

# Mozambique peace process bulletin



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## **Vital Peace Accord Committees not working yet**

The success of Mozambique's peace process will only be judged when democratic, general elections have been held, and if the results are respected.

Progress towards elections is still characterised by mistrust between Frelimo and Renamo, and foot-dragging as both sides hang back on commitments made under the peace accord.

By March, four of the eight committees planned to implement peace were still not established, including 'Compol' and 'Cominfo' to monitor the police and secret services, the national elections committee and a committee to liaise between government and Renamo administrations.

Head of the United Nations' peace keeping mission 'Onuzo', Aldo Ajello, suggested the earliest possible election date be postponed from October 1993 to June 1994, and anyway till at least a year after the election committee starts work.

While Frelimo tried to hold on to the status quo, Renamo worked hard to add a political structure to its military movement and start campaigning. Opposition parties reviewed their strategy.

## **Renamo plays for time and money**

Renamo says its participation in the peace committees is still delayed by logistical problems like shortage of housing for its members in the capital.

The government has given 10 houses and flats to Renamo, who are asking for another 15, including a 'suitably' grand and secure house for

their president, Afonso Dlakama. The Italian government is paying rent and food for Renamo leaders in Maputo and the British put up \$28,000 for office equipment. Analysts say Renamo is out for all the material benefits it can get before Dlakama comes to Maputo, while government begrudges every new concession (or house) it hands over.

Renamo general secretary, Vicente Ululu, unofficially added another condition: that Mozambican soldiers on both sides must be disarmed and UN troops in full control, before the remaining peace committees can function.

Renamo seems to be playing for time and money. Earlier this year, Dlakama visited Geneva and Britain, where he slated the international community for neglecting him and threatened ugly consequences, similar to Angola, if they didn't cough up.

He especially criticised Portugal, which he hoped would give him more support. Inside the country, Dlakama kept a low profile. Commentators said either he was afraid to lose face by coming to Maputo, where the rest of his outfit goes almost ignored, or, that his men in the capital were happy doing business without him.

Renamo's stronghold is in central, Sofala Province. Here, they held their first ever public rally in government-held territory, in the nation's second city of Beira, February 28.

The rally was well attended and peaceful — only one man with a gun was arrested. Ajello said the event was encouraging and he was "positively

impressed by the democratic maturity of the region".

Elsewhere Renamo appointed political 'co-ordinators', to "explain to people that Renamo fought against Frelimo, not against them, and Renamo fought for democracy". Renamo claims to have 14,000 signed up members in Beira.

Governor of Sofala Province, Francisco Masquil, said in February co-operation with Renamo was good, and the main problem was that Renamo exacts a tax from businessmen entering their zones.

Diplomatic sources say Renamo is trying to resolve some financial problems by selling concessions to foreign businesses. Since they run no industry, this could only be for land or mineral exploitation. In Sofala, Renamo is negotiating with timber companies.

The diplomats add, in a county as poor as Mozambique with no substantial private sector, it's hard to see many alternatives for Renamo to fund-raise, unless through manipulating aid money.

## **Territorial control a tricky issue**

The issue of territorial control remains an unexplored cavern of potential problems. Ambiguously, the peace accord gives Renamo the right to administer areas they controlled on October 4th, but they must obey existing state law.

In contrast to the free movement and expression it claims to defend, Renamo is restricting access to these areas. Government officials are banned, other political parties and even aid workers say they've been denied entry, and journalists are only allowed to talk with civilians under Renamo's supervision.

When questioned, Renamo responds that these freedoms can only be allowed when all the troops are disarmed.

Tension is high in Mozambique's most populous provinces, of Zambezia and Nampula in the north. The UNHCR reports in some areas government and Renamo officials won't speak to each other and Renamo is blocking all access to land they control.

Another threat to political stability comes from increasingly militant war veterans and from uncontrolled armed groups like the popular 'Naparama' army. War veterans hi-jacked a food convoy in February and threatened more trouble if they didn't get pensions. 'Naparamas' are demanding they should be demobilised and paid, alongside regular soldiers.

## **Opposition alliance**

In early March, 'PPPM' (Mozambican People's Progress Party) was registered by the Ministry of Justice, bringing to six the number of legalised political parties in Mozambique, including Frelimo, but not Renamo which hasn't registered yet.

The other parties are 'Monamo' (Mozambican Nationalist Movement), led by a lawyer back from exile in Portugal, Maximo Dias; 'Fumo' (Mozambican United Front) led by Mozambique's first black lawyer and former exile, Domingos Arouca, 'Unamo' (Mozambican National Union) and 'PCN', ('National Convention Party').

PCN seems to have the best rating with Western diplomats and local intellectuals, who see it as favouring liberalism and respect for human rights. Its collegiate leadership are educated individuals with success in the private sector, and a history of dissidence from Frelimo and political imprisonment.

PCN says the opposition (including Renamo) should join forces to oust Frelimo and, in February, called for a single opposition candidate for the presidential elections (due the same time as legislative elections).

Monamo leader Dias backed the coalition idea. (Local opinion says Dias, of Asian descent, has no chance to be president).

But Arouca (who claims Christian Democrat support in the West) said he won't consider coalition until after elections.

Arouca caused an uproar in the opposition, when he said Dlakama wasn't fit to be president. His remarks were taken as intellectual arrogance against an ill-educated bush war leader.

One western diplomat called the opposition's reaction a sign of political immaturity.

The opposition parties are further hampered by lack of funds, office buildings and media outlets. They argue that the state and pro-democracy Western governments should give them more help.

But for most Western governments, direct funding to foreign political parties is not an acceptable option. One possible alternative is creating a 'democracy fund', to be managed by the United Nations.

## **Peace depends on food aid**

Even before Mozambique's peace accord was signed, aid workers warned success would depend on getting food and other 'survival items' to feed soldiers, during demobilisation, and to thousands of starving people hit by war and recent drought. Rains were heavy in many parts of the country this

year, but the crop prediction is still below average, expected to fulfill only 60% — 70% of local needs.

Ex-soldiers, war-displaced people and returning refugees will depend on food aid at least for the rest of this year. Meanwhile people left out of aid distribution are causing serious trouble, through armed attack on aid convoys.

In the context of Mozambique's poverty and extreme dependence on foreign aid, it is increasingly evident that both government and Renamo see access to aid as a coveted political asset.

## Refugees will walk home

According to the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation, the maize crop will be below average this year due to irregular rainfall, lack of seeds, and army worm attack in the south. But improved security means people have opened new fields, and the north could see surplus production.

From October up to 1st February (planting season) some 170,000 Mozambican refugees came back from neighbouring countries, particularly Malawi. That leaves around 1.8 million refugees still outside who are unlikely to move before next season (around September).

UNHCR programme officer in Mozambique, Catherine Huck, says most movement is from Malawi into northern Tete Province, where the border crossing is easy and conditions comparatively safe. Refugees say most families are sending one member in advance, to rebuild their house and start farming. The rest of the family will follow if the harvest comes in safely and no-one steals it.

Refugees are also moving back into Niassa, Nampula and Zambezia, but here conditions are less certain. The border areas have almost no infrastructure, like water supply or health centers, while many districts are heavily mined. Huck says some returnees to Niassa find so little there, they have turned tail and gone back to the better supplied refugee camps in Malawi.

The UNHCR has still not decided how to assist returnees, but given the high numbers of people and scarce resources, it plans to avoid transit camps, and concentrate on building social infrastructure inside Mozambique. Returnees may get a travel grant in the country of refuge, but most will have to find their own transport.

After the Angola experience, warns Huck, donors are not likely to assist repatriation until after elections in Mozambique.

By that time most refugees may have come back

on their own.

## Aid is a political tool

Director of the UN's 'World Food Programme' agency in Maputo, Philip Clarke, said in March that food aid pledged by donors last May was still coming into the country, and was enough to meet donors' commitments. Food to feed troops at assembly points had not arrived, but Clarke said he could 'borrow' it from stocks.

Indeed some UN staff said more than enough food was being distributed, at the expense of items like seeds and tools, needed to secure good crops in future.

Aid to and through Renamo held zones, to previously isolated people is co-ordinated under the UN's 'Humanitarian Aid Committee' (Unohac), with almost 9,000 tonnes of food and other aid reaching Renamo held zones, from October to 4th February.

Thus free food appears to be one reward of peace, for Renamo, from foreign governments and donors who snubbed the guerrilla group before, on grounds of its brutal, terrorist reputation.

By the time of the peace accord, the civil war had basically degenerated into armed attacks and robbery, especially of food, against civilians.

Aid workers now say civilians in Renamo held zones are in the worst state of malnutrition. Despite free maize, they often lack salt, sugar, soap, clothing and medical supplies.

Afonso Dlakama is not happy with his share of the aid cake. Visiting Geneva early this year, he berated international donors for not giving him enough and said Frelimo was manipulating them.

The bulk of aid is still handled by institutions in government held zones, which are the site for almost all work to rehabilitate social infrastructure, like health centers and schools (which Renamo destroyed in the war).

UN officials say Dlakama's charge is untrue and they're doing their best to deliver aid to Renamo-held areas, even though aid officials are sometimes denied access. Other problems they face include congestion at the ports, bad weather and poor conditions on newly re-opened roads, and the danger of unexploded mines, even on roads declared clear.

For example, en route from Beira to the largest Renamo-occupied town of Inhaminga, WFP found some seven mines after the road was 'cleared'.

A staff member of British charity 'Oxfam' and Renamo's provincial representative were killed in Zambezia, when a mine blew up their car, accompanying an aid mission to one Renamo area.

Renamo general secretary, Vicente Ululu, suggests the mine was deliberately planted by government and claims this is just part of its strategy to stop aid reaching Renamo-held zones.

Clarke says Renamo has given wildly exaggerated population figures for areas it controls and WFP is now doing its own count. They expect to reduce food aid deliveries as a result.

Since the peace accord made travel easier, government officials say thousands of people have left Renamo zones looking for food relief.

UN officials and diplomats say privately that Renamo is keen to stockpile food, precisely to stop people leaving.

In the long run-up to general elections, it is clear that both government and Renamo want as many people on their side as possible. Maybe for the same reason, government officials are eager to repatriate refugees, even though UNHCR advises conditions are not ready.

## De-mining

Work to remove just the first handful of around two million unexploded mines thought to be hidden in Mozambique finally began in January.

After a long dispute between government and Renamo over control of demining, the EEC put up some US\$125,000, for a contract between the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Lonrho Multinational, initially for one month, to demine on seven priority roads for easing food aid distribution.

Lonrho subcontracted to the 'Gurkha security guards', which now hopes to win lucrative new work under the United Nations' 'national demining plan'.

'Onumuz' has identified 28 roads for clearance with a total extension of 2150 kilometers, as a priority for channeling humanitarian aid, for access to military assembly points and for refugees repatriation. The cost of implementing the plan is estimated at at least US\$30 million.

In February, the governments of the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden made a joint, seven million dollar contribution to finance the first phase of the programme.

Norway's contribution includes training for Mozambican staff to clear mines from rural roads in Tete and Zambezia Province, to allow refugees a safe passage home.

*Rachel Waterhouse*

## Political advances compromised by military delay

Advances in the political aspects of Mozambique's peace process have seemed a little irrelevant, given the serious delays in its military component, namely the non-arrival of international military contingents and the fact that assembling and disarming of both government and Renamo troops has not yet started.

The arrival on 4th March of some 200 Italian soldiers of the 1800 soldiers due to carry out peace-keeping operations in central Mozambique, however, injected a new dynamic to the process and cooled down the rising criticisms.

Excluding the Italian contingent, 'Onumuz' currently has 184 unarmed military observers and a small amount of logistical equipment (vehicles) transferred from Angola.

The delay in assembling and disarming the troops is partly due to the fact that there are not enough 'blue caps' on Mozambican land, to guarantee and guide the process, yet, and partly to disagreement between government, Renamo and 'Onumuz' over most of the 49 sites which the latter two chose as assembly points.

Aldo Ajello says 12 assembly points have already been inspected and approved and that Onumuz officers are now inspecting another 12. At those already inspected, work is underway to put in infrastructure and logistical capacity, so they should be ready to open by the end of March.

"I think we may start the assembly of troops by the end of this month, even if on a small scale. But everything depends on the government and Renamo", said Aldo Ajello.

According to Ajello, the main problem facing the U.N. peace-keeping mission is the apparent "lack of mutual trust" between the government and Renamo. The two sides tread ever so carefully to make sure they don't do anything which might give the other side a possible military advantage.

One example of this is that most of the 49 assembly point sites chosen either by government or Renamo were apparently selected on military strategic grounds and not considering logistical suitability or accessibility.

"We rejected some of these places without even visiting them because we know they are still mined", said Ajello.

The solution has been to try and find alternative sites to the rejected ones, with greater involvement of 'Onumuz' officers, and taking into account access to the site, water supply and other such facilities.

The fact that thousands of both government and Renamo soldiers have been waiting a long time, still armed, but inactive and without a clear idea of what awaits them in the near future, has been the main cause of troubles lately afflicting the peace process.

Small groups of unidentified armed men have been carrying out terrorist activities in Maputo, Sofala, Zambezia and Nampula provinces during the last three weeks.

In Zambezie, the situation is made worse by the presence of a small third force, loyal to General Gimo Phiri, ex-president of the 'Mozambican National Union' (Unamo) which is now led by Carlos Reis. Phiri's force is estimated at 3,000 armed men, localised in a strip along the border with Malawi.

Mozambicans returning from refuge in Malawi and cited by the local press told that armed men stationed along the border were demanding payment (in Malawi kwacha) before allowing them back in. It is not clear whether these are opportunist groups or whether their action is premeditated and has a political aim. Apparently there is a territorial dispute between Phiri's forces and Renamo forces stationed near lake Chime, Mongue and Molumbo, in Milange district, north of Zambezia province.

The situation seems to be worse on the government's side. Government soldiers in many parts of the country continue to cause trouble, demanding payment of their late wages and an increase in pay. Recently demobilised soldiers have been going back to join active ones, to claim their unpaid wages, pensions and other benefits.

In the context of demobilisation to be carried out by the United Nations, government promises to pay indemnities (six months salary, civilian clothes and a ticket home to the soldiers place of origin), benefits which were not offered to soldiers demobilised before the General Peace Accord. Aldo Ajello says he raised the question of disturbances caused by active and demobilised government soldiers and war veterans with the government, which promised to "take measures to contain the situation".

This situation could change when the 're-integration committee' ('CORE') and 'committee for formation of the Mozambican armed defence forces' (the new, joint national army), which have both been set up but are not yet working, start to function. The first committee can only start its real work when the troops of both sides start to be assembled and demobilised, while the second depends on conclusion by Britain, France and Portugal of a plan for training the new national

army, and its acceptance by the two sides, as agreed under the peace accord.

The Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation, Brios e Gala, announced in Maputo on March 5th that the three countries involved had already finalised a draft plan, which was only awaiting approval by the two sides.

The presence of some 7500 'blue caps' on Mozambican territory, expected by the end of April, could improve confidence between the two sides at the same time as putting pressure for advance on the military side of the peace process.

*Gil Lauriciano*

## **Renamo suspends participation in peace commission**

The Mozambican peace process suffered a major setback early this month when Renamo boycotted meetings of the Supervisory and Control Commission, CSC, the body in charge of enforcing the October peace agreement.

Maputo-based officials of Renamo (the Mozambique National Resistance Movement) suddenly informed the commission that they will not take part in investigations of the Frelimo government's claims of rebel ceasefire violations.

The government has noted six point concerning 13 separate incidents in which it says Renamo violated the ceasefire agreement.

Renamo had agreed to the meetings in February when the United Nations officials on the ceasefire commission drew up a plan for investigating such cases. Now Renamo officials refuse to cooperate, arguing that government claims are not substantiated and the notifications were written "in an incorrect form."

Their position makes it impossible to mount a meaningful probe because the investigation team must consist of representatives of the UN, the government and Renamo.

The commission protested Renamo's refusal to join the investigation team, saying such action violates the peace accord. It is up to the team to substantiate or disprove allegations of ceasefire violations. Some of ceasefire violations alleged by the government are said to be extremely serious. They include the infiltration of a fresh battalion of troops from Malawi, the seizure of areas in northern Mozambique and allegations of training Zimbabwean dissidents in the Gorongosa district.

## .... despite Ajello's efforts

The matter was referred to the Supervisory Commission chaired by Aldo Ajello, UN special representative in Mozambique.

Ajello called for a March 6 meeting, but Renamo's chief negotiator Raul Domingos refused to attend. The meeting was rescheduled for March 9, but Domingos maintained the boycott and left Maputo for the Renamo headquarters in the central district of Maringue.

Domingos said there was no proper agenda and the government's allegations were not serious enough to require a meeting. He further argued that Ajello did not have the power to call meetings on his own without consulting both Renamo and the government.

Ajello responded by saying Domingos had approved the supervisory commission's standing orders which allow the chair to convene meetings at any time, provided the parties had two days' notice.

But Renamo stood its ground -- this time on the issue of food. They said the government has an obligation to feed them and is not doing so. They claimed that Renamo officials in Maputo were going hungry and cannot attend meetings on an empty stomach. "I have had to buy food with money out of my own pocket," said Domingos.

At a press conference in Maringue on March 10, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama confirmed that he had ordered the boycott of the meetings of the peace commissions until the government fed his party officials. "They can't go to meetings without eating anything," he declared.

## State assistance to Renamo

The October peace accord does not make it clear who will feed whom during the transitional period. But Renamo seems to feel entitled to state assistance under a vague clause in the agreement.

That clause states that the state "undertakes to facilitate Renamo in obtaining installations and resources aimed at enabling accommodation, movement and communications for developing its political activity in all the country's provincial capitals, and in other places where possible, in accordance with current availabilities."

The government is surprised by this latest demand from Renamo as it has supplied the organisation with food, transport, fuel, furniture and other services for the past five months. From October to February, over 920 million Meticais (US\$307,00) has been spent on Renamo's needs,

says a government spokesperson.

More specifically, the government claims to have spent 150,7 million Meticais (US\$50,288) on food, drink and toiletries; over 22 million Meticais (US\$7,341) on fuel; 61,9 million Meticais (US\$20,656) on transport (car hire); 222,7 million Meticais (US\$74,314) on domestic air travel; and 450 million Meticais (US\$150,163) on furnishing the houses occupied by 18 Renamo officials.

This means each Renamo official received almost 56,000 meticaïs (US\$18,7) worth of food, drink and toiletries per day. The national minimum wage is 58,800 meticaïs (US\$19,6) per month.

It is not possible to use that kind of money on food a day in Mozambique unless the Renamo officials are entertaining.

## Italian efforts to bring Renamo back

The entire peace process is at a standstill. All major steps in implementing the peace accord must be approved by the CSC. That commission must give the go-ahead for the disarming and demobilisation of fighters on both sides.

The commission works by seeking consensus between the government and Renamo. If either side stages a boycott -- a possibility for which the peace accord makes no provision -- the whole process could unravel.

There are frantic efforts to get Renamo back to talks. The Italian government says it is prepared to give Renamo US\$65,000 for its expenses in March. In addition, Renamo officials in Maputo will receive eight cars and several computers, typewriters and fax machines from Rome.

Other donors are being invited to make similar offers. It remains to be seen whether this will help bring Renamo back to the meetings.

*Africa Information Afrique, AIA*

## Moçambique: a transição difícil

Parece haver razões para um certo optimismo quanto a forma como tem decorrido o possível desfecho do processo de pacificação de Moçambique depois de cerca de 17 anos de guerra civil:

Mesmo com os esforços evidentes por parte da Renamo em passar de um movimento de guerrilha para partido político, não se vislumbra uma Renamo que acredita e aposta em conquistar poder político em Moçambique.

A sua estrutura militar apresenta-se sensível e tal e qual como o exército governamental o que pode desencorajar as duas partes de facilmente optar pelo regresso ao conflito armado.

Mesmo com os demasiados atrasos por parte das Nações Unidas, que supervisionam o acordo geral de paz no país, na colocação dos seus observadores e "capacetes azuis", as duas partes conseguiram manter a paz no país e a mensagem de reconciliação parece ter ido mais longe do que o esperado.

A pacificação em Moçambique tem sido de baixo para cima. É nas aldeias onde populações, pequenas unidades militares do governo e da Renamo confraternizam (jogos de futebol, sessões culturais e troca de alimentos), contrariando a aparente desconfiança a nível do topo.

Entretanto, o sucesso do processo de paz em Moçambique só poderá ser julgado quando as eleições gerais forem realizadas e os seus resultados aceites pelos contendores.

O representante especial do Secretário-Geral das Nações Unidas, Aldo Ajello sugeriu que a data mais próxima possível para a realização de eleições é junho de 1994 em vez de outubro de 1993 previsto nos acordos.

Apenas a Comissão de Supervisão e Controlo (CSC) e a Comissão de Cessar-Fogo (CCF) funcionam. A Renamo diz que a sua participação nas restantes comissões é atrasada por problemas de natureza logística como a falta de casas para os seus membros que virão a Maputo.

O governo já disponibilizou 10 casas e apartamentos para membros da Renamo, mas esta diz precisar de mais 15 casas, incluindo uma ampla vivenda para o seu presidente, Afonso Dlakama.

No mês passado, Dlakama visitou Genebra e reclamou maior apoio da comunidade internacional ao seu movimento, dando certa substância a observação de que a Renamo parece estar a tentar ganhar tempo e benefícios materiais.

A questão territorial é outra "pedrinha" nos sapatos do processo de paz Moçambicano. Ambigualmente, o acordo geral de paz assinado a 4 de outubro dá a Renamo o direito de administrar as áreas que antes dessa data estavam sob o seu controlo mas também a obrigação de respeitar as leis vigentes no país.

Contrariamente as liberdades de movimento e de expressão que diz defender a Renamo o acesso a estas áreas, incluindo do pessoal das Nações Unidas continua sob fortes restrições.

As tensões são mais visíveis nas províncias de Zambézia e Nampula, no norte do país, onde vive cerca de dois terços dos cerca de 15,6 milhões de habitantes do país. O Alto Comissariado das

Nações Unidas diz que em algumas áreas, oficiais dos dois lados não se falam e a Renamo bloqueou o acesso as áreas que controla.

Uma outra ameaça ao processo de paz são os distúrbios protagonizados pelos chamados "antigos combatentes" e soldados governamentais que reclamam salários em atraso e pensões em várias regiões do país.

A distribuição de produtos de emergência parece ter um papel importante para a manutenção da paz no país enquanto as duas forças não forem acantonadas e desarmadas. Grupos de soldados dos dois lados continuam a interceptar viaturas ao longo das estradas pedindo dinheiro e comida.

As fortes chuvas que vem caindo em quase todo o país, deixaram para trás a seca, mas as previsões das colheitas indicam que apenas cobrirão entre 60 e 70 por cento das necessidades alimentares no país.

A questão está entre os principais pontos da agenda das Nações Unidas em Moçambique. Este mês foram iniciados os trabalhos de desminagem de cerca de 28 estradas para permitir a canalização de viveres, via terrestre, para áreas do interior do país, em particular na zona centro, onde milhares de civis que viveram sob controlo da Renamo estão desprovidas do mínimo para a sobrevivência.

Oficiais das Nações Unidas acreditam que quantidades suficientes de comida foram distribuídas em todo o país, até certo ponto em detrimento de utensílios agrícolas e sementes.

Os mesmos oficiais consideram que as alegações do presidente da Renamo, Afonso Dlakama, de que pouco apoio tem sido canalizado para as populações sob seu controlo não constituem a verdade, mesmo tomando em conta que em algumas ocasiões a Renamo não permite o acesso às suas áreas.

Desde outubro já foram distribuídas 9000 toneladas de viveres nas zonas controladas pela Renamo.

Desde a assinatura do acordo em outubro até dia 1 de fevereiro cerca de 170 mil refugiados Moçambicanos tinham regressado dos países vizinhos, particularmente Malawi. Cerca de 1.8 milhões de refugiados ainda não regressaram e parece pouco provável que regressem antes da próxima campanha agrícola (inicia em setembro).

O Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados diz que ainda não decidiu como prestar apoio aos regressados, mas dado o elevado número destes e escassez de recursos, o ACNUR planeia concentrar a sua actividade na construção de infraestruturas nas áreas para onde regressam os refugiados.

Depois do que aconteceu em Angola, os

doadores não parecem encorajados a financiar um repatriamento massivo de refugiados até que se realizem as eleições e os seus resultados sejam respeitados.

O número de partidos políticos registados no Ministério da Justiça subiu para três, nomeadamente a "União Nacional Moçambicana (Unamo)", o "Partido do Progresso do Povo Moçambicano (PPPM)" e o "Movimento Nacionalista Moçambicano (Monamo)".

A "Frente Unida de Moçambique (Fumo)", liderada pelo recém regressado do exílio em Portugal, o advogado Domingos Arouca e o Monamo, do jurista Máximo Dias, também exilado em Portugal, parecem disputar entre si a popularidade no seio dos jovens tecnocratas e massa intelectual marginalizada pelo actual poder, em particular na zona sul do país.

## Calendar

- 05 Jan Renamo reported by Beira press to be demanding tributes from timber companies.
- 12 Jan Dlakama on Portuguese TV claimed that government had recruited 15,000 soldiers and 3,000 security officers into the public police, making it an enemy force to Renamo like the government's 'Ninja' force in Angola. "If Renamo was not more patient than (Angola's rebels) Unita, Mozambique would be back at war by now", warned Dlakama.
- 13 Jan Dlakama promised UN representatives he would send his delegates to 'Compol' and 'Cominfo' "immediately".  
In Zambezia Province, (center) government soldiers looted food aid from government warehouses and vehicles.  
In Manica Province (south), government forces accused Renamo of occupying their military position at Mocumbezi.
- 14 Jan 'Aim' reported that WFP provided Mozambique with 281,000 tonnes of food aid for the crop year May 1992 — April 1993, covering 66% of needs for 3.1 million people estimated to need food relief.
- 15 Jan Renamo formally inaugurates its 'provisional' political headquarters in Maputo.
- 20 Jan Opposition parties 'Fumo' and 'Monamo' are legally registered with Ministry of Justice.  
Government soldiers in Nampula steal 40

tonnes of food aid.

- 23 Jan CSC accepts UN proposal to 4-phase opening of assembly points, with the idea that fighters would start moving to them before all UN troops reach the country. Ajello said a two — three month delay in starting disarmament could cause "serious problems".  
By March this issue was still unsettled.
- 26 Jan Work starts on demining first of seven routes ICRC considers priority for its aid operations.
- Jan 1993 US State Department report on human rights blamed both government and Renamo for serious abuse against civilians, but blamed the great majority of killings of civilians on Renamo.
- Late Jan First 12 assembly points fully surveyed, but only 14 of expected 354 military observers for the APS had reached Mozambique. By March, there were nearly 200 unarmed UN observers, but UN troops had not arrived and APS were still not expected to open till at least April.
- 03 Feb War veterans hi-jack food aid convoy in Mopeia, Zambezia Province.  
Supporters of 'Udemo' (Mozambican Democratic Union), a group led by Renamo ex-second in command Gimo Phiri, reported to be obstructing refugees returning from Malawi, or demanding a bribe, in Malawi kwacha.
- 09 Feb 42 UN unarmed military observers arrive in Maputo.  
Mine kills 'Oxfam' worker and Renamo representative in Zambezia.
- 15 Feb Brazilian Major-General Lelio Gonçalves da Silva arrives to head military component of 'Onumoz'.
- 19 Feb Frelimo government accuses Renamo of occupying government buildings in Namitoria district of Nampula.
- 21 Feb Government's 'Radio Mozambique' in Zambezia accuse Renamo of training 3 battalions in Morrumbala District with intention to attack, and of infiltrating 700 soldiers trained in Kenya, via Malawi.
- 25 Feb Director of 'Unohac' Bernt Bernander said Mozambique will need some US\$710 million aid for the 1993 — '94 crop year, including US\$223.1 million emergency relief.
- 28 Feb Renamo holds first public rally, in Beira city.
- 01 Mar First contingent of 185 Italians arrive in Beira, as part of first armed, infantry

- battalion (total 1300 men) for the UN mission.
- 02 Mar Portugal will train 3 battalions of 'special forces' and a marines corps. The training is to take place in Nacala. Portugal also will help Mozambique to bring its military legislation into line with the pluralist politics of today.
- 04 Mar 180 Italian infantry troops arrive in Beira, the first lot of Italy's 1200 strong ONUMOZ battalion.
- 05 Mar Renamo has blocked action by the Ceasefire Commission CCF to investigate 6 complaints by the Government of violations of the peace agreement. The matter will go to the CSC.
- 06 Mar Ajello deplores Renamo's refusal to attend CSC meeting.
- 08 Mar At the UN, US\$140m is proposed as the ONUMOZ allocation for its first 9 months of operation. The original estimate for the total ONUMOZ operation (from 15.10.92 - 31.10.93) was US\$264m.
- 09 Mar CSC meeting cancelled because of Renamo's non-attendance. Instead Raul Domingos and other officials leave Maputo for Renamo headquarters in Maringue.
- 10 Mar According to a Defence Ministry source Renamo is training a 300 strong elite military unit in Kenya.
- 10 Mar Italy will cover Renamo's running cost for March, to the tune of US\$65,000, and supply vehicles and office equipment. Renamo is financed as a signatory to the Rome Peace Agreement, not as a political party.
- 11 Mar Two people are killed in an attack on a bus, 300 km south of Beira, by unidentified gunmen. The attackers reportedly said that "President Chissano should be told that they were annoyed because their wages had not been paid". This may imply that they are government soldiers.
- 12 Mar Aldo Ajello announces that a special fund will be established through which donors will provide Renamo with the resources needed for its Maputo operations. The government will then no longer need to pay for Renamo's expenses. From October to February the government paid US\$307,000.
- 12 Mar According to Ajello, by the end of April three ONUMOZ infantry battalions could be deployed in Mozambique. This is the minimum demanded by Renamo before they will be prepared to start disarming.
- 14 Mar Renamo opens its office in the city of Nacala, where it claims to have 5000 members. Another office will soon be opened in Angoche.
- 19 Mar Aldo Ajello announces that the first 100 soldiers of the new national army can start their training this month, at the Nyanga base in Zimbabwe. 50 soldiers from the government FAM and 50 from Renamo will be trained by British instructors to become instructors for the new 30,000 strong national army.