he was ready to call on the Security Council over the issue. He said "I'm very concerned by the attitude of some high-ranking government authorities who think they have a right to counter-attack when Renamo occupied an area illegally. That's a dangerous philosophy, it would make the UN useless here and could lead to renewed conflict." Observers countries on the CSC backed him up, saying neither side has the right to use force and must use the peace-keeping commission channels to deal with grievances.

However, some Mozambican observers felt Ajello was harsh on government. Renamo had occupied dozens of localities, in violation of the cease-fire, and even held prisoners there, without any CCF initiative, so far, to expel them either by force or persuasion. Using the customary Angola comparison, they argued it would be dangerous for government to let Renamo

Too many complaints

More than 40 complaints of cease-fire violations have been made. "We had not expected so many complaints," Ajello admitted, and ONUMOZ was forced to set up additional inspection teams. The Cease Fire Commission (CCF) began meeting regularly in July and considering reports of violations.

As well as the CFC head's ruling on Salamanga, the CCF has dismissed six complaints as unfounded. These included the government's claim that 1,000 armed men from Zimbabwe were being trained by white instructors in Renamo-held territory near Gorongosa, Renamo's allegation that a government soldier killed one of their members and his wife, and Renamo's claim that a Frelimo Party Secretary in Nampula threatened Renamo members with death. Several other complaints have been settled informally, usually with the withdrawal of Renamo.

The CCF head also concluded that Renamo had also occupied Zitundo, 90 km south of Maputo and near Salamanga, after the cease-fire. But he said that "since Renamo forces exercised effective authority in the locality around Zitundo when the peace accord took effect, and given that Zitundo was not occupied at that time, it may be considered that Renamo held effective authority over Zitundo locality at that time".

Election: law debate starts

Serious discussion of the draft election law, involving Renamo, Frelimo, and more than a dozen non-armed opposition parties, finally began on 2 August.

The Rome peace accord says that "the Electoral Act shall be drafted by the government, in consultation with Renamo and all other political parties". Government drew up the draft, and called a consultation meeting with the other parties in April. Renamo said it wasn't ready, and didn't come. A group of 12 opposition parties walked out, demanding material assistance from the government and proposing a transitional government until elections.

Without much influence on other aspects of the peace process, the non-armed opposition have used all their leverage on the election issue. Fighting for a place in the political sun which gives them a chance against the better known Renamo and Frelimo, they are coming to realise that their best strategy is unity -- as one party puts it, "no opposition to the opposition".

The President of the Democratic Party of Mozambique (PADEMO), Wehia Ripua, said in July: "Our boycott has been embarrassing for the Government. Since April we [the 12 opposition parties] have continued to meet every week, we are fighting a battle for offices together, and we've studied the draft election law together." Regular meetings help the parties get to know each other and "that will make it easier, tomorrow, to form a coalition", Ripua added.

While the opposition parties stuck to their boycott, the foreign financiers of Mozambique's peace process grew nervous over the date for elections which will end

importance it attaches to holding of the elections no later than October 1994". Given that voter registration must take place first, Justice Minister Oussmane Ali Dauto said 14 months would be needed to organise elections once the election law was passed.

With donor pressure to get the election process underway, government first offered three apartments for the longest-registered opposition parties. The opposition turned them down, saying the space was too small and the rent too high.

Finally, on 12 July Ali Dauto announced a subsidy of 100 million meticals (about US\$ 25,000) to each party legally registered on 30 June and half that to those registering by 31 July. It was a major concession, and satisfied the unarmed opposition at a time when some were making approaches to Renamo. The parties agreed to join a meeting starting 29 July.

Renamo then tried to block the debate on the electoral law by unexpectedly tabling a lengthy paper on elections to the CSC on 19 July. Led by the US, the CSC concluded that it was not the proper place, and that the peace accord was clear that the meeting called by Ali Dauto was where the election law should be discussed. The US has taken a particularly firm line on the election date. It has pledged \$5-7 million for the election, but said this will be available only if the election is held by October 1994.

The multi-party conference to debate the election law finally opened in Maputo on 29 July. Renamo immediately walked out, saying the government's draft law was heavily biased in favour of the ruling party. Proclaiming "we are not prepared to discuss further on the basis of this document", they called on Ajello to form a working group of Mozambique's political parties and UN election experts to write a new draft.

Ajello refused, saying the conference itself was meant for this debate, and "we'd be sending a very bad message to people if we had to start again". Dhlakama came under heavy pressure from Ajello and the donors. Only hours later, Dhlakama was on the satellite phone to Ajello, saying he wasn't happy with the walk-out and debate could continue after all. On the morning of 30 July, Renamo's Maputo office issued a public apology. The meeting resumed on 2 August with all parties in attendance.

Observers in Maputo suggest this radical turn-around meant either that Dhlakama himself had not ordered the protest, or that he deliberately meant to show only he has the right to decide.

But Renamo's opener to the conference was a long list of complaints rejecting half of the 284 articles in the draft law, suggesting that a long debate was in prospect. Renamo said the document ignored the authority of international law over national law, thus belittling the role of UN observers.

Opposition on commission

Opposition parties, including Renamo, agreed on rejecting two key articles of the government's draft electoral law referring to formation of the national and

while Renamo would appoint one-third.

A spokesman of the "Group of 12" non-armed opposition parties said "all parties should participate on the election commissions, and members of the National Election Commission should be approved by both Presidents Chissano and Dhlakama. Since elections are a result of struggle between these two, consensus between them is imperative".

As expected, the unarmed opposition parties also questioned the draft law's provision that, under the system of proportional representation to be used for parliamentary elections, seats will only be awarded to parties with a minimum 5% of the provincial vote -- a figure they say is too high.

When it signed the peace accord, Renamo proposed an even higher figure of 20%. But the head of Renamo's Foreign Affairs, Jose De Castro, said in late July that "we could reconsider the minimum percentage, if other parties object". The 5% provincial threshold is already a shift in the terms of the accord, which calls for a 5% *national* threshold which would be most difficult for the unarmed opposition.

But it remains unclear if these and other changes can be made. In the first days of debate on the electoral law, government and Renamo stood together in arguing that the peace accord cannot be altered, after the non-armed political opposition parties suggested some changes to the draft law which would imply changing provisions in the accord.

There seems little chance of changing the threshold without setting a precedent for "renegotiations" of other provisions in the accord.

Will refugees vote?

The participation of refugees in the elections is another issue for the multi-party conference. According to Abdul Carimo, one of the jurists involved in drawing up the draft law, government wants to convince Renamo and the other opposition parties that Mozambican refugees still living in refugee camps outside the country at the time of elections should be able to register and vote in a manner supervised by the UN.

The peace accord is clear. It says people must register and vote where they live. Yet by October 1994 many refugees will still be outside the country, and thus unable to vote. Ironically, Mozambicans living permanently outside the country will be able to vote, comments Carimo. But unwillingness to start tampering with the accord may prevent this change.

The non-armed opposition further proposes that legislative and presidential elections should be held separately, "to give us chance to explain to people they were fooled", said one. For once, Frelimo and Renamo joined forces in rejecting that idea.

Renamo has suggested that the supreme judge of the electoral process should not be the nationally constituted election commission, but the CSC.

One opposition candidate?

said, to discuss the electoral law. One of the group, the National Convention Party (PCN), made two separate visits of its own to meet Dhlakama.

PCN denied claims it had asked Dhlakama to stand down as a presidential candidate, in favour of a joint opposition candidate. Nonetheless, other opposition parties confirmed that PCN is at the forefront of growing debate on the idea of fielding a single opposition candidate.

There were two schools of thought: one supporting Dhlakama for president as a well known "strong-man", another suggesting that someone else with no links to the war should take his place.

Not everyone was happy with the approaches to Renamo. PCN split over the issue. Founding PCN member Vasco Campira quit, accusing others in its collegiate leadership of snuggling up to Renamo on the basis of ethnic sympathy, as fellow N'Daus.

On the other hand, the opposition "12" became 11 when they turfed out the Mozambique United Front (FUMO) for allegedly being too cozy with Frelimo. Fumo has the only other presidential candidate with any showing in opinion polls. An poll by Gestinform in July gave Chissano 49% of the vote, Dhlakama 16% and Fumo President Domingos Arouca, 2%.

The Catholic Bishop of Beira, Dom Jaime Goncalvez, long seen as close to Dhlakama (and part of the same family), denied rumours circulating since the accord signing that he might stand for president.

Peasants know only 2 parties

With their long experience of civil war, but none of multi-party elections, most Mozambicans have little notion of political democracy, know of only two political forces (the ex-belligerents), and fear reprisals from either side if they vote for the other. These were the conclusions of in-depth interviews with 137 people in four provinces conducted by the US polling organisation Louis Harris.

Most of the 137 people knew only of Frelimo and Renamo and had never heard of the 13 or more non-armed opposition parties which have emerged since a new law allowed it in 1990. This was especially true in rural areas, where communications are poor and illiteracy high. Justice Minister Ali Dauto says eight million people are expected to take part in Mozambique's elections, of whom some five million are illiterate and have no access to the print media.

Refugees: On the move

While the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) continued to try to organise its \$203 million gold-plated repatriation, one-fifth of Mozambicans have already made their own way home -- largely without help.

An estimated 1.5 million Mozambicans took refuge in the neighbouring countries of South Africa, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. UNHCR says 280,000 have returned home since the

their own steam, mainly to neighbouring Zambezia and Tete provinces. The border road near Dedza, Malawi, is lined with hundreds of ghostly roofless houses, as refugees returning home have taken with them valuable roofing poles.

Meanwhile, UNHCR continues its efforts to draw up tripartite accords on repatriation from the host countries. Agreements have been reached with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland.

In co-ordination with the government's Refugees' Support Group (NAR), UNHCR is trying to reach a tripartite agreement with South Africa, which does not recognise the Mozambicans' refugee status and often resorts to detention and mass deportation. UNHCR's office in South Africa deals only with South African returnees.

Negotiations between UNHCR and South Africa are underway, but UNHCR officials discern little political willingness on South Africa's part. South Africa claims to be afraid that if it subscribes to the UN and OAU charters on refugees, it will be chosen by an ever greater numbers of African refugees.

Mozambican and UNHCR officials believe the preparations for democratic elections in South Africa will have implications for Mozambican refugees. "It's natural that South Africa should be worried about possible participation in their elections of non-South Africans. So they have two choices, to intensify the detentions and deportations, or sign an accord for organised repatriation," said a NAR official. According to NAR, the average daily number of Mozambicans deported (the statistics do not distinguish between refugees and illegal immigrants), is around 200 people, via the border posts at Ressano Garcia and Phafuri.

Military: No demob yet

A dozen assembly points -- 8 government and 4 Renamo -- are ready to receive soldiers, but concentration of soldiers still appears to be months away. So far, only 29 of 49 assembly areas have been agreed -- 22 government and 7 Renamo.

The government says it will send 61,638 soldiers to assembly points and has given numbers to be sent to each of its 29 areas; Renamo has only said it will send about 1000 people to each of its 20 assembly areas. Both sides are also allowed to nominate troops who need not go to assembly areas: medical and administrative personnel, plus the navy and air force.

In his 30 June report to the Security Council, the UN Secretary General wrote that "the main cause of delays" has been the difficulty in getting Renamo to select and agree sites that are accessible by UN supply lorries. The government also says that Renamo does not legitimately control some locations, such as Salamanga. Use of several sites on both sides is dependent on clearing mines from access roads.

The Secretary General's report also said that "contrary to the understanding of ONUMOZ that this [assembly and demobilisation] process would be

assembly areas are operational. This is apparently the Renamo view, but the government accuses the UN of "wilful misinterpretation".

Government sources say that the UN had proposed that government start demobilisation without a parallel Renamo demob -- as a show of good faith. Government refused, but stressed it is prepared to begin assembly by province or by region so long as both sides assemble at the same time. For example, all four assembly points in Nampula have been agreed and UN sources say it should not be long before all locations in the north and south have been agreed; only the centre presents serious logistic problems.

The United States among other donors is pushing Renamo to agree to a phased assembly.

But government says it agrees with Renamo that demobilisation cannot begin until all soldiers are in assembly points. The UN had hoped to use what it calls a "two door" (entry and exit) process, whereby some soldiers are already being demobilised or sent for training in the new army even while others are still arriving at assembly points. Government insists on "one door", and that everyone must be inside before anyone leaves (metaphorically by the same door they came in). Government fears that the two-door process would allow soldiers to return to be demobilised again; although it is not clear what harm this would do, the UN believes it can be prevented.

ONUMOZ expects soldiers to stay in assembly points for at least 8 weeks: 1 week for registration and getting their details to Maputo, 1 week to produce lists, 2 weeks for the government and Renamo to select from the lists the people they want in the new army, and then 4 weeks for the Finance Ministry to organise demob money for those who are leaving.

It is unclear if the new army will be all volunteers, or if the two sides can keep people in against their will. It is also unclear if two weeks will be enough time for the two sides to select people for the new army.

The schedule is based on the experience of demobilising 13,765 government soldiers (including only 106 women) who had formally been removed from the army before the peace accord, but who were still in government army bases. Registration began on 16 April; transport home began on 14 May and was nearly complete in mid-July.

Half the soldiers had wives and/or children, and a total of 24,235 dependents were also sent home. About half the demobilised soldiers went to places near enough to their bases that they could take public ground transport; one quarter required lorries or cars supplied by the UN and one quarter were flown home.

New army

In early August, the two sides made two important steps. Each side sent 50 officers to Nyanga in Zimbabwe for training by the British as trainers for the new army. Frelimo had been ready, but Renamo refused.

British ambassador Richard Edis said that Britain

mid-July, saying Britain could not provide a full training course after that.

Meanwhile, both sides turned in their first lists of men and weaponry, which had been due 15 October. The government long ago said it was ready but would only turn in a list when Renamo did. Finally the UN set the end of July as the deadline, threatening to raise the issue publicly. Both sides complied on 31 July.

Under the most recent ONUMOZ timetable -- its 17th -- assembly should have begun in July and been completed in September, when all weapons would be under UN control and demobilisation would start. Half of troops would be demobilised by December and all by February. The first 5000 soldiers for the new army would begin training in November and would start to graduate in December.

Little demining

Despite the urgency officially attached by all sides to mine clearance, the process is blocked in the demining subcommittee of the CCF.

Money is available and 4000 km of priority roads in three central provinces have been identified. But Renamo has failed to appoint a permanent team to the demining subcommittee, so nothing can be authorised. "Renamo has not taken on board the importance of demining," said one UN official.

"Both sides are very suspicious of opening up roads that link Renamo and government areas," the UN man said. "Mines are silent soldiers and each side wants to leave its own mines in place."

For example it was proposed to open a road from the government-controlled town of Caia to a Renamo area only 5 km away. Renamo refused, insisting instead on opening the road to the Renamo-controlled town of Inhaminga, 50 km away.

Meanwhile the UN is insisting on linking demining to demobilisation -- because teams are supposed to train equal numbers of ex-combatants -- which cannot happen until demobilisation begins. The government has said it will allow the hiring of demobbed soldiers without any formal nomination system, so training could start now. But Renamo will not agree.

Only two pilot projects have begun. Since February four teams hired by Lonrho have been clearing mines on roads around Inhaminga, probably the largest town held by Renamo. About 200 km of road have been opened. The project does no training.

At the urging of the UN, Norway rushed a team of seven mine clearance specialists with experience in Cambodia to Tete in early June so that an urgent training programme could begin. Then the mine clearance subcommittee did not meet, so no action could be authorised. After a month of sitting in hotel rooms, the team quietly employed civilian ex-combatants and began training without formal authorisation. Training takes about a month.

At a local level in Zambezia province a plan for clearing 2000 km of roads has been agreed, but this was not accepted by Renamo at national level.

training, but the government says it does not want this to delay mine clearance and will approve local plans even without an agreed national plan.

A total of 1500 Mozambicans will be trained to clear mines, and most should be removed or at least marked and fenced in three years. In Manica and western Tete province, where there are mines from several wars, the process will take much longer.

Accusations

The government reports that it has more weapons than soldiers, while Renamo says it has more people than guns. The government claims that this is because Renamo will cache new weapons and only bring old ones into assembly points. Combined with a demand for new uniforms before demob, this is preparation to go back to war, government argues.

The government also claims that Renamo is still receiving frequent supply flights, especially in Zambezia province, and that South Africans are still training Renamo soldiers in Kenya.

It also accuses the South African Foreign Ministry of playing a double game -- telling Frelimo it is pressing Renamo to talk, while actually telling Renamo to hold out for more.

Meanwhile, Renamo accuses Frelimo attacking a Renamo base in Mongole, Gaza, and of moving thousands of soldiers into the police.

In brief

- All of the UN troops have now arrived and are deployed. In mid-July there were 6222 armed soldiers and 294 unarmed monitors, from 21 countries: Bangladesh 1439, Italy 1036, India 938, Zambia 868, Uruguay 865, Botswana 766, Portugal 284, Japan 53, Argentina 48, Brazil 23, Czech 20, Egypt 20, Guine Bissau 20, Malaysia 20, Russia 20, Spain 20, Sweden 19, Hungary 18, Cape Verde 15, Canada 14 and China 10.

- Confusion remains about the status of Renamo child soldiers. In some areas, such as Nampula, the International Committee for the Red Cross and several NGOs had been quietly helping to take children home. In other areas, such as Inhambane, Renamo has been trying to locate home villages and return children. But it appears that significant numbers of children are still with Renamo, which could delay demobilisation as Renamo asserts that it has no child soldiers.

- Renamo said that its negotiators could not come to Maputo without proper uniforms. These were eventually donated by South Africa, which flew them to Maringue. A Renamo team of 80 then came to Maputo and moved into the Lonrho-owned Cardoso Hotel, which now flies the Renamo flag.

- The trust fund for Renamo now has \$6 million, with \$4 million expected. The first \$390,000 was spent without any budgetary controls, leading to complaints that Renamo delegates were spending the money on 15-year-old whiskey in the Hotel Cardoso. The UN and

Nacala corridor on 9 June, there are now no non-UN foreign troops in Mozambique.

Calendar

JUNE

- 4 - After three month boycott by Renamo, Supervision and Control Commission (CSC) and Cease-Fire Commission (CCF) hold first sessions in Maputo, just days before donors conference starts.
- 5 - Minister of Culture says 76% of population do not speak Portuguese and urges translation of all materials to do with coming elections
- 6 - Italian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carmello Azzara, visits Mozambique
- 7 - Renamo denies government allegations of creating 3 new bases in Gorongosa in central Mozambique
- 8-9 - Donor conference in Maputo; follow up to Dec Rome fund-raising conference. Two conferences raise US\$ 520 mn for humanitarian aid in the transition. Donors warn peace process must speed up, or their support will be withdrawn.
- 9 - Malawian troops protecting Nacala transport corridor during the war go home, and are replaced by ONUMOZ troops from Bangladesh.
- 11 - ONUMOZ soldier from Zambia died of illness.
- 11 - First Reintegration Commission (CORE) meeting.
- 18 - Members of Sofala provincial parliament complain security in Beira Corridor worse since Italian troops took over from Zimbabwean troops in April.
- 21 - Two peace accord commissions, COMINPOL and COMINFO, to monitor the police and state security services, established by President Chissano.
- 21 - FUMO expelled from 'Group of 12' non-armed opposition parties
- 23 - US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose visits Mozambique for first time and meets Chissano and Dhlakama.
- 24 - Three civilians including a member of the national parliament, Aurelio Manhica, detained by Renamo at Salamanga, for "illegal hunting in Renamo areas".
- 30 - Government offers office space to first three legally registered, non-armed opposition parties - rejected by them as costly and inadequate.

JULY

- 2 - New party, Pacode, formed from split in PCN, when founding PCN member Vasco Campira condemned PCN visits to Renamo
- 2 - Attempt to free Salamanga prisoners, approved by Renamo Secretary General, Vicente Ululu, fails on counter orders from Maringue
- 2 - Several hundred young men come to Renamo office in Maputo, claim they are firewood cutters from Matsequenha (near a large Renamo base on border with South Africa) saying Renamo has taken their government-issued licences away.
- 5 - Indian member of ONUMOZ, Sunil Kuma, dies in Machava suburb of Maputo, officially "killed by a train"; locals say killed by robbers.
- 6 - 80 Renamo representatives to commissions arrive

- territorial administration is resolved; demands Renamo should have some provincial governors.
- 9 - UN Security Council urges elections not later than October 1994; US Ambassador to UN says funding beyond that date would be difficult.
 - 12 - Government announces subsidy of 100 million meticaís (c. US\$ 25,000) each, for running costs of legally-registered, non-armed political parties.
 - 14 - Dhlakama, in northern Nampula Province, admits he is out on election campaign "since President Chissano has already started his campaigning." Dhlakama says he will ask Chissano for Renamo posts in Interior Ministry and police command.
 - 19 - Renamo detains 17 wood-cutters at in Sofala province for "illegal woodcutting in Renamo area".
 - 21 - South African Foreign Ministry head of African Affairs Derek Auret visits Dhlakama at Renamo base of Lurio, Nampula; plane damaged and ONUMOZ sends plane to bring Auret to Maputo.
 - 22 - CFC hears Renamo complaint that government troops attacked three of its bases in Tete.
 - 23 - UN Special Envoy Aldo Ajello visits Dhlakama in Maringue, but says he won't go back there before Dhlakama comes to Maputo, to meet Chissano.
 - 29 - Multi-Party Conference to debate new electoral law opens in Maputo. Breaks down when Renamo refuse to discuss government's draft law.
 - 30 - Renamo apologises for break-down in election talks, on order from Maringue.
 - 30 - Ajello strongly condemns Government for attack on Renamo positions in Tete.
 - 31 - Government and Renamo military hand list of men and weapons to UN chair of the CCF.
 - 31 - CCF chair rules Renamo illegally occupied Salamanga state farm after the cease-fire began, and violated the rights of prisoners held there. The matter was sent to the CSC.

AUGUST

- 1 - Renamo ends National Council meeting in Maringue, giving Dhlakama the "mandate to reject any step in the peace process which does not provide for division of territorial administration in the country"; says Renamo must be given five of 11 provincial governor posts before it demobilises its troops.
- 2 - Multi-Party Conference on electoral law resumes.
- 2 - CSC observer countries back Ajello condemnation of use of force; call urgent CSC meeting.
- 3 - 50 Renamo soldiers go to British army training camp at Nyanga, Zimbabwe, joining 50 government soldiers to start training as instructors for joint army
- 3 - Dhlakama says the five Governors they want need not be Renamo but may be neutral people.
- 3 - CSC meets; both Government and Renamo renounce use of force.
- 4 - Renamo statement by Political Affairs Chief Raul Domingos, says government attacked Renamo base in Mongole, Gaza; threatens to "attack a strategic target which will destroy Frelimo."
- 5 - Ajello says a Renamo revenge attack would destroy, not Frelimo, but peace in Mozambique.