

process bulletin

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Strolling toward elections

Demobilisation has begun, assembly of troops continues, the election commission has started work, and refugees are returning home -- but all at a pace which makes October elections seem unrealistic, despite the vociferous defence of that date by the United Nations. With both demobilisation and registration, it has taken five months to do what the October 1993 timetable said should take only three months; both face further delays rather than a rush to catch up. Only 60% of troops have moved to assembly areas -- a process that should have been completed last year.

Both Renamo and the unarmed opposition parties seem to be dragging their feet in the hope of forcing a postponement of the October election in the belief that Frelimo is steadily losing popularity, and thus the opposition will do better if the election is delayed.

But if the October deadline cannot be met, there are fears that the international community will force an election without full demobilisation, or will demand a coalition government without an election.

Meanwhile, nothing has been done about Renamo continuing to bar access to zones it controls in central Mozambique.

Demob starts, then stalls

Demobilization began in mid-March but had virtually stopped by the end of the month. Only 60% of troops have gone to assembly areas and very few troops were moving there in late March.

Although the government in early January had turned in its first lists of soldiers to be demobilized or sent to the new army, Renamo only did so in early March. Rather than wait any longer for Renamo, the government unilaterally demobilized the first soldiers on 10 March at Massinga assembly area in Inhambane, at a ceremony presided over by President Joaquim Chissano.

Finally on 18 March, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama presided over Renamo's first demobilization at Neves, also in Inhambane.

By 29 March, government had demobilized 7% of its estimated 61,638 soldiers and sent 1.7% to the new army, while Renamo had only demobilized 1.1% of its estimated 19,140 guerrillas and sent 3.8% to the new army.

By then, both sides had run out of people on its lists. At a Cease-Fire Commission (CCF) meeting held in Maputo on 28 March, the Italian CCF President, Colonel Pier Segala, accused both sides of failing to provide further lists of their soldiers to

Assembled and demobbed

	government	Renamo
Troops claimed	61,638	19,140
To assembly areas	54 %	75 %
Left assembly areas of which	8.7%	4.9%
to new army	1.7%	3.8%
demobilised	7 %	1.1%

available. The UN "Technical Unit for Demobilization must receive the lists at least two weeks in advance, to deal with all the bureaucracy involved in the operation. At present, we are not receiving any lists, and this will force us to stop demobilization for some time," Segala said.

Then on 1 April, Aldo Ajello, the special representative of the UN Secretary General in Mozambique, said that government had provided a list of 1000 more people, while Renamo had provided a list of just 200.

"The government has already started demobilization and wants to speed it up. We have every interest in doing this, but on Renamo's side, we can say the movement has been purely symbolic", Mozambican Labour Minister, Teodato Hunguana, told the Maputo daily *Noticias*.

Mistrust between the two parties is still strong. Just as happened when troop assembly began, both government and Renamo chose to start demobilization with marginal units in the south and north. In the central region of Sofala, Manica, Zambezia and Tete provinces, which saw the most intense fighting, a significant number of troops are still to be assembled and the two sides are reluctant to start demobilization there.

Dhlakama justified Renamo's latest delay by saying it had to do with an incident in Namicunde, northern Niassa, where Renamo guerrillas due to be demobilized refused to go, demanding payment for the almost 16 years of war.

"The lads refused to be demobilized because there was money missing, that is, money was robbed", Dhlakama said.

Segala denied any theft of money, but that the Renamo men rejected the demobilization indemnity pay they were entitled to, alleging their leaders had promised compensation for the 16 years of war.

Demobilized soldiers are given six months salary by the government and are taken with their families to any part of Mozambique they choose. The international community has pledged an additional 18 months of income based on the ex-soldier's former rank.

Counter-intelligence command

To command the new national army, both sides selected former heads of their respective counter-intelligence services. The government chose Lieutenant General Henrique Lagos Ledimo while Renamo chose Lieutenant General Mateus Ngonhamo.

local administration of the area the ex-soldier goes back to. The additional money will be paid bi-monthly at the nearest bank to their homes.

Still no access

Local Renamo officials continue to limit freedom of movement and speech, impose other restrictions, and make their own arrests -- in violation of the peace accord -- in some areas of central Mozambique. But some government officials clearly appear to have accepted the defacto administrative division.

In February, Renamo's political representative in Sofala province, Manuel Pereira, accused the government of trying to "steal" the settlement of Nhapuepue from them. He claimed the local administrator, Teixeira Manjama, terrified the local population with gun-wielding security guards, who tore down photos of Dhlakama and drove out Renamo officials. Manjama's defence, said the daily *Noticias*, was emphatic insistence that "Nhapuepue is a Government zone".

Sofala provincial health authorities meanwhile said they would not send any more medicines to "Renamo zones" until the organisation had better qualified health staff. Manica provincial education authorities, however, admitted it might be a good idea to investigate education facilities and needs in Renamo controlled areas of their province.

In January, when refugees were returning from Zimbabwe to a Renamo-controlled area of Manica province, they were met at the border only by Renamo members and not a single government representative. They were shocked to discover their home village still under control of gun-wielding Renamo officials, from whom they had fled in the first place, and even more alarmed to hear that Renamo prevented earlier returnees leaving the zone and only eventually let them out when they swore they would not go to government areas.

Mozambique's Catholic Bishops wrote a Pastoral Letter in March, warning against the dangerous "tendency to monopolize power and the political space, and the fear of sharing", which they felt still threatened the peace process.

October or not?

The UN Security Council decided on 23 February that the last soldiers of its monitoring force of 6000 men should leave Mozambique in November, after October elections.

Ajello said he believed demobilization could be done and a new apolitical defence force

problems have been resolved and only logistical ones remain."

But others are already discussing what happens in the likely event that the October deadline is not met. Western military observers say that without more political problems, demobilization could be finished well before October elections, and this was the most important point. Even if up to 40% of forces for the new national army were still under training then, they argue, this need not be a problem.

In late February, before demobilization kicked off, Ajello's newly arrived Deputy, the Iranian, Behrooz Sadry, said "Certainly we must look at the possibility of elections without full demobilization or the new army being fully operational".

This view was a radical departure from statements so far from ONUMOZ, the UN special mission in Mozambique. The Angola experience was that elections without full demobilization were untenable.

"This is not the same situation as Angola and the ONUMOZ presence is completely different to UNAVEM", argued Sadry, who added "If we bear in mind that elections are the first step in a longer process [of building peace], the sooner you hold them, the better".

Fresh from his role as Deputy Head of the UN peacekeeping mission in Cambodia, UNTAC, which virtually ran the country in the pre-elections period, Sadry said ONUMOZ had comparatively little clout for getting things done and thus its key concern must be goading the two sides to stick to the peace process timetable.

Ajello immediately rejected the suggestion of

Advisers take up posts

When Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and President Joaquim Chissano held their first summit in Maputo, last September, they agreed that to ease the reintegration of Renamo held zones in the national administration, Renamo would immediately indicate three "advisors" to each of Mozambique's 10 provincial governors (excluding Maputo city), and President Chissano would appoint the advisors straight away.

True to the low-gear form of Mozambique's peace process, the 30 advisors were finally named in December, appointed at the end of February, and started taking up their provincial posts in March.

demobilization is completely, 100% finished and the new army is ready".

Nonetheless he insisted elections must be held in October. He argued this was not just because the UN and international community are not prepared to fund ONUMOZ beyond October, but also because "I honestly believe that socially, economically and politically, Mozambique cannot afford to postpone elections". Postponement, he said would only amplify existing problems and could easily exacerbate unrest, while true national development could only begin post-elections.

Elections: learn from Angola

The Director of Angola's 1992 Elections Commission, Onofre Dos Santos, warned that Mozambique should learn from Angola's elections mistakes. In Angola, he argued, the major contestants had no faith in the Elections Commission. It was a purely government body, encouraging accusations of fraud and rejection of the election results.

Dos Santos said "In countries like ours which are still creating democracy, the only way to ensure confidence is to include political parties in the whole process -- in all electoral organs, the media and the forces of law and order".

His views contrast with those of some Mozambican government officials who felt their own National Elections Commission (CNE), planned by government as a purely government organ, became "over-politicised" when Renamo and unarmed opposition parties insisted on including their members on its 21 person board.

Avoid fraud now

With seven months to go before elections, the UN advisor to the National Elections Commission, Bruno Soares, warned "If fraud is to be avoided, it must be avoided now. Election fraud begins, and is prevented, long before elections actually take place".

Soares, Portuguese and previously UN advisor to the Elections Commission in Angola, said conditions for avoiding fraud include adequate technical and material resources to create confidence in the registration and electoral processes.

But this is not enough. "All parties have the right to monitor the whole elections process and the work of election officers anywhere in the country. I appeal to them to do this, right from the start, so they don't come crying 'fraud' when its all over," Soares said.

must be able to move freely throughout the country. Political parties and ONUMOZ should monitor this freedom.

CNE heads named

In a promising spirit of co-operation, within two days of its first working session on 1 February, the CNE unanimously elected Brazao Mazula as its President. A former priest who later directed various departments in the Ministry of Education, Mazula was quickly praised by government, Renamo and ONUMOZ as a measured man with a prime concern for cooperation between his commission members.

Mazula was formally appointed by President Chissano on 11 February, along with two vice presidents, Leonardo Simbine named by government and Jose De Castro by Renamo, plus the further 18 CNE members. CNE's first tasks were approving internal regulations, drawing up a formal proposal for creation of the Technical Secretariat for Elections Administration (STAE), and appointing provincial and district level delegations.

Registration due in May

Registration is now planned to start in May, one month late. But contracts with the British firm Thomas de la Rue to provide registration equipment and materials were only signed in late March and equipment will arrive only in mid-April (compared to February in the October 1993 calendar).

The registration of an estimated eight million voters will to be carried out by 8000 registration officers working in 1600 brigades spread throughout the country. According to Mozambique's election law, everyone must vote in the same area where they register. This rule is far more rigid than the one applied in Angola, which allowed people to move and thus accounted for the return of war displaced and refugee populations. Renamo argued Angola's flexible law left too much room for fraud, although none happened there.

The CNE has planned strict measures to ensure confidence and prevent fraud. All the registration materials, including pre-numbered voter registration cards, will be sent out to Provincial Elections Commissions in sealed and numbered packages and a record kept of each one.

The registration brigades are to list the name and card numbers of all voters registered. Each voter receives a card, printed on security paper

No money for CNE

With little time remaining to set up its local commissions, train registration brigades and carry out nationwide voter registration, none of this can be done without money from donors or government. According to CNE spokesman, Dionisio Simbe, "Our main problem is finance. So far, we don't have any money to pay wages to the Technical Secretariat, nor allowances for CNE members, and we don't have money or means for transport at provincial, let alone district, level".

A trust fund for the elections process was set up under UNDP (UN Development Programme), but these funds had not yet come on tap. United States ambassador in Maputo, Dennis Jett, said initial estimates of US\$80 million needed for elections had been revised down to US\$60 million, of which the international community was expected to provide US\$ 54 million and had already pledged two thirds of that amount. Jett said "Once the process starts moving, I expect donors will offer more money".

- By the end of March the CNE had still not deliberated on the thorny issue of voting rights for residents abroad. Government favours extensive voting rights, in part because most Mozambicans living abroad are war refugees likely to vote against Renamo. But Renamo alleges that government could manipulate votes outside the country where it has embassies and Renamo and ONUMOZ have little control.

Unarmed opposition: No action

While Frelimo and Renamo have both openly launched themselves into campaigning, there is little activity from the 14 legally registered unarmed opposition parties.

On 27 March, Frelimo's Central Committee declared President Chissano as its candidate for president and approved its elections strategy.

Renamo leaders said their organisation's election strategy and presidential candidate (Dhlakama) were already approved. But they continue to demand financial support.

In March the non-armed opposition parties met with Chissano to explain to him their difficulty in getting out to the provinces and districts to chose candidates for the electoral commissions.

"We understand there are some details which should be discussed only by the former belligerents, but there are also problems over democratization of our country, which should be tackled by the whole of society and not only be

states.
Aldo Ajello announced that the United Nations were doing all the legal work necessary to give legal existence to a support fund for Mozambique's political parties.

Everyone needs money

CNE President Mazula decided in mid-March to go ahead and appoint Provincial Elections Commissions, amid cries from the unarmed opposition parties that the elections process was being hijacked by their two armed rivals.

Each Provincial and District Election Commission is meant to be composed of three members chosen by government, two by Renamo and one by the 14 registered unarmed parties. But the 14 have failed to select their candidates. Mazula argued there was no time to lose, and the provincial commissions would simply have to get started without them.

A spokesperson for the non-armed opposition complained "We can't appoint delegates to the election commission without funds to travel round and select the right people".

Taking their complaint to the top, in a memo to Chissano in early March, the unarmed opposition accused government of marginalising them and blocking their participation in elections. The government, they argued, should give them more financial support.

Provincial Elections Commissions will appoint District Commissions, which should then organise the planned 1600 registration brigades. Simbe said if logistical delays continued, however, they may have to organise extra brigades to reach all potential voters on time.

Once established, the local commissions still need information on where people are and how easy or safe it is to get there. "If some roads are impassable or mined, we may have to resort to helicopters", warned Simbe.

UN: Fewer soldiers, more police

In its February 23 resolution on Mozambique, the UN Security Council asked ONUMOZ to start making plans for the gradual reduction of its 6200 personnel, with a view to their complete withdrawal by November. It also approved deployment of 1144 police monitors including one chief superintendent, one deputy, 29 headquarters staff, a 30 strong rapid reaction force and the rest to be deployed at regional, provincial and district posts. Ajello announced that this contingent would be deployed in three

following on.

Ajello said "These police are going to be very useful in aiding the re-unification of Mozambique. They will not only monitor, but work together with the national police force, and they will guarantee that police can enter Renamo controlled areas".

Satisfied Ajello offers advice

Ajello said in March he was satisfied with his own strategy for guiding Mozambique's peace process, but warned that "Definitely, there must be major changes [at UN headquarters] to support peacekeeping operations, changes both in capacity and basic rules".

He suggested every member country contributing troops to UN peacekeeping operations should have a set contingent, with standard UN training, on stand-by for rapid deployment, and argued far more resources were needed for logistical support. He suggested there should be serious UN reorganisation to cope with the complexity of its "new generation" peace-keeping missions.

He further proposed the UN should keep a list of high-ranking officers for allocation to peace-keeping duties. He said "At the moment it's a lottery -- we have to accept what we're sent". Ajello's name was apparently just picked off a list, with no knowledge of his suitability.

Refugees: Moving home

The UN estimated that 600,000 of two million refugees have returned home -- a large portion moving spontaneously from Malawi (which hosted the largest number of refugees). In early 1994, refugees continued to cross back over the national borders and the flow was expected to increase during the April to October dry season.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees struggles to keep up with the spontaneous return of people who do not want to wait for its elaborate programmes to be set up. UNHCR appealed to donors for US\$ 103 million to fund the 1994 segment of its three year mass repatriation programme, described as "the largest operation UNHCR has ever undertaken in Africa".

UNHCR is trying to speed up organised repatriation of refugees from Swaziland and Zimbabwe, while it plans to start with organised return from Tanzania and Zambia after the June 1994 harvest.

Assisted return of refugees from South Africa

by the South African Defence Force. The overall repatriation process gained new momentum from January this year when the International Migration Organisation (OIM) took over transport from SADF and was able to carry returnees right across the border to their home districts.

A UNHCR-sponsored, full-scale two-year programme to bring the bulk of the 250,000 war refugees in South Africa back home is expected to start in mid-April. Meanwhile, UNHCR is funding the construction of transit centers to receive 2000 returnees per week from South Africa, principally through the border points of Pafuri (Gaza) and Ressano Garcia (Maputo province). South African authorities wished to

disruptive damage through. Refugee camps that wouldn't be good for tourists.

UNHCR Director for the Southern Region, Abdurahman Issa, said repatriation from Swaziland was going ahead with great success and could be completed mid-year, with nearly 13,000 refugees repatriated by late March and less than 6000 still to come.

Malawi camps to close

In 1993, 562,000 refugees came home spontaneously from Malawi, according to Mozambican government estimates. Since most refugees in Malawi live within walking distance of home and there is little border control, the remaining 600,000 or more refugees still in Malawi were almost all expected to come home using their own means. The UNHCR opted to assist "vulnerable groups" with transport.

Government authorities on both sides of the border noted that refugees were coming back to farm in Mozambique, but still collecting refugee rations in Malawi. So they decided to end food distribution to all but "vulnerable groups" and "special cases" on the Malawi side. This happened first at Dedza and Ntcheu camps, in November, with the idea of progressively closing other camps as conditions and facilities inside Mozambique supposedly improved.

At a tripartite meeting of Mozambican and Malawian governments and UNHCR officials in late March, Mozambique's Minister of Interior, Manuel Antonio, said government was concerned to fetch as many refugees home as possible by October, so they could participate in elections.

Meanwhile, Malawi's Health Minister, Dr Sambo, said he was worried that Mozambican refugees were still coming back to Malawi because of poor conditions at home. According to the daily *Noticias*, he suggested that closing more refugee camps could help solve the problem.

Slow mine clearance

Landmines planted through 30 years of war have claimed over 10,000 victims in Mozambique, and still continued to maim and kill on a daily basis, according to the report *Landmines in Mozambique* published in February by the human rights organisation Africa Watch.

The report says initial UN estimates of 2 million unexploded landmines lurking in Mozambique were unscientific and exaggerated. Nonetheless, it said "Mozambique is littered with tens, if not hundreds of thousands of landmines that continue

Gaza homecoming

The elder leaders of Chimangue village, in Gaza province, were the last to flee their homes. But after repeated Renamo attacks in 1988, they followed the other villagers to refuge in South Africa. When they heard of Mozambique's peace accord on the radio, they were the first to venture home. In January 1993, they set off in a group of seven men. Finding no-one at the charred site of their burned out village, they decided to go to the district capital, Massingir, and announce their return. Along the way, they met Renamo. Their former enemies gave them food and reassured them war was over. Two of the men returned to Chimangue, while the rest went back to South Africa to fetch their families and spread the words "It's safe!"

By now 128 Chimangue people have come back, to build their homes a few hundred metres from the ruins of their pre-war "communal village". They complain of drought and hunger. The hundreds of cows, goats, sheep and donkeys this formerly prospering community of livestock breeders used to boast were wiped out in the war. Since they came back, only one man has managed to buy two cows. Seeds they planted on return have withered and died for lack of rain.

With no resources of its own to rebuild the school, pay the teacher and health worker or provide the water pump that all existed in Chimangue before the war, the local government has turned to an ecumenical charity for help. Thus they could send a new teacher in February, on condition that returnees would build a house and a classroom.

The district government is hoping foreign aid will be enough to cover the needs of 17,000 refugees in South Africa who could return to Massingir with UNHCR help this year.

reconstruction. Already Mozambique has over 8000 amputees because of landmines, said the report, which blamed political fighting between government and RENAMO, plus UN bureaucracy, for the lamentably slow initiatives to clear mines.

By the end of March, the UN was still negotiating a major contract for clearing 2022 km of priority roads, mainly in Manica and Sofala Provinces, which the Supervision and Control Commission had approved in December 1992.

The UN demining manager, Andre Millorit, said the deal with a joint venture between the two British firms, Royal Ordnance and Lonrho, was held up at the final stage over quality assurance. "The contractors didn't like our proposals for checking their work," he said.

Africa Watch argues roads defined in 1992 as priority for humanitarian aid access were no longer top of the list, but UN officials were too afraid of more delays to try and change them.

In a report to the Cease-Fire Commission on 28 March, Millorit said a European Community demining contract with Lonrho ended in January with 179 km of road cleared after virtually a year's operation. A Washington-based company, Ronco Consulting Corporation, is due to start work in mid-April with US funding to clear 2000 km of road in Manica, Sofala and Zambezia.

Meanwhile the first course for demobilized soldiers at a mine clearance training center funded by ONUMOZ was due to start on 4 April, if Renamo could find trainees to complement those already selected by the government.

In Tete Norwegian Peoples Aid has trained 276 mozambican deminers (including 8 women), who had made safe 139 km of road between August and March.

A British non-government organisation, the Halo Trust, has 60 deminers working in Zambezia

The French embassy in Maputo said 10 military demining specialists had arrived in Mozambique and would soon start training demining instructors for the future Mozambican army. The French team comes from a regiment with mine clearance experience in Cambodia, Chad, Lebanon and Kuwait, and is to train a company of Mozambican instructors at Boquisso, 30 km north of Maputo.

The UNHCR in conjunction with some NGOs has begun a mine awareness publicity campaign both inside the country and in refugee camps.

No uniforms so no training

The non arrival of uniforms and other military material needed could further delay the start of training courses for infantry troops which should form the bulk of Mozambique's new army.

Aldo Ajello had announced that training of infantry for the new Armed Defence Forces of Mozambique (FADM), which was scheduled to begin in January, would finally start on 4 April.

The government and Renamo presented their first lists of soldiers for the infantry battalions on 29 March. The two sides should each contribute half of 5000 men planned to start the first cycle of infantry training.

The new apolitical army of 30,000 should be operational before multi-party elections still planned for October.

Ajello promised that the political problems which once delayed the new army's training were virtually resolved. The problem now is the delay of a boat from Lisbon carrying all the uniforms and military material. "We're trying to see what to do now and how to speed up the boat's arrival", Ajello told *Noticias*.

Another problem which delayed army training was the lack of consensus between government and Renamo as to the salaries new army soldiers should be paid. Government wanted higher salaries than Renamo for middle level officers, but lower ones for high officers and ordinary soldiers. The final result was a compromise.

For the highest rank, Lt General, government wanted 2 million MT and Renamo 3.1 million MT; the agreed salary is 2.5 million MT. For a major, government wanted 450,000 MT and Renamo 410,000, and the higher government figure was chosen. For ordinary soldiers, government wanted 70,600 MT and Renamo 110,000 MT, and 100,000 MT was agreed.

Meanwhile, Portuguese specialists have already started training the first 40 naval gunners at Catembe naval base, south of Maputo Bay, and special forces at the Nacala air base, in northern Nampula province.

Football beats politics

Popular protest against Renamo officials who tried to hold a public rally on the football pitch of Maputo's Inhagoia suburb ended with the near-death of a 13-year-old boy and reportedly serious injury of two other children. Witnesses said the confusion started when Renamo members tried to launch their rally on the football ground at the same time as local residents planned to hold a sports tournament. Angry locals burned the Renamo flag and forced its officials to flee in their cars, under a hail of stones. Police arrived and fired into the air, accidentally hitting the 13-year-old boy, while Renamo sent security guards of its own.