

Mozambique peace process bulletin



Special political parties supplement - August 1994

Written by Rachel Waterhouse

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Tel: (31) 20 - 626 66 39 Fax: (31) 20 - 622 01 30 Tel: (258) 1 - 49 24 25 or 74 10 89 Fax: (258) 1 - 49 24 21

17 parties registered

Three months before the Mozambique's first multi-party elections, 17 political parties had registered with the Ministry of Justice. A handful of other parties said they were planning to register. To register, a party needs 2,000 supporters nationwide. It must establish its political headquarters in Maputo.

Mozambique's political scene remains dominated by the two "armed parties", Frelimo, which won a long liberation war against the Portuguese and has governed since independence in 1975, and Renamo, the opposition guerrilla force which fought the government for 17 years before signing the Rome peace accord in October 1992 and eventually becoming a political party.

All of the unarmed opposition parties pale by comparison in size and support. Some have been set up by one or two individuals to promote their own political or personal interests. So far there has been no sign of a "third force" of non-armed opposition parties emerging as an alliance.

The electoral law requires a party to obtain 5% of the national vote before it can have any seats in parliament. This will require nearly 300,000 votes, and few if any of the small parties will reach that. The law allows parties to form coalitions, which would make it easier to reach 5%. So far, only one small coalition has been formed; on 4 August three tiny parties set up the Uniao Democratica (Democratic Union).

Despite the vast range of parties, there is little difference between their stated political programmes, except the issue of federalism, which some of the smaller parties favour. Beyond

this all the parties speak in favour of a liberal economic, political and social regime, reflecting values already enshrined in the 1990 National Constitution. (Mozambique's formerly one-party constitution was replaced with a new constitution allowing political pluralism in November 1990.)

The opposition parties have concentrated on criticising the ruling Frelimo party for its communist past and current failings, including alleged corruption. They have made little of potentially hot issues such as: whether or not the constitutional provision which nationalises all land and leaves it in the sole hands of the state should be altered; how sharp industrial decline over the last few years can be reversed; how the worsening problem of unemployment can be addressed; how government can be decentralised (there is already a draft law on decentralisation of administrative powers at district level); and how much talked about government corruption can be stemmed (leading many cynical observers to feel that the opposition parties are more interested in a share of the cake rather than ending corruption).

The parties are divided on whether a government of national unity (governo de unidade nacional - GUN) should be agreed before the election.

Details of the 17 political parties

The following is a list of all registered political parties, their top officials and presidential candidates, and their policies on the main issues as of 1 August. All addresses and telephones are in Maputo.

FAP

Frente de Accao Patriotica
Patriotic Action Front

Address: CP 2380
Tel: J Palaco: 421624
R da Conceicao 420090 (work)

President: Jose Carlos Palaco
Secretary General: Raul da Conceicao

Founded by students and ex-students of the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo in February 1991. One of the more marginal parties, it took over three years to register, apparently for lack of membership.

According to its president, FAP is geared specifically to promote the rights and opportunities of youth. Its principal ideals are respect for individual freedoms, pluralism and respect for the rule of law. It argues in favour of private property and individual enterprise, arguing "material inequality is a price worth paying for creativity and social well-being".

Frelimo

Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique
Mozambique Liberation Front

Address: Partido Frelimo, Rua Pereira do Lago
Tel: 490181 - 9

President: Joaquim Chissano
Secretary General: Feliciano Gundana

Frelimo was formed from a coalition of three exile groups, MANU, UDENAMO and UNAMI, in Tanzania in 1962. Frelimo carried out the liberation struggle inside Mozambique to rid it of its Portuguese colonial rulers, achieving independence in 1975. During its guerrilla war, Frelimo set up civil and social structures in zones under its control.

After independence, 90% of the Portuguese colonists fled and Frelimo took over their former lands and factories. It promoted cooperative

production and declared a one-party state.

Collaborators with the colonial regime, traditional leaders, polygamists and others were replaced in key posts by Frelimo members. Some of the outcasts later sympathised with Renamo.

At its Third Congress in 1977, Frelimo adopted Marxism-Leninism as its official policy and developed a heavily centralised model of state economic planning. However, as this proved problematic, the party gradually introduced liberal economic changes, followed by political ones. In 1989 it abandoned its former ideology for a social-democratic one and this was concretised in a liberal new national constitution introduced in November 1990, based on respect for individual rights and freedoms, market economics, equality before the law and decreeing a multi-party democracy.

The number of signed up members has grown from 42,000 in 1989 to currently over one million.

Much of Frelimo's top leadership, including President Chissano and the late President Samora Machel, have been southerners and the party is accused of being a ticket of southern domination.

Frelimo gained widespread support for winning independence and for the introduction of health and education into rural areas. The more recent liberalisation also earned it support. But its public image has increasingly become one of a weakened party with an undetermined leadership, blighted by growing corruption.

There are known to be several factions within the Frelimo party, ranging from the old hard-liners to a new breed of technocrats. So far, Chissano seems to have been unable to obtain sufficient support to re-organise the leadership and replace some of the less liked figures.

Frelimo remains the party which brought independence. It has the most professionals and most members and is the only one with experience in government.

Secretary General Feliciano Gundana says "Frelimo is the party of changes and transformations - we have always opted for change to try and correct errors and improve life for the people". A meeting of over 1,000 Frelimo delegates nationwide was held in Maputo earlier this year to begin defining both its electoral campaign, and its post-elections programme of government. This is not likely to depart radically from the current direction, largely determined by agreements with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. In the social sphere, Frelimo would continue its move towards decentralised administration and wider participation of different elements of society in decision making.

reveal some specific changes, for example in the field of promoting national business, where President Chissano has already intimated there would be a tax review and customs duty changes to favour national production.

Frelimo and the constitution oppose separatism or federalism. Gundana says "The country is still fragmented, we are still trying to develop the Mozambican Nation and the concept of 'mocambicanidade' (of being mozambican) and to correct imbalances. Federalism won't resolve these problems and what's more it would be a tremendous waste of resources".

The ruling party and its President, Joaquim Chissano, have so far remained firmly against demands for forming a government of national unity (GUN). They argue that only the elections may determine the true worth and support of each party and that the new government should be completely free to find its own way to ensure "national unity and reconciliation". Its hard stance seems closely related to its confidence that it will win the largest vote in elections.

Presidential Candidate: Joaquim Chissano

Chissano was born 1939, the son of Catholics, in Malehisse, Gaza province. After secondary school he left to study in Portugal, but before graduating moved to France and later Tanzania where he joined Frelimo. In 1974, when the Portuguese government fell, he was named President of the Transitional Government and in 1975 became Foreign Affairs Minister. Had early links with the West and criticised the model of centralised economy at the time of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel.

Before his sudden death in 1986, Machel had already indicated that Chissano would be his successor. Chissano moved to appoint more black ministers as well as ministers and Political Bureau members from all the country's ethnic groups. His presidency concentrated on the use of diplomacy rather than military power and seems to have been successful in achieving a peace accord with Renamo, although some Frelimo members felt he made too many political concessions while neglecting the army. Chissano's government continued the line of liberal changes upon which the once hard-line Machel has already embarked, ushering in an IMF structural reform programme in 1987 and eventually overseeing the introduction of a new liberal national constitution.

A southerner himself, he is married to a Makonde woman from the north; despite his Catholic parentage, Chissano has shown his openness to the muslim religion. Recently he has turned to the mystic practice of transcendental

Chissano has sometimes worked in isolation from the rest of his party. While peace talks with Renamo were held in Rome, Chissano was holding parallel talks with key players in the peace process.

Although he has held a neutral ground between divided factions in his party, he is criticised for being unable to either reconcile them or rejuvenate the leadership. Some see him as a relatively weak leader; Chissano argues that "What some see as weakness is patience, tolerance and prudence".

FUMO

Frente Unida de Mocambique/Partido da Convergencia Democratica e Reconstrucao Nacional

Mozambique United Front/Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party

Address: 1st Fl, left, 230 Av Mao Tse Tung
Tel: 494043/4

President: Domingos Arouca

Arouca, Mozambique's first black lawyer and a wealthy land-owner from Inhambane province, was arrested in the 1960s for alleged contact with Frelimo in Tanzania. Claims he was offered a government job at Independence, but refused because he suspected that Frelimo had become communist - although some say he thought the job offered him was not good enough. Went into exile in Portugal and says he formed FUMO in 1976. FUMO's name appeared in the Mozambican press in January 1992 and the next month, Arouca visited the country. He left Pedro Loforte to represent FUMO in his absence. Arouca came back to fix permanent residence in Mozambique in January 1993, the same month FUMO was registered.

With a fairly strong support base in Inhambane and some support in Nampula, where Arouca lived for some time, FUMO is one of the strongest non-armed opposition parties.

FUMO has rejected the idea of coalition with other parties. Despite its relative strength, FUMO has not been spared the internecine wrangles splitting up other opposition parties. Former FUMO Vice President Carlos Jeque was ousted from the party last year. Other non-armed opposition parties accused the well educated Jeque of being too arrogant and too close to Frelimo. Jeque later announced he would stand as an independent presidential candidate.

Earlier this year, businessman Oscar Carvalho resigned from his job of preparing Arouca's election campaign.

Christian inspiration which above all defends human rights, on the basis that "The State should serve man, and not vice versa". It favours private property, private initiative and a market economy.

The priorities of a FUMO government would be to "consolidate democracy" through ensuring respect for human rights, liberties and security. FUMO would do this by reinforcing authority and ensuring the separation of political and judicial powers. FUMO would tackle industrial decline by privatising all state owned companies, while its answer to unemployment is promoting agricultural development.

It strongly believes that the current law nationalising all land should be repealed and that Mozambican individuals should be allowed to own it; but not foreigners, who should only be allowed concessions to use Mozambican land. FUMO favours government decentralisation and Arouca claims the draft law on local government reform was stolen from FUMO ideas.

FUMO's president said he could not divulge what concrete measures would be taken to stop corruption, but since FUMO members are "clean" there would be no problem in doing this.

Arouca rejects the idea of a pre-elections compromise on forming a GUN. "We don't accept that parties should be obliged to adopt a certain GUN model before elections, as that would annul the election results. The elections winner should examine the results and on that basis see whether or not and what kind of GUN should be formed".

Presidential Candidate: Domingos Arouca

A man in his early 70s, born to a wealthy Catholic land-owning family in Inhambane, Arouca studied in Portugal and became Mozambique's first black lawyer. He was arrested by the Portuguese secret police for collaboration with Frelimo in 1965 and says he spent eight years in Portuguese prisons. Was politically active in Mozambique's transition period to Independence, 1974-1975, but later went into exile in Portugal. He returned permanently to Mozambique in 1993, but initially maintained dual nationality raising strong criticism.

The few opinion polls carried out so far have tended to put Arouca in third place after Chissano and Dhlakama.

MONAMO

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

Address: 1st Fl right, 230 Av Mao Tse Tung
Tel: M. Dias (work) 422781
(home) 34856

General Secretary: Maximo Dias

A lawyer of Asian origin, born in Zambezia Province, Dias was leader of GUMO, a political organisation authorised by Mozambique's Portuguese colonial rulers in 1973. He fled Mozambique at independence and founded MONAMO in Rhodesia, in 1979. Its initial aim, in his words, was giving Renamo "a political face".

Since returning to Mozambique in 1991, Dias has distanced himself from both Renamo and Frelimo, and is held to be one of the most serious opposition politicians. He has managed to recruit a good number of professionals, particularly older members of the civil service. Nonetheless his support base is restricted to a section of the urban elite for which Frelimo is also competing.

Dias is of Asian origin, and in Mozambique there remains a considerable amount of popular resentment against the Asian minority, particularly Asian businesspeople. Dias is well aware of this and has not presented himself as a presidential candidate.

PACODE

Partido do Congresso Democratico
Democratic Congress Party

Founder: Vasco Campiro Momboya
Secretary General: Pedro Chale

Address: 333 Rua Valetim Siti
Tel: 401357

Momboya, a Sena, was a Frelimo member who deserted to Kenya during the liberation war. On return, he was jailed for a time. Momboyawas a friend of prominent Frelimo dissident Uria Simango who was executed after independence.

Momboya was a founding member of PCN, but split from the party in May 1993 after a dispute with Lutero Simango and Abel Mabunda over a visit they made to Renamo's bush headquarters in Maringue. Momboya did not like the connotations of proximity to Renamo.

Momboya is a mid-level civil engineer, trained in

freedom fighters in the central region. In this, he is similar to PADEMO's Ripua.

PADEMO

Partido Democratico de Mocambique
Mozambique Democratic Party

President: Wehia Ripua

Address: 1st Fl, 419 Rua C, off Av Kim Il Sung
Tel: W. Ripua, (home) 733271 (office) 492041

Founding member Wehia Ripua was a Frelimo member until he quit to form PADEMO in 1991. Born in the neglected northern province of Niassa, Ripua was a liberation fighter with Frelimo. He gained a law degree in Romania and later worked in the Foreign Ministry.

Ripua and his close supporters belong to the group of dissatisfied *antigos combatentes* (ex-soldiers of the liberation war), unhappy with their present position in life and society. Ripua is a copious letter writer and almost always seems to have something to say on the letters or opinion pages of Maputo's two weekly papers (*Savana* and *Domingo*). The feelings he expresses reflect those of many ex-freedom fighters, in their sense of frustration and criticism of the government. Furthermore Ripua's letters are strongly anti-white, and against the southern domination Mozambique allegedly experiences under Frelimo. On behalf of PADEMO, Ripua made a tour of the provinces apparently with the key aim of bringing back a list of southerners in local authorities, to prove his case of southern domination.

PADEMO favours federalism. It seems to have few members and indeed its leader does not openly seem to seek wide public support. He puts his own opinions without seeking to be populist.

Presidential Candidate: Wehia Ripua

PALMO

Partido Democratico e Liberal de Mocambique
Mozambique Liberal Democratic Party

President: Martins Bilal
Vice President: Antonio Palange

Address: 3rd Fl, right, 956 Av Olof Palme
Tel: 424422
M. Bilal home tel: 415647
A. Palange work tel: 475147

PALMO was the first opposition party to hold a

then its founding Congress (Beira, May 1991), after Frelimo's government legalised political opposition in November 1990. Zambezia-born Bilal was a Frelimo member during the war for national independence, and eventually became a businessman in Maputo.

PALMO's core members seem to be from the same group of discontented ex-combatants who formed PADEMO, although slightly more educated and wealthy. The basis for their dissatisfaction seems to be that they did not attain higher status in life. At its first congress, PALMO sought support from small and middle-level black businessmen. It's initial policy document was hostile to non-blacks, especially Asians. However, these racist overtones have not been publicised recently.

Ethnic difference seems to have played a role in separating PALMO from PADEMO members. PALMO is dominated by Chuabos from Zambezia, and the splits it has experienced since it was formed have had a regionalist flavour. The first to leave, moments after he lost PALMO's presidential elections at the founding congress in Beira, was Maputo-based northerner, Casimiro Nhamitambo, shortly followed by Matias dos Amores, a Sena. Nhamitambo later formed a new party, SOL. More recently PALMO suffered another split.

Bilal says "PALMO supports a GUN in order to avoid tensions. The winner and the registered parties have to be represented in the government; not necessarily at ministerial level, but at least in important positions such as National Directorates or Secretaries of State".

PALMO may gain a small level of support from Zambezians, especially those living outside Zambezia.

PALMO is one of three parties to form the Democratic Union coalition; Palange will be its secretary general.

PANADE

Partido Nacional Democratico
National Democratic Party

President: Jose Massinga

Address: 1294 Av do Trabalho
Tel: 733072

PANADE was formed in October 1992 and its main stated principle are to defend human rights, ensure respect for democratic freedoms; it favours a market economy. It has also claimed to be able to "eradicate murderers, thieves and exploiters, and remove the yoke of dictators and settlers". President Jose Massinga is a Frelimo dissident

later returned and worked as Director of Research and Personnel in the Foreign Ministry in the late 1970s. In 1981 he confessed to being an agent of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He spent some time in jail, but was never tried and returned into exile. Massinga says he decided to form PANADE "after seeing how people could be imprisoned without trial and stay in jail for years". PANADE claims to have over 12,000 members, mostly in Maputo but also in the north.

The priorities of a PANADE government would be promoting skills training and education. It would facilitate private purchase of tractors for Mozambican farmers and would help farmers to irrigate their land. Improving education and promoting private business would help solve the problem of unemployment while incentives to private investment and formation of joint venture companies would help reverse industrial decline.

PANADE has also joined the Democratic Union coalition, and Massinga will be its deputy secretary general.

PANAMO

Partido Nacional de Mocambique
Mozambique National Party

President: Marcos Juma

Tel: M. Juma (home) 415171
(work) 400726/27/73

PANAMO is a splinter from PADEMO. It has joined the Democratic Union coalition.

PCN

Partido de Convencao Nacional
National Convention Party

Collegiate Directorate:
General Coordinator: Abel Mabunda
External Coordinator: Lutero Simango
Information & Propaganda Coordinator: Inacio Chire
Finance Coordinator: Barnabe Lucas

Address: 3rd Fl, F, 1123 Av 25 de Setembro
Tel: 426918 Fax: 426891

PCN members claim they founded the party in 1989, before opposition parties were legalised. It was presented to the public at a Maputo press conference in December 1991.

Founding member Lutero Simango is son of the late prominent Frelimo dissident, Uria Simango,

in 1970, arrested just before independence in 1975 and secretly executed some years later. Lutero Simango denies that PCN was formed to revenge his father, but the story of its creation seems to belie that. PCN's youthful leaders were first inspired by co-founder, Vasco Campira Momboya, another early Frelimo dissident and close friend of Uria. (Momboya later split from PCN, in a row over PCN approaches to Renamo which he disapproved of, and formed PACODE.)

PCN seems to principally represent an educated elite from the central region, combining the centre's two main ethnic groups, Sena and Ndau. The Ndau faction seems to be led by Simango, while Chire and Mabunda seem to lead the Sena faction.

There have long been rumours of a possible coalition between PCN's central region young professionals, and Renamo, whose stronghold is in the centre but which desperately lacked skilled people when the peace accord was signed. However, the leadership has so far been unable to make up its collective mind on just how close it should get to Renamo. In July, its members were divided over whether or not to support Afonso Dhlakama as presidential candidate.

The main stated objectives of PCN are ensuring peace and respect for human rights and political freedoms. It argues for a market economy and that young people should have a determining role in the nation's future. PCN claims to have 350,000 members.

Chire says the first priorities of a PCN government would be supporting organisations involved with agriculture and agricultural marketing to help revive the sector; to support national business by reducing custom duties on imported primary goods and equipment, encouraging low interest rates and negotiating a support programme with the World Bank. PCN would reduce the civil service by 25%, and tackle unemployment by supporting the development of small-scale private business. PCN would review the entire constitution and would reform both the land law and the investments law. It would opt for elected provincial governors and for giving parliament more power over the national budget.

In PCN's view talk of federalism is premature. State and religion should be separated.

Chire says that "unfortunately", despite all the talk, there has been no great effort to form a coalition between opposition parties. PCN favours a prior accord on a GUN, providing that the GUN is based on the percentage of votes a party wins in elections.

PIMO

Partido Independente de Mocambique
Mozambique Independent Party

President: Ya-Qub Sibindy
General Secretary: Mussagy Remane

Address: 1A, Av do Trabalho
Tel: 401438, 400220

Formed in March 1993; launched in Maputo, August 1993. PIMO President Ya-Qub Sibindy says the party's ideology is "based on peace, morality and progress". PIMO claims mainly urban support, especially in the north (which has largest Muslim community) and some support in Beira, despite initial conflict with Catholic Church.

Sibindy says a PIMO Government would give top priority to moral education, and pacification, including opening factories and launching special employment programmes to make work for demobilised soldiers. "We have no delineated economic programme. The government should not be directive but submit itself to the good of different socio-economic strata". PIMO favours privatisation of land and plans to reverse industrial decline by saving all national current receipts for five years, to be used for later development programmes. Meanwhile the national budget would be financed by grants from "friendly oil-producing countries", with which PIMO claims to be already negotiating. This claim has strengthened the view of some that PIMO is an Islamic party. PIMO opposes federalism and supports a unitary state with decentralised government. It claims 230,000 members and the support of five million voters.

PIMO favours the idea of a GUN. According to Sibindy, "The GUN is right. For us, GUN is not just to add up parties 'A' and 'B', but also other social sectors outside party politics."

Presidential Candidate: Ya-Qub Sibindy

Sibindy was born in Magunde, Chibabava district, Sofala province, on 24 Aug 1958. A former pig-farmer with Christian parents, he converted to Islam at age 28. Claims to have helped Frelimo guerrillas as an informer from 1972-74, after which he says he worked in finances and accounts in the army and later in the Ministry of Defence, until 1982. He then turned to farming, and later to business.

PPPM

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

President: Neves Serrano

PPPM

Partido do Progresso do Povo Mocambicano
Mozambican People's Progress Party

President: Padimbe Kamati Andrea
General Secretary: Che Abdala

Address: 3rd Fl, 1123 Av 25 de Setembro
Tel: 426925

Kamati claims to have formed PPPM in October 1959, in the north of Mozambique. During the liberation struggle he fled to Tanzania, later to Ethiopia and eventually to Portugal. He claims to have been educated in the United States, but cannot seem to remember where or at which institution. Before returning to Mozambique in 1992, Kamati ran Kamati Export-Import Ltd in Lisbon. PPPM claims to have over 20,000 signed up members and one million supporters. Kamati speaks poor Portuguese and his party is generally seen as one of the more off-the-wall political formations to arise in Mozambique.

At his party headquarters in Maputo, Kamati has organised English and computer lessons for paying party members and seems to be using the premises as a private school.

Former PPPM member Miguel Mabote split to form the Partido Trabalhista (PT).

PPPM claims its main principles are federalism, based on dividing existing provinces into autonomous states. A PPPM government would give top priority to developing agriculture, such as offering tools, water pumps and wells to farmers; it would promote bank loans, build low cost housing and rehabilitate hospitals. It would like to make Portuguese escudos convertible with Mozambican meticals. Kamati says PPPM would like to change the land law so that land is only given out by traditional chiefs. To control corruption, it would create a tribunal to protect consumers. PPPM is not a religious party. It claims to have most support in the south.

Kamati said he thought a coalition between federalist parties would not be possible "because there are too many egos involved".

Presidential Candidate: Padimbe Kamati Andrea

Partido Renovador Democrático
Democratic Renewal Party

President: Maneca Daniel
Tel: 732890

PRD, formerly PAFEMO, was formed in 1991; its first President was Mariano Pordina. Apart from professing federalism, Pordina later claimed to have a force of 2,000 armed men and said the only way to achieve federalism was through fighting, and that "our policy needs war, and war on a large scale". PAFEMO's first conference in 1993 abolished the post of President and ousted Pordina, whose own wife was quoted as saying she suspected he was a madman. It apparently changed its name and altered its statutes after the Justice Ministry dismissed its application to register in 1993, on the grounds that its statutes violated the constitution. Since the days of Pordina fame, PRD has had little publicity.

PT

Partido Trabalhista
Workers' Party

Leader: Miguel Mabote
Tel: 735467

PT is a splinter party from PPPM. Mabote formerly worked for the government's military intelligence, and is said to have worked for a time with its now extinct secret police, SNASP, before he was sent to work in East Germany. He returned before completing his contract. Of all the small parties, PT is closest to Renamo; a very small party, PT is seeking support among frustrated youth in Mabote's home province of Gaza. Like Ripua of PADEMO, Mabote seems disinterested in working to create a wide public support base.

Renamo

Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana
Mozambican National Resistance

Address: Av Ahmed Sekou Toure 257
Tel: 421293, 493749

President: Afonso Dhlakama
General Secretary: Vicente Ululu

According to Renamo General Secretary Vicente Ululu, "Renamo arose as a popular revolt when

But well-documented history shows Renamo was first created by Rhodesian security forces after Mozambique's independence in 1975, to retaliate against the new Frelimo government's support to freedom fighters for Zimbabwe. They partly recruited among Mozambicans in Lisbon. When Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe in 1980, Renamo was adopted by the security forces of apartheid South Africa, which continued to train and supply it, in order to destabilise Mozambique and its non-racial, socialist government.

From the late 1970s, Renamo began to set up more permanent bases within Mozambique. Its guerrilla headquarters and centre of war-time support were in the central region. Renamo has been dominated by members of the Ndau minority ethnic group to which Dhlakama belongs.

Within Mozambique, Renamo and enjoyed some initial support or tolerance from people who found themselves at odds with the new government's policies, notably traditional leaders deposed by Frelimo and rural people who objected to communal villages. Such support was later eroded in many areas outside the centre by Renamo war-time atrocities and massacres.

However, their ruthless recruiting and initiation methods, often involving magic rituals and moving recruits hundreds of kilometres from their home communities, ensured that Renamo maintained a sizeable fighting force, estimated at 21,000 at the time of the peace accord. Renamo's declared aims in the war were to fight and destroy communism, the ruling Frelimo party and all its manifestations. It was principally known as a guerrilla fighting force and its members were internationally labelled as terrorists. An independent report to the United States government published in 1989 (the Gersony report) held Renamo directly responsible for the death of 100,000 civilians, and condemning its practice of mutilation, such as cutting off ears, noses and genital organs.

In the run up to elections, Renamo is presenting itself as the "party which brought freedom and democracy back from the bush". Against the evidence, it is blaming all war-time atrocities for which it was held responsible on Frelimo propaganda or "agents".

Renamo had very little political or civilian structures within Mozambique. However, as initiatives to reach a negotiated settlement took root and finally evolved into peace talks, in 1990, foreign advisers and even the United Nations operation in Mozambique began promoting efforts to give Renamo a political face. Meanwhile Renamo itself began a drive to recruit new members and develop administrative and political structures not only in the rural areas under its

where it began opening offices after the peace accord. Since the peace accord, the international community has collaborated in financing Renamo's transformation from a guerrilla movement into a political party, through the special mechanism of a United Nations "Trust Fund" which has already received over \$8 million.

According to its Secretary General, Renamo became a political party after its "extra-ordinary congress" in Maringue in April 1994. Currently it claims to have some 120,000 signed up members in its central region stronghold.

Renamo claims to support democracy, free market economics and respect for individual human rights and freedoms. However these values do not seem to have been well respected in zones under Renamo control after the peace accord, where freedom of movement and speech continued to be denied. Gradually things are changing with the re-integration of Renamo held zones into the state administration.

The former rebel group turned political party appears to have considerable support in the central region, where Dhlakama has recently tried to break down the image that it is mainly for Ndaus. Renamo seems likely to attract an ethnic and regionalist vote in the centre, its war-time stronghold where its tactics were generally less destructive than elsewhere. The major opposition party by a very long lead, Renamo is also expected to get a vote from people who believe this is the best way to prevent another war.

As the major opposition party, several of the smaller parties cling to its apron strings. Renamo welcomed the idea of coalition, apparently on the terms that other parties adhere to its policies. An attempt in May to get Dhlakama chosen as the single opposition candidate, at a Renamo funded, multi-party meeting in Xai-Xai, failed.

General Secretary Vicente Ululu says the top priorities of a Renamo government would be to develop agricultural infrastructures, expand the health and education network and improve road access through public works. These priorities might possibly be financed through a cut in defence spending. It would tackle unemployment through improving rural infrastructure, but has no defined policy on land use nor an industrial development strategy. "Everything would have to be reviewed by the new parliament", Ululu says.

Renamo blows alternately warm and hot on the GUN idea. The model was rejected by Renamo during Rome peace talks to end the war, but soon after the Peace Accord was signed, a new mutation appeared as Renamo pushed for some form of pre-election power-sharing deal with Government. More recently this has been honed down and refined into Renamo's current argument

a post-elections GUN, based on the election results and after the South African model. Dhlakama's enthusiasm for a GUN, an idea supported by some of his many external advisers, seems to partly reflect his own level of confidence.

Presidential Candidate: Afonso Dhlakama

Dhlakama was born in rural Chibabava in Sofala province to an elite group of the Ndaus minority tribe on 1 January 1953. Educated to 6th grade in a Catholic mission school, he completed one year at the Industrial and Commercial school in Beira, before teaching for one year in Chibabava.

He joined Frelimo's liberation army shortly before independence but soon deserted, and fled to Rhodesia, accused of stealing military goods in Beira. Dhlakama took command of Renamo in 1979, after its first leader, Andre Matsangaissa, was killed in combat.

For much of the war, Dhlakama held his guerrilla headquarters near his home area, at Maringue in the Gorongosa mountains. Despite his Catholic upbringing, he is said to have relied heavily on witchcraft during this time. Dhlakama moved his headquarters from Maringue, in the bush of central Sofala Province, to Maputo, in 1993. He has gradually adapted his image from "rebel commander" to "political figure", a role in which he now seems more comfortable than at first. His political campaign has so far focused heavily on his own person and his claim of bringing democracy to Mozambique. A June tour of the central region attracted widespread interest.

SOL

Partido Socio-Liberal e Democratico Social-Liberal Democratic Party

President: Casimiro Nhamitambo
Tel: 33479

A splinter party from PALMO, SOL was launched publicly in November 1991. Despite having a comparatively well educated and better off leader in Casimiro Nhamitambo, SOL is held to be one of the least serious opposition parties, because it principally consists of Nhamitambo himself. He has tried to play a role in liaising with some of the bigger parties. But his few followers are generally thought of as dubious, an image confirmed in the public mind when a SOL member of the Provincial branch of the National Elections Commission in Gaza made off with money meant for the elections process.

Nhamitambo, from Mutarara in Tete, grew up as a refugee in Tanzania and was a Frelimo member before joining PALMO, which he left after losing its presidential elections. A mid-level engineer trained in Romania, he later worked in the Ministry of Mineral Resources before setting up a small mining consultancy business, which has apparently collapsed. Following pre-election tours to the centre of the country earlier this year by Frelimo presidential candidate, Joaquim Chissano, and Renamo's choice, Afonso Dhlakama, Nhamitambo tried to follow in their footsteps, calling on various sectors of the local population to meetings in Beira. Virtually no-one came. An opinion poll by the independent newsheet *Mediafax* among 324 people in Inhambane in July gave one vote to SOL.

UNAMO

Uniao Nacional Mocambicana
Mozambique National Union

President: Carlos Reis
Address: 2nd Fl, 1123 Av 25 de Setembro

UNAMO was the first political party to legally register in Mozambique, in early 1992. It emerged from a split in Renamo in 1986 when former Renamo second in command Gimo Phiri broke away and took a group of armed men and formed UNAMO with Carlos Reis, a Zambezia businessman exiled in Portugal.

Reis collaborated with Frelimo during the liberation struggle but later joined the separatist movement UNAR (Uniao Nacional de Rombezia) and then joined Africa Livre, a group which first opposed but then joined Renamo. During the early Marxist-Leninist years of Frelimo's government, Reis was accused of being a "speculator", held as a crime in those days. However, he escaped to Portugal where he joined Renamo. Apparently the traditional friction between Ndaus and Zambezians hindered his rise in Renamo. Reis himself said Renamo's Ndau leader, Afonso Dhlakama, refused to meet with him, but managed close contacts with Gimo Phiri, a Sena. According to Reis, this contact was organised by the Portuguese counter-intelligence, since the Portuguese were trying to prise Renamo from South African control.

Eventually Phiri and Reis broke from Renamo and formed UNAMO, which then secretly collaborated with the government, which saw it as a useful counter-force to Renamo in Zambezia. It is said that Frelimo President Joaquim Chissano intervened to get Reis released from prison in Malawi during the 1980s and that government

returned to Mozambique in 1990, presenting himself as UNAMO General Secretary.

In late 1991, Reis (political wing) and Phiri (military wing) fell out. Phiri issued a communique expelling Reis from the party, but Reis countered by holding a UNAMO congress in Maputo which elected him president. In early 1992 he managed to register UNAMO at the Ministry of Justice, with himself as leader.

(Phiri formed another party, UDEMO, which has not been registered; Phiri is now said to be living in Malawi. In 1994 government army authorities reached an agreement with Phiri for his group of several hundred armed men to be assembled and demobilised alongside government soldiers.)

Reis's UNAMO defends federalism, "because Frelimo has marginalised the centre and north", and argues that a federalist system is the only way to ensure political stability and keep control over development. He argues that the *regulos* (traditional leaders) should be given back their colonial powers as land distributors and administrators. UNAMO defends a market economy and welcomes foreign investment. A UNAMO government would give budget priority to supporting health care and education, business development, housing and orphanages. Industrial decline would be tackled by continuing privatisation of state enterprise and unemployment challenged by promoting small-scale business and decentralisation through federalism. Federalism is also seen as a way to halt corruption, "because there would be competition between states". UNAMO would not repeal the land law.

UNAMO is open to a coalition between federalist parties and any party, including Renamo, which agrees to federalism. This party may gain some support in parts of Zambezia, especially in Milange where Reis was once an influential trader.

Presidential Candidate: a federalist (perhaps Reis)

Reis said he had been asked by his members to stand for president and may accept. Otherwise UNAMO would be willing to support a candidate chosen to represent the federalists.

Independent presidential candidates

Carlos Jeque, former Vice President of FUMO
Tel: (home) 426979 (work) 426974

Mario Machel, says he is a nephew of first President Samora Machel, and claims Machel family support, but the President's widow, Graca Machel loudly denies this. 8 August 1994