

# Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin

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**New date: 30 June**

## Local elections delayed 1 month

Municipal elections have been postponed until Tuesday 30 June, following problems with the registration, boycotts by Renamo, and complaints from small parties. The National Election Commission (CNE – Comissão Nacional de Eleições) decided on the postponement on 12 March, and it was agreed by President Chissano in a press conference 13 March.

The election will take place in 33 cities and towns, and had been scheduled for 29 May. Six parties, three coalitions, and six local citizens lists proposed to stand for the local elections by the CNE's original 26 February deadline. (See page 3)

Renamo declined to register.

The new deadline for registration of parties will probably be 29 March.

The three Renamo members of the CNE withdrew in January after they said that CNE president Leonardo Simbine had not taken their concerns seriously. (See page 7)

In a press conference on 17 March, Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama stressed his desire to participate in the local elections, and thus to prevent a return to the one-party Frelimo elections of the 1980s. He stressed that further concessions would be required, but it appears that Renamo's reduced demands can be met. (See page 2)

### 1.2 million register

The national registration process 10 November to 7 December enrolled 1.2 million new or transferred voters. Registration was greater than expected, and more than 90% of the adult population are probably now registered. But an estimated 79,000 voters in the 33 municipalities were left out. (See page 3)

The extra month will allow time for corrections. In April, the election technical secretariat (STAE – Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral) will send new brigades to the 33 municipalities to correct

### ***Dhlakama worried about 1999***

In an interview with the *Bulletin* (see page 5), Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama made clear that the Renamo withdrawal from the 1998 local elections was linked to his concerns about the 1999 national elections. That vote will be administered in the same way as the coming local elections, and Dhlakama demands a return to the system used in 1994.

"We want what we had in 1994 - a STAE with representatives of the parties and a CNE with powers to control STAE," the Renamo president said.

## ***Boycott response***

The response to the Renamo boycott from the international community was not sympathetic. Renamo had staged a boycott on the night before the 1994 national election, and there was concern that Renamo was establishing a pattern.

Diplomats are annoyed. One senior diplomat said "we made it clear to Renamo that we would not save them this time, as we did after their 1994 boycott." Another said: "We will not be held hostage by Renamo".

The widespread view was that the elections had been organised by a democratically elected parliament and government, that all parties had a chance to participate, and that it was Renamo's democratic choice not to.

Diplomats have met twice this year with Dhlakama and once in early March with Chissano, but there were no threats and no pressure. Diplomats have taken a much lower profile than in 1994; this time the resolution of the problem will be a Mozambican one and not an international one.

Nevertheless, diplomats are worried about what they will report home, and this was reflected by British High Commissioner, Bernard Everett, speaking for the EU ambassadors in Maputo: "Responsibility for decisions relating to the holding of elections in the country must remain with Mozambicans and their legally constituted institutions. The representatives in Maputo of the member states of the European Union are, however, concerned that elections in which a range of political opinion was not represented and in which electors did not have a choice of political options, would not be perceived internationally as contributing to the consolidation of democracy."

In effect, a Renamo boycott would be acceptable so long as enough parties and groups did participate.

President Joaquim Chissano picked up this line in his 13 March press conference, when he said that if only Frelimo was standing, then the test would be the turnout. In many countries only half the population votes. But "if you have only a tiny number of voters, the credibility of the election can be questioned." But if there was a large turnout, this would express the will of the people.

errors in the register

The extra time will also allow the small parties and citizens lists more space to compile their lists of candidates and collect the paper-work needed for registration.

Renamo has complained about irregularities and what it claims is fraud in the registration. This is widely rejected by the international community in Maputo. European Commission delegate Alvaro Neves da Silva said: "I have asked for evidence of fraud, but I have seen no evidence of significant fraud and no indication of intentional irregularities that can jeopardise the election." But in his press conference, Dhlakama said "Frelimo is fooling the international community".

Renamo and some of the small parties have demanded a totally new registration in the 33 cities and towns and a total restructuring of STAE and CNE. In his interview with the *Bulletin*, Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama suggested that the election be delayed until October to allow this.

Nevertheless, the detailed correction process planned in April should satisfy most of the parties.

## **Renamo participation likely**

Dhlakama is particularly hostile to STAE. "STAE is Frelimo; it is a party organ," he said on 17 March. "The recruitment criteria [for STAE staff] was simply political confidence. STAE will now fabricate irregularities and carry out electoral fraud."

He argued at the press conference that the errors were intentional, and that an organisation with such a party bias cannot be allowed to correct its own mistakes unwatched.

If Renamo is to participate in the elections, "we must participate in STAE and in the corrections." But he stressed that how this is to be done is subject to negotiation, which is a change from the longer term demand that STAE have party representatives. He clearly was not demanding that for the local elections: "we want to participate at local level, but we don't care what word is used - deputy director, monitor, or observer."

Renamo has had several meetings with the CNE and it seems likely that CNE will agree to some sort of provincial CNE offices to oversee the provincial STAEs.

Dhlakama also stressed that corrections overseen by Renamo and other parties would be acceptable, and that there was no longer a demand for a full new registration.

As there is time to make corrections, Renamo participation in the 30 June election now seems likely.

## 6 citizens lists to stand

Six local citizens lists (including 3 in Pemba), six parties, and three coalitions applied to the CNE by the original 26 February deadline. Of these, 12 were registered by CNE and four (marked NYR - not yet registered - in the list below) were required to produce further information. The extended deadline for groups to apply will probably be 29 March.

Only three existing parties applied:

- + Frelimo
- + Pademo (Democratic Party)
- + PT - Partido Trabalhista (Labour Party)

Three new parties applied:

- + PUN - Partido do Unidade Nacional (National Unity)
- + Verdes de Moçambique (Mozambique Greens)
- + ALIMO - Aliança Independente de Moçambique (Mozambique Independent Alliance)

Three coalitions applied:

- + APD - Aliança para a Democracia (Fumo, Monamo & PCN; Alliance for Democracy)
- + RUMO - Resistência para a Unidade de Moçambique (UDF, PPLM; Resistance for Mozambique Unity)

+ UD - União Democrática (Panamo, Panade, Palmo and perhaps others; Democratic Union; NYR)

Six citizens lists have applied:

- + DEONA - Organização dos Desempragados de Nampula (Nampula Unemployed Organisation)
- + OCINA - Organização dos Candidatos Independente de Nacala-Porto (Independent candidates of Nacala-Porto)
- + PRCM - Pemba - Renovação, Continuidade e Modernização (Pemba - renovation, continuity and modernisation)
- + Livres da Cidade de Pemba (Free people of the city of Pemba; NYR)
- + Associação Cidade de Pemba para a Ordem (Pemba city association for order; NYR)
- + Juntos pela Cidade (Together for the city; NYR; Maputo)

Of these, the UD is not yet registered because of confusion as to which parties will participate (the UD is the only group other than Frelimo and Renamo to be represented in parliament), the Maputo list for lack of a symbol, and the two Pemba lists for insufficient signatures.

## Registration higher than expected

More than 1.2 million people registered between 10 November to 7 December. This was the first of what are to be annual, nation-wide electoral roll updates, and this registration process was based on the 1994 registration books.

Nationally, 827,876 new voters registered - 50% above the number predicted. New registrations were expected to be mainly young people who had reached the age of 18 since 1994, but the very high turnout in border provinces suggests a large number of refugees only returned after the 1994 election. Tete, Niassa and Manica provinces all registered double the expected number.

In addition, 231,190 people transferred their registration because they had moved since 1994. In Maputo, 2553 more voters moved away than moved into the capital, while in neighbouring Matola 6593 more voters moved in than left.

Finally, 163,301 people with lost or damaged voters cards replaced their cards.

This was the first time that Mozambicans abroad could register; 1694 did so.

The total electoral role is now 7.2 million; this will include some who have died since 1994, since no attempt has been made yet to clean the list. Nevertheless, CNE estimates that this is more than 90% of the adult population.

The registration process involved 1770 brigades, and the work was monitored by 5507 party observers - 2183 from Renamo, 1727 from Frelimo, and the others from eight smaller parties and one coalition.

## 27% to vote in June

The registration covered the entire country, but the 30 June election will be only in 33 cities and towns. STAE says that 1.96 million electors live in these places, which means 27% of the total population can vote in June.

The largest cities, with more than 50,000 voters, are: Maputo 509,021; Beira 209,493; Matola 195,274; Nampula 149,460; Quelimane 93,514; Chimoio 80,759; Nacala-Porto 77,216; and Maxixe 50,661. The smallest place to have an election will be Metangula (Niassa) with only 4224 voters.

## Problems with 1994 books

It had never been intended that future elections should use the 1994 registration books. The forms that voters filled in in 1994 were sent to Maputo, where it was intended to use these as the raw data to computerise the register. In the event, no donor would pay and this was never done, which caused a series of problems.

The electoral law requires that after a person has voted, their name be ticked in the register. But the

1994 register only has space to tick for the 1994 election; also, STAE argued that although the register was a public document, that fact that someone had or had not voted was confidential.

So for those two reasons, it was deemed essential to copy, by hand, the 3760 register books for the 33 cities and towns. The opportunity was taken to split the books of 1000 voters into two books of 500 each, to speed the process on polling day.

For the most part, the copying was done before registration started, but it was done in such haste that a number of errors appeared.

There were also significant problems with the 1994 registration books. After the election, books were to be sent to provincial STAE to be archived, but STAE and the CNE ended immediately after the election and national STAE was only reinstated later. Thus 370 books (about 10%) could not be found and others had been damaged by rats or water and were incomplete.

STAE hoped to use the forms that had been sent to Maputo to reconstruct the lost books, but discovered that the forms had been badly stored, and many were lost or damaged.

In the end, most books were reconstructed, but 130 books remained missing and another 59 are incomplete. An estimated 79,235 voters are left off the electoral roll. This is about 4% of the total.

The missing books were quite widely distributed; Maputo and 11 other cities had a full set of books.

The worst place is Monapo, where an estimated 40% of the voters have been left out. Other cities with more than 10% of voters omitted are: Xai-Xai, Manjacaze, Inhambane, Moatize, Angoche, Ihla de Moçambique, Lichinga, and Cuamba.

## Rebuilding books

There is a record of the numbers of all missing and damaged books, and where the registration for those books took place. (Indeed, Renamo published the list in the independent weekly *Savana* on 13 March.) The registration number on the voters card starts with the registration book number, so it should be possible to locate the missing voters and register them.

During April teams will go out from STAE, with party observers, to the locations that were used for registration in 1994, and will visit houses in the neighbourhood to contact people with cards from the missing books. For example, registration book 807 compiled at the Pedreira primary school in Nampula is missing voters with numbers 251-999. So the team will go door to door to ask for cards with numbers starting 0807, and re-register the affected people.

It is widely felt that nearly everyone will be re-listed in this way. Party monitors with the teams will also help to locate missing voters.

## Other problems

The registration process itself also had a few problems which meant that in some areas people were turned away and had to come back to register again. The high turnout suggests that they did.

STAE had estimated that registration brigades would need to handle an average of up to 50 people a day. But a few registration brigades took this as a target and stopped work when they had processed 50 people in a day.

Registration stopped in a number of areas when brigades ran out of film for the cameras used to take pictures for the photo ID cards. This seems partly due to the temperatures in some places being higher than is normal for this film and damaging the film, and partly due to brigades using the film to take pictures of family and friends.

Finally, not all of the cars and other equipment were ready to start on 10 November.

## Everyone was slow

There have been a number of complaints about slowness on the part of CNE, STAE and the donors. For example, STAE has existed for three years and it has been clear that the 1994 registers would be needed, so some argue that STAE could have started much earlier to collect registers and find out what was missing, so that corrections could have been done in November 1997 rather than in April 1998.

However the process is dependent on donor funds, and most donors refused to put forward any money in advance, until the revised laws were all approved. With delays in donor procedures, money was not really available until September for a process that had to start in November.

This meant that certain procedures, including replacing for missing books and marking out the boundaries of the towns, had to be done after the census rather than before.

It also meant that there was insufficient time to repair the STAE cars, many of which were still available from the 1994 elections.

But CNE has also been slow in approving correction procedures and other important matters, while STAE might have done more even without money.

Renamo has been particularly critical of repeated slowness by the CNE and STAE in publicising the problem of the missing registration books, which was known from the middle of last year but not admitted publicly until November. Similarly, the list of missing books has been circulating internally for some time, but was only published for the first time on 13 March when Renamo published the list that had been given earlier to its CNE members.

# Dhlakama looks to 1999 and 1994

"We want local elections, but there are things which need to be resolved now for 1999," Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama told the *Bulletin* in an interview on 10 March, in explaining why Renamo initially decided to withdraw from municipal elections. He stressed that the structure now in place for local elections is that same as will be used for 1999 national elections, and that is unacceptable. "We don't want to face the same problem in 1999, so we have withdrawn now to try to prevent problems in 1999."

Dhlakama is particularly critical of STAE, the technical secretariat, which he claims is responsible for fraud and incompetence in the registration process, and which is pro-Frelimo. "The whole process is in the hands of Frelimo; STAE is Frelimo because the state apparatus is still Frelimo," he said.

When asked about Alberto Razul, the STAE deputy director, who was appointed to that post by Renamo in 1994 and has been kept in that position and who often serves as acting director, President Dhlakama was dismissive: "he is a state functionary who now has the confidence of Frelimo; he is of no help to us. And STAE has hundreds of people; one does not make a difference."

"Anyone who thinks STAE is independent has no head. And this is the same STAE we will have in 1999," he said. "We must resolve this now; we cannot have the same STAE next year."

"Last year [in parliament] we predicted this would happen. This is why we tried to tell Frelimo the law was no good. Last year if Frelimo had opened up STAE to our technicians, as we asked, I would have no complaint now, because people would say to me: 'your technicians are inside'," he said.

The Renamo President also argues that provincial STAEs are not subject to control by CNE because CNE only exists in Maputo and not in the provinces.

Thus he returns to demands made by Renamo and rejected by Frelimo in parliament when the electoral law was passed last year. "We want what we had in 1994 - a STAE with representatives of the parties and a CNE with powers to control STAE,"

He is particularly critical of CNE and STAE handling of the lost registration books, which he called "a game in bad taste" (*brincadeira de mau gosto*). He said CNE and STAE kept saying there were no problems and only admitted difficulties when Renamo publicised them. "And when we started to present our irregularities to the CNE, their spokesman began to lie about our position, so we had to withdraw," he said.

Dhlakama was particularly disappointed with his 9 March meeting with President Joaquim Chissano: "I though the President would bring solutions, but he did not. Frelimo failed to understand." In fact, this did not come until 13 March when Chissano said a one month delay was possible.

In discussing the boycott, Dhlakama told the *Bulletin* "we have already advised our sympathizers not to participate in the election. But we will not prohibit any who want to vote; anyone has the right and can vote."

"We are now a constructive opposition, but Frelimo is pushing us into the streets," Dhlakama warned. "If Frelimo does nothing [to change the election rules], it means dictatorship. Renamo could mobilise people to oppose the dictatorship of Frelimo. We don't want to, but as in Europe we will bring people into the streets. There would be widespread civil disobedience to bring down the government."

## Renamo fraud claims

Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama made two sets of specific claims to the *Bulletin*. He said that in Mocuba Frelimo brought in old Frelimo fighters "from 90 km away" to be registered while taking away registration cards from former Renamo fighters now integrated into the army and stationed at the local barracks.

Several diplomats told the *Bulletin* that a CNE team headed by Renamo member Francisco Marcelino (formerly Jose de Castro) had gone to Mocuba to investigate and had found no evidence of fraud. Dhlakama told the *Bulletin* that the team was investigating something else, and not his charges. The CNE has not yet published a report.

The Renamo president also said registration teams used GD (grupo dinamizador) buildings in Nampula and Nacala-Porto, and that as the GD is a Frelimo party body this is illegal. STAE officials flatly deny that GD buildings were used. This is clearly a claim which could be independently investigated.

## Fraud claims rejected

The international community has quite forcefully rejected Renamo's claims of fraud in the registration. It accepts there have been errors and irregularities. But one knowledgeable ambassador commented: "I have asked for evidence and wherever I have had the chance to look at the allegations, I concluded there was no problem. I can find no fire behind the smoke."

There have been irregularities but they do not benefit any party, and I have seen nothing to indicate significant fraud."

## Renamo leaves CNE

The three Renamo members of the CNE, Francisco Marcelino, João Almirante and Juliano Picardo suspended their participation on 29 January, although it is now expected that they will return.

The CNE continued to function because the body still had enough members to meet, as specified in the law.

In a letter to CNE president Leonardo Simbine they objected to the what they saw as the failure of the CNE to discuss problems with the electoral registration, and especially to the "arrogance" of CNE spokesman Carlos Manuel in telling the press on 23 January that no party had made formal protests to the CNE and that the CNE had no reason to redo the registration.

Renamo had made numerous formal protests to STAE at both provincial and national level. The three CNE members felt these were not being taken seriously, and they objected that Dr Manuel's comments were not based on a CNE decision.

The three Renamo men also complain that Dr Simbine never replied to their letter.

Juliano Picardo stressed that their withdrawal was not linked to the broader issue of redoing the registration, but to issues about the conduct of business within the CNE, which they felt marginalised the Renamo members.

He said the CNE only met once a week, which was not enough to get through the work, which meant that issues like the registration were not fully dealt with. It also made it impossible to properly supervise STAE.

Picardo also complained that CNE members had not been given a special CNE identity card as required by the CNE's own rules. And he argued that CNE members should be given cars and drivers, and should be given special protocol treatment such as the use of the VIP lounge in the airport.

But from his experience on the CNE, Picardo has made a much more fundamental criticism of the structures and argues for the need to change the law. He argues that the CNE must be full time and permanent; if people are expecting to return to the old jobs within a few days, they will retain old allegiances. For instance, three CNE members are officials in the Ministry of State Administration, while Picardo himself is a Renamo official. CNE only functions for short periods around elections, and this is not enough time for CNE to come together as a functioning and truly independent organ, he said.

Instead, people retain their old loyalties and defend

## Can we return to 1994?

The demand of Renamo to return to 1994 election procedures and to set up a larger, vastly more expensive election machine, has provoked substantial controversy.

The line taken by the government - and largely backed by donors - has been that the internationally backed peace process ended with the 1994 election and that Mozambique is now a democratic country with an elected government and parliament.

The international community recognises that there remains a serious lack of trust, especially by Renamo. Afonso Dhlakama told the *Bulletin*: "It takes time to change the state machinery and make it independent of government. Frelimo was in power for 22 years and four years is not enough time to change."

Nevertheless, diplomats are growing critical of what they see as Renamo's failure to move forward, and of it acting like it is still negotiating a peace settlement. They feel Dhlakama still feels that problems should be settled between the two leaders, as they were in 1992-94. Indeed, in his 17 March press conference, Dhlakama said that the present negotiations over returning to the electoral process "are negotiations like the ones in Rome" in 1992.

There is also a concern that Renamo still feels that it can call on diplomats to resolve difficulties, as it could when the international community was an unofficial guarantor of the peace process. But that era is over.

One senior diplomat said: "People join a party to fight elections; they don't join a political party that keeps boycotting elections. The real problem is that Renamo is still not a party, and that the democratic process in Mozambique has not yet produced an opposition that can present an alternative vision."

Nevertheless, some confidence building measures may be required to allow the 1999 elections to run smoothly.

party interests. "When we raise problems about the registration, the Frelimo members say 'Oh, it is just Renamo trying to create confusion'."

He feels CNE does not function well because of political tensions, and it takes time for people to learn to work together. "The CNE cannot simply disappear

between elections."

Picardo also calls for a return to the system of 1994. Then, he says, the CNE was the executive body, now STAE is the executive body and only reports to the CNE which has no real control.

## No foreign observers

"Social organisations" and "personalities of recognised competence, experience and prestige" who are "national and non-party" can be independent observers of the 29 May local elections. All observers nominated by social organisations must have Mozambican nationality.

The National Election Commission (CNE) approved the observation regulations on 20 January and announced them on 5 February. The regulation states that "electoral observation is an important activity to reinforce the objectivity and credibility of the electoral process."

Observers will be able to watch the campaign, the voting and the counting (which takes place in the polling station immediately after the polls close). They can enter polling station and ask for clarifications from election staff. They are free to communicate with parties, candidates, and civil society in general.

Observers are asked to transmit to electoral officials information on any "controversies" which they see, and to make a written report to the CNE on any "verified anomalies".

Organisations which want observer status must apply at least 15 days before the start of the electoral campaign - that is, applications must be made by the end of May. Each observer, whether acting as an individual or as part of a group, must have a personal credential issued by the CNE.

Observers are free to visit one or more polling stations, but there can be no more than five independent observers in a polling station at a time. Parties are each allowed one monitor in each polling station.

An observer who does anything to indicate party affiliation or support will lose their credential.

The restriction to Mozambican observers and the exclusion of foreign nationals is an explicit rejection of demands made by several embassies, notably the United States, that at least resident and NGO staff and diplomats be allowed to observe. The restriction is set out in articles 3 and 10 of the regulations. It underlines the desire that this should be a Mozambican-run, and not a donor-run, election.

But the US and some other embassies have rejected this, and now say that people with diplomatic passports are exempt from national laws, and thus diplomats (and their spouses) have the right to enter polling stations even without permission, and that they will do so. Negotiations with the CNE continue.

## Numbers of seats

For all cities and towns except Maputo, the number of seats in the local assembly is determined by the number of voters. For the 33 cities and towns, the numbers of seats are:

Maputo Cidade	59
Matola	43
Manhiça	13
Xai-Xai	31
Chibuto	17
Chókwè	17
Manjacaze	13
Inhambane	17
Maxixe	31
Vilanculos	13
Beira	44
Dondo	21
Marromeu	13
Chimoio	39
Manica	13
Catandica	13
Tete	31
Moatize	13
Quelimane	39
Mocuba	21
Guruè	17
Milange	13
Nampula	41
Nacala	39
Angoche	21
Monapo	21
Ilha de Moçambique	17
Linchinga	21
Cuamba	21
Metangula	13
Pemba	31
Montepuez	17
Mocímboa da Praia	17

## Mozambique \$180 mn short of debt relief

Despite intensive negotiation, Mozambique has still not received debt relief under the HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Country) initiative. HIPC has been set up by the World Bank and IMF for the world's poorest countries, and represents the first time that these multilateral institutions have agreed to cancel debt.

Under HIPC, Mozambique's debt burden is considered "sustainable" if it is reduced to 200% of annual exports and annual debt service to 20% of

exports. To reach this, up to 80% of debt can be cancelled. But these numbers do not add up. Mozambique actually needs 90% debt cancellation to reach the "sustainable" level.

Bilateral donors met in Paris on 21 January, and could not reach a deal. Germany, France and Japan opposed any more than 80% cancellation, even though the result would not be sustainable. (The Paris meeting came just a month before the 45th anniversary of the 1953 London agreement on German debt. In those negotiations, Germany argued that 10% debt service to exports was unsustainable and the allies agreed, cutting debt service to just 5% - one quarter of what Germany says Mozambique should pay.)

After extensive negotiation in Paris, bilateral creditors reached a deal which remains confused and confusing. To reach a "sustainable" level, the Paris Club would need to write off 90% of Mozambique's debt. This would have cost the Paris Club an extra \$270 million and non-Paris Club countries and commercial banks a further \$80 million (a total of \$350 million).

In the end the Paris Club only agreed to provide a further \$170 million in a mixture of debt relief, swaps and aid. This left a \$100 million shortfall, plus questions about the other \$80 million.

Meanwhile, Mozambique gains no money under the HIPC deal, because "sustainable" debt repayments in the future will be larger than the debt service Mozambique is paying now.

## Book reviews

*Guide to Mozambique* by Philip Briggs, 1997, Brabt Publications, 41 Nortoft Rd, Chalfont St Peter SL9 0LA, England, £11.95, pp 230, ISBN 1-898323-45-3.

*Guide to Mozambique* by Mike Slater, 1997, Struik Publications, 80 McKenzie St, Cape Town 8001, pp 176, ISBN 1-86872-013-6.

*Mozambique - Globetrotter Travel Guide* by Mike Slater, 1997, New Holland, 24 Nutford Pl, London W1H 6DK & Struik, Cape Town, pp 128 (pocket size), ISBN 1-85368-452-2.

The publication of three guidebooks is a clear indication that the war is over and Mozambique is again becoming an important tourist destination. Both authors are South Africans who like Mozambique. All three guides are reasonable and provide all the essential information, with hotel and restaurant lists and maps; I found no major errors.

The Globetrotter guide is small enough to tuck into a pocket, but that limits its information. It mainly covers south of the Zambezi River.

Of the two full size guides, I much preferred the Philip Briggs version. Its city and town maps are

particularly clear, even going down to smaller places like Alto Mólocuè, and show important tourist sites, restaurants, etc. Briggs' guide also contains more information and includes better coverage of the north of Mozambique; for example, he reports correctly how to get to Ibo and where to stay.

I also found Briggs more sympathetic. He starts out by stressing that "Mozambique's war was not a civil war at all, but an extension of the apartheid struggle and Cold War fought out on the soil of an obscure African nation."

I found Slater slightly arrogant, as South Africans often are in Mozambique. For example, Slater puts more emphasis on tourists being overcharged and needing to bargain, while Briggs is more balanced on the issue.

*Guião das Autarquias Locais*, by Armando Teixeira Alves & Benedito Ruben Cossa, 1997, Ministério da Administração Estatal (MAE) & GTZ, 1997, pp 55.

A clear guide to local councils and local elections, set out in question and answer format. Less detailed than AWEPA's *Guia Básico*, but it contains the essentials.

*Moçambique: perspectivas sobre a ajuda e o sector civil*, ed David Sogge, 1997, Gemeenschappelijk Overleg Medefinanciering (GOM), PO Box 77, 2340 AB Oegstgeest, The Netherlands, Dfl 25, pp 241, ISBN 90-802625-0-1. (English edition: *Mozambique: Perspectives on aid and the civil sector*, ISBN 90-802625-8-7, forthcoming)

An attempt by mainly Mozambican writers to look at the interaction of aid and civil society (particularly NGOs) comes across quite critical of foreign agencies. The study was sponsored by GOM, a coalition of four Dutch NGOs, and it will be interesting to see how they respond to the voices from Mozambique.

José Negrão, for example, demolishes some of the myths on which foreign NGOs base their work, and proposes alternative starting points. Yussuf Adam and Humberto Coimbra point to the contradictions between the discourse of international NGOs and their work on the ground - they say they want to alleviate poverty, but they tend to work in the richer districts. Adam and Coimbra also note that their own extensive rural studies show that the poor put economic considerations (roads, shops, commercialisation, raising income) very high and put health and education much lower, yet the donors stress health and education. Tinie van Eijs and Teresinha da Silva, writing on those social sectors, make an impassioned appeal that "aid agencies, before anything else, must devolve the direction and leadership of the process to Mozambicans."