

Mozambique peace process bulletin



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Peace process restarts

Renamo has ended its three-month boycott, which had paralysed the Mozambican peace process. Renamo officials returned to the capital, Maputo, and on 3 June the Supervision and Control Commission (CSC) met for the first time since early March. The CSC is the senior implementation body established in the peace accord signed in Rome on 4 October by Renamo and the Mozambique government.

After the CSC meeting, observers, United Nations Special Envoy Aldo Ajello, and Renamo chief delegate Raul Domingos all said they were now optimistic.

At the meeting, both government and Renamo presented their lists of delegates to sit on the four peace commissions chaired by the UN: Supervision and Control (CSC), Cease-Fire (CCF), Re-integration (CORE) and Formation of the Mozambican Armed Forces (CCFADM). Renamo is also ready to present its list of delegates to commissions overseeing the police (Compol) and state security services (Cominfo), and to the National Elections Commission, which are all to be appointed by the President of the Republic.

Domingos said Renamo accepted what he called the "minimum solution" to Renamo's logistic problems: the Hotel Cardoso for accommodation and a UN trust fund for money. Some items still have to be discussed before Renamo brings all its delegates to Maputo; for example, Renamo wants to use the trust fund to buy new clothes, Domingos said.

ONUMOZ (UN Operation in Mozambique) informed the meeting that UN headquarters in New York would like them to eventually withdraw from chairing the peace committees, leaving responsibility with the two parties. But the two Mozambican sides and other observers present objected.

Meanwhile Renamo proposed signing a document with the government to give them official access to refugees and exiles outside the country. Government said such an accord was unnecessary.

Two other problems slowing the peace process were resolved in May. The government and the UN finally signed the Status-of-Forces agreement defining the relationship between the state and the ONUMOZ monitoring operation in Mozambique. This ended a stand-off between government and ONUMOZ; each blamed the other for failing to cooperate and delaying the peace process.

And the full contingent of ONUMOZ armed forces is finally in place, with five infantry battalions deployed along the main transport "corridors". The quota of unarmed observers remains unfilled, however.

With these obstacles cleared, the commissions face several outstanding issues:

- revising the original, one year, timetable for the peace process which called for elections by October 1993;
- investigating alleged cease-fire violations; and
- agreeing and preparing assembly points for troops of the two sides.

Demobilisation of the two opposing armies is the key process for lasting peace, and must take place before any general election campaign begins. Concentration of forces has not even begun, although the peace accord called for demobilisation to have been completed by April.

Cease-fire holds

During the long months of delay, calm reigned on the surface of national life and the cease-fire held. Traffic returned to roads that were "certain death" during the war. Food aid, medicines and refrigerated coca-cola returned to rural villages that hadn't seen health care, electricity or lorries since the conflict stopped them coming, years ago.

Harvests were good in many regions, as the rains came and improved security meant many of

their fields.

Government and non-government organisations (NGOs) began rebuilding health centres and schools destroyed in the war -- as part of Renamo's strategy to attack government institutions -- while Renamo was appointing its own civilian staff, including nurses.

Just below the film of calm, however, tensions festered. Government and Renamo disputed the territorial control of various local administration posts; threats flew as they accused each other of peace accord violations and mutual intimidation of members.

Soldiers and ex-soldiers grew ever more restless, in the void of their inactive life and an empty future. ONUMOZ stepped in to help demobilise government soldiers who were dismissed from active service before the cease-fire, but risked setting a precedent for demands from other armed groups.

The election process was deadlocked as opposition groups refused to debate the government's draft electoral law. The National Elections Commission, meant to guide the elections process, had still not been established.

What prospects?

Renamo's return to the peace implementing commissions occurred during Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama's two week European tour in early June. Several countries offered money but also pressed him to abide by the Rome accord.

With a donors' meeting also on the agenda for early June, Renamo needed to show good faith. Ajello specifically warned that donor response depends on progress achieved in implementing the peace accord.

There is widespread hope that Renamo will now play an active role and speed up the peace process. But there remain fears that Renamo will continually make new demands and spin out the process over months or years, while it transforms itself into a political party.

This follows concern that Renamo took advantage of the three month hiatus to improve its position. Speaking to a public rally in Chimoio in mid-April, Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano said "Renamo is receiving more arms, is training more people, and is receiving uniforms equal to those of the police. We also know that planes arrive every day in Maringue".

While the peace committees lay idle, Renamo denied free access to zones under its control -- to government, NGOs and even ONUMOZ itself. Without the Cease-Fire Commission, ONUMOZ said it was helpless to investigate alleged cease-fire violations tabled before the boycott.

In these circumstances, it is hard to know for sure how Renamo used its time, militarily. It is suggested in Maputo and other provincial capitals that Renamo used the boycott to clear up evidence of cease-fire violations, to consolidate arms caches, and to establish accessible civilian bases with a new administration structure, removed from its military bases.

Renamo abandoned Maputo and the peace-supervising committees in early March and made three demands: accommodation it said was promised in the peace accord, money it said was promised in a secret deal in Rome, and at least 2/3 of UN troops in place.

In May, Renamo delegates began drifting back. General-Secretary Vicente Ululu returned, followed closely by CSC representative Raul Domingos.

Renamo's housing problem was solved, at least in the short term, by Tiny Rowland, head of the British-German multinational Lonrho. He offered Lonrho's recently purchased Cardoso Hotel -- one of the capital's best -- to accommodate the 70 people who constitute Renamo's peace committee delegates and security personnel. The hotel was cleared and closed to outsiders on 1 June, although a week later no Renamo officials had moved in.

For the longer term, Renamo now proposes a \$32 million compound to house 300 staff and to include a conference centre and health facilities. A \$200,000 feasibility study has been funded by South African.

Dhlakama revealed in March that a secret deal in Rome in December had promised him US\$ 15 million to fund Renamo's transformation from a guerrilla group to a political party, and he said he would stall the peace process until he got his money.

The issue of financial help for Renamo and other emergent opposition parties has been an uncomfortably sticky one for foreign donors. With the exception of Italy, most foreign governments and institutions claim to have no mechanism allowing direct transfer of funds to political groups.

Italy promised help. But it refused to be seen as the only donor to Renamo, and was reluctant to pay over funds until other countries chipped in. A solution was reached when Ajello proposed two trust funds managed by the UN: one exclusively to help Renamo become a political party, and the other for support to all political parties and to the electoral process.

Renamo cannot access this money until it presents a budget -- which they did for the first time in May -- and until the trust funds have boards of trustees and Renamo has a financial officer.

The UN approved a trust fund in May. The first contribution came from Italy (\$390,000, with another \$5 million waiting, according to Onumoz sources). Portugal and France have each pledged \$1 million; Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands have also promised money. Though Renamo seemed to be getting its way, financially, foreign diplomats in Maputo said no other country was likely to put up the same sums as Italy. In late May, Ajello announced he had a "green light" to use the \$6 million so far in the trust fund for Renamo, and this would go to solving Renamo's logistical problems in Maputo. He said total donations to the trust funds were likely to reach \$10 million.

The public reason Renamo gave for walking out on the peace committees were logistical problems. Yet Ajello and other ONUMOZ staff noted Renamo was having difficulty finding enough sufficiently prepared

March was followed by training sessions at Renamo headquarters in Maringue to groom delegates.

Referees, not mediators

"Instead of trying to mediate the peace process, and visiting Dhlakama in Maringue, Ajello should have called Renamo back to Maputo. ONUMOZ should not act as mediators, but as referees", declared Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi.

But, despite this objection, the government and the UN finally signed a Status-of-Forces agreement in mid-May. This is the basic operational agreement which frames the relationship between the state and ONUMOZ.

It grants diplomatic immunity to ONUMOZ personnel, concedes ONUMOZ with unlimited freedom of movement, and makes it exempt from all taxes and duties, except service charges.

The agreement was only signed after long argument between the two parties. The government rejected the first draft of the agreement, presented by Ajello in February, and ONUMOZ officials accused the government of deliberate delay. A UN spokesperson said "it's as if they didn't want us here".

UN officials said the issue was mainly money, and accused the government of trying to milk as much tax money as possible from ONUMOZ before signing the exemption. One official argued it was too much to ask the UN to pay taxes when "we are here to help Mozambique".

But the government says it as an issue of sovereignty and about imposing some control on large-scale troop movements. The Italian ambassador, Manfredo Di Camerana, took the government's side. "Why should the UN not tell government where it is going and when? Why should it not pay taxes?" Before the agreement was signed, Di Camerana said, "I advised the UN to remember Mozambique is a very poor country, and tax would help support it. I advised the UN to be flexible -- Mozambique is not Somalia, or Yugoslavia; it has a government and deserves better treatment".

Mocumbi said his government was falsely blamed for the delay. "As soon as Mr Ajello arrived, in October, I asked him for the Status-of-Forces draft agreement. It was a striking surprise that he didn't present it till February".

The agreement was then given to each ministry for comments "and obviously each ministry is keen to protect its own interests. The Finance Ministry wants taxes paid and the customs people want duties", argued Mocumbi. ONUMOZ wanted too much freedom, he said, noting it had begun issuing its own identity cards without reference to the government.

Mocumbi denied that the eventual agreement compromises national sovereignty, as some people feared. "The peace accord is a Mozambican agreement and this states clearly what should be done -- it should guide any ONUMOZ activity here".

On the question of freedom of movement, the Foreign Minister said ONUMOZ should investigate all

have to enforce it. "Government believes they should act", he said, perhaps implying Ajello should have forced investigation of cease-fire violations reported by government to the CCF.

UN 'blue hats' deployed

Nearly all the expected armed UN troops -- known as "blue helmets" -- have arrived. Bangladeshis are deployed along the northern Nacala Corridor running from Malawi to Mozambique's Nacala port (1320 people including 19 military observers); Batswana are stationed in the northern Tete Corridor linking Zimbabwe to Malawi across Tete province (746 including 19 observers); Italians (1061) replaced Zimbabwean troops protecting the Beira Corridor from Zimbabwe to the sea; Uruguayan soldiers patrol national highway Number One linking Maputo to Beira (857 including 10 observers); and Zambians (847) protect the southern Limpopo Corridor from Zimbabwe to Maputo port. Portugal is providing a communication battalion of 178 people (and will be helping to train the new joint army). An Indian engineering battalion arrived in early June to give logistical support to the Zambians.

Further logistical, communications and medical support and military observers come from Argentina, Canada, Cape Verde, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Malaysia, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Russia and Japan, bringing the total number of UN troops and military observers to 5,524.

There is still a gap in the full contingent of unarmed UN observers, who are to monitor assembly points where the armed forces should be demobilised and selected for a joint new national army, and to monitor the election process. Of a planned 354, only 247 had arrived by the end of May.

According to the peace accord, the role of the armed battalions is to "ensure the security of trading routes". But Ajello explained this deployment plan assumed that the belligerent troops would be disarmed immediately after the cease-fire, and that demobilisation would be quickly completed. In the present situation, he said, "we're discussing extension of the function and duties of the armed forces, which could include patrolling in other areas".

One Onumoz commander in the North said his troops would respond to trouble anywhere in the region, though violent force would not be used.

ONUMOZ troops received a mixed reception from local people. Many ordinary people say they feel reassured by the ONUMOZ troop arrival -- it is a sure sign that peace will stay. Some people are still waiting for "the Americans" to come (although the United States is only providing a handful of unarmed staff).

But to others, the presence of so many armed foreigners in the country is overwhelming and excessive. One woman in Nampula Province expressed a common feeling: "If all this is just to control Mozambicans, I think we've got too many foreigners here". The return of Portuguese military personnel to this ex-Portuguese colony has also

Not unexpectedly, there are already rumours of sexual abuse by foreign soldiers, and of drunkenness and bad driving. In May, three Uruguayans died, two in a road accident, one from malaria.

No concentration yet

No assembly points have been opened and thus there has been no concentration or demobilisation of Renamo or government forces. However, resumption of meetings and the arrival of most ONUMOZ forces raises hopes that this can soon get underway, as Dhlakama had said there would be no demobilisation until at least two-thirds of UN troops were present.

Of 49 Assembly Points (APs) called for by the Peace Accord, only 19 sites have been inspected. Of these, 13 have been approved, although none are ready to open. Basic infrastructure such as water supply and facilities for food and medical care still must be installed. Work halted when the Renamo withdrew from the commissions, as both belligerent parties must be involved.

World Food Programme sources said the food needed for assembly points is ready and waiting; ONUMOZ commanders said six of the approved sites are nearly ready and could open within days.

Meanwhile, in expectation of a beginning to demobilisation, the three countries designated under the peace accord to train a joint new national army (Britain, France and Portugal) began consultation meetings again.

Demobilisation is urgent

Considering that more than 50,000 armed men have been unexpectedly confined to bases with little to do for more than seven months, there have been remarkably few incidents. But it is becoming ever more obvious that if the peace is to hold, demobilisation must start quickly.

Demonstrations and strikes by government soldiers and ex-soldiers, including the presidential guard, continued in demand of unpaid wages, benefits and demobilisation money.

Responding to an appeal from President Chissano, the ONUMOZ Technical Unit for Demobilisation stepped in to help demob an estimated 16,000 government soldiers dismissed from active service between January and October 1992, before the cease-fire. This operation was outside their peace accord mandate, but the unit argued since they had the expertise and time, in the interests of general peace they ought to help.

By late May, the demob operation was already judged a success, with over 80% of the target group registered and many on their way home.

Government forked out demobilisation pay. ONUMOZ provided the administration staff and equipment. US\$ 2 million for civilian clothes and transport home for the soldiers came from UNDP and the Dutch government.

The question remains, however, if this process

groups. In May, guards at a state-owned sugar factory in Incomati, 100km north of the capital, staged violent protests demanding "demobilisation money". The issue was only resolved when managers agreed to pay up, although such payments to company guards are not mentioned in the peace accord.

Protests by ex-soldiers in Nampula subsided when government paid their wages, some back-dated to 1987 -- but potential for trouble still exists. Back payments were not adjusted for inflation so some soldiers received the current wage (a private earns MT 27,000 per month -- less than US\$ 10), while others received the 1987 wage of MT 600 per month. Provincial Governor Alfredo Gamito admitted that "some soldiers found this hard to understand".

On 20 May a parachutists brigade -- one of the army's best-trained -- marched into Nacala, firing shots in the air, and demanding payment of danger money for every jump they ever made.

One army captain said: "We always expected this kind of confusion, and the longer soldiers wait around idly, the worse it will get". The best solution is immediate demobilisation and transport home, he said.

Few cease-fire violations

There have been surprisingly few cease-fire violations in recent months. Civilians have died at the hands of gunmen, and civilian vehicles have been ambushed by men in military uniform, even within the protected corridors. However, these attacks are generally attributed to mere thieves, and are not counted as violations of the cease-fire.

There have been some disputes over territorial control, with government and Renamo soldiers chasing each other from post to post. In Nampula province, Renamo attacked the Boira area four times after the cease-fire, and mid-May moved back into Sangage, while government troops recaptured positions at Murrupa.

This violates the cease-fire which forbids all movement of armed troops outside their bases.

Another apparent violation came to light at the end of May, when the president of the opposition Federal Party of Mozambique (PAFEMO), Mariano Pordina, claimed to have an armed force of 2,000 men. According to Maputo's independent newsheet *Mediafax*, Pordina looked for support from Zimbabwe's opposition ZUM (Zimbabwe Unity Movement, led by Edgar Tekere), and informed sources suspected his men were involved in attacks near the Zimbabwe border.

Confidence & food growing

Generally, however, there has been a real growth in confidence. More travellers are taking to the roads, by day and by night. Commerce, health services and education are returning to villages and remote areas that were isolated or abandoned during the war. A wary but brave civilian population is making its way home from places of refuge.

accommodation centres for displaced people during the war, but these are now empty. Last November, 500,000 people in Nampula, including 150,000 displaced, were considered in need of emergency help. Provincial estimates for the next agricultural year are down to 200,000 people who may need assistance.

Food security has improved, after two years of drought, thanks to normal rainfall this year in much of the country. And thanks to the cease-fire, many farmers who spent the last years as refugees far from their fields were able to plant and harvest safely. The October peace accord signing fortunately came just before the planting season.

At the time of the cease-fire, NGOs generally reckoned the population living in Renamo held areas to be in a worse physical and nutritional state than elsewhere. In the last six months, though, the UN Humanitarian Assistance Committee has organised distribution of 19,000 tonnes of food and as well as tools, seeds, pots, soap, and health items to parts of 49 districts held by Renamo (Mozambique has 128 districts). However, officials in the Government's emergency sector claim villagers displaced in Renamo areas are only now moving back to their homes, meaning their food situation is still precarious.

The UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) predicts national cereal production of 771,000 tonnes this agricultural year, leaving a shortfall of 588,000 tonnes required to feed 905,000 people (not including returned refugees from outside the country).

Production surpluses are expected in the north, particularly Cabo Delgado, Tete, and northern Zambezia provinces, as well as in Manica province in the centre.

But FAO predicts a shortfall in southern Gaza, Inhambane, and Maputo in the south, and in southern Zambezia. Poor production in the south is due to late rains plus a lack of seeds, tools and irrigation, according to FAO.

In response to this patchwork, the European Community has approved the idea of buying food in surplus areas for distribution in deficit zones.

Two territories?

Renamo continues to insist that "there are two administrations in Mozambique legally recognised by the peace accord", according to a note from Renamo's press sector to *Mediatfax*.

The statement says that all economic agents from outside Renamo held zones (and, by implication, social and political agents, too) must ask Renamo permission before they enter. Requests to carry on economic activity in Renamo held zones must be sent to its leadership for analysis. The note adds that "in Afonso Dhlakama's view, most requests received so far are linked to Frelimo leaders, making it impossible to authorise them".

In Zambezia and Sofala, provincial governors said Renamo had blocked economic activity. In Sofala, Renamo banned timber companies and hunters, while

for construction.

Both Ajello and the government reject Renamo's interpretation of the peace accord, and the issue will surely be raised in the CSC. The accord states that in the period from cease-fire up to the time a newly elected government takes office, public administration in Mozambique "will continue to obey the law in force and to be conducted through the institutions provided for by law".

It further states "the civil and political rights of citizens and human rights and fundamental freedoms, shall be respected and guaranteed in all parts of the national territory".

Ambiguously, it also says that "institutions provided for by law for the conduct of public administration in areas controlled by Renamo shall employ only citizens resident in those areas, who may be members of Renamo." It adds that "the relationship between the Ministry of State Administration and the administration in the areas controlled by Renamo shall be conducted through a national commission."

Aid to Renamo areas

Relations between local Renamo members and outside organisations improved early this year, but suffered a set-back from March onwards, apparently after Renamo's leadership increased its demands.

The daily newspaper *Noticias* quoted Renamo Chief of Organisation Raul Domingos saying it would cost US\$ 100 million to complete the transformation of his armed guerrilla movement into a political party. Dhlakama later told the same paper this figure was "exaggerated".

While Renamo was boycotting the commissions, ONUMOZ personnel were denied free access to Renamo areas, hindering delivery of humanitarian aid and delaying the preparation of assembly points. In mid-May, the head of the UN Humanitarian Assistance Committee (UNOHAC), Bernt Bernander, visited Dhlakama in Maringue to drag out a promise of open access for aid to Renamo zones. Dhlakama promised that areas under Renamo control would be open to NGO activity, including local NGOs when these are concerned with health care.

Foreign aid workers in Nampula and in Zambezia provinces said that at local level relations with Renamo improved. Accompanied by foreign NGOs, government vaccination workers were allowed in to Renamo areas.

But trust was fragile. In Zambezia, Renamo accused one NGO of planting explosives in a bag of food aid and called them "Frelimo agents". NGOs said they were often only allowed to meeting points, where Renamo would pick up aid supplies and insist on doing their own distribution inside zones they control.

Meanwhile, Renamo is appointing its own local administrators, teachers and nurses. But many of these people have very little prior experience. According to foreign doctors, for example, many of the new Renamo "nurses" have only a recent, few-week training and almost no knowledge either of health care or administrative practice.

becomes significant in the context of its insistence on dual administration. Apparently it is attempting to implant its own civil structure.

This will be important because of disputes as to how much area Renamo actually controls. Governor Gamito, for example, claimed in Nampula there were no areas under Renamo "control" -- only small military bases and areas under its "influence". Gamito claimed the opposition movement was trying to set up a new civil administration, separate from the military bases.

Transitional government?

In a concerted effort to edge in on the lime-light, 12 of Mozambique's newly emerging, non-armed political opposition groups walked out on the debate of a new electoral law, needed to guide the nation's first ever multi-party elections.

The peace process should culminate in democratic elections and under the peace accord, these were originally due to be held one year after the start of a cease-fire. ONUMOZ has now suggested that a more appropriate date would be October 1994.

The peace accord says "the government shall draft the electoral act in consultation with Renamo and the other parties" and that "the government shall set up a National Elections Commission", one-third of whose members shall be nominated by Renamo.

The government tabled its draft law and called a meeting to debate it for April 27. Renamo refused to come, saying it needed more time to think, and that government had violated the peace accord by not consulting it during the actual drafting procedure.

For their part, 12 non-armed opposition parties (from a gaggle of around 20) attended President Chissano's opening speech, only to walk out leaving a statement of demands fluttering behind them on the table. They charged that the Frelimo government does not respect the opposition and is not serious about democracy.

They demanded office space for their own political work, and called for a transitional government, to rule until elections. This was the opposition's first joint action and for that reason some observers saw it as a hopeful sign of maturity.

The transitional government idea was basically put forward by Monamo president Maximo Dias, however, and the 12 admitted they had not discussed it in any detail -- beyond the general idea of power-sharing among Frelimo, Renamo and the non-armed opposition for a two to five year period.

The 12 parties' protest met a mixed response. Two opinion polls in the capital showed small majorities against a transitional government. Foreign observers said they found the suggestion understandable, but unrealistic.

A transitional government would give opposing forces joint responsibility for democratisation and allow more time for political and electoral organisation. But it also gives power to tiny parties, as well as contravening the peace accord and delaying its implementation.

Mozambique, Hassan Makda, said "A transitional government would be a fiasco. It would turn into anarchy. If two poles [Frelimo and Renamo] can't agree, it would be worse with others".

An agronomist in Zambezia said "The intensity of corruption would be worse -- instead of 17 years (like Frelimo) this government would only have 3 to fill its pockets".

Italian ambassador Di Camerana said he saw little capacity among the opposition parties to manage a transitional government, which would merely mean continued power-sharing among a tiny elite.

The idea of a transitional government had been raised and rejected in the Rome negotiations. Renamo's initial response was that it was still against the idea, although Dhlakama later said he would give it more thought.

Government was not prepared to contemplate any such thing. "After all our efforts to end the war and committing ourselves to pluralism, in no way can we accept a government formed except by popular verdict" by a vote, said Justice Minister Oussmane Ali Dauto.

Ali Dauto initially promised government help to locate office space for the 12. But he later made it clear there was no legal obligation to do this, and the first priority is housing for Renamo (not to mention ONUMOZ needs).

Ali Dauto clearly felt impatient: "We've discussed the electoral law with Renamo already, in Rome, and we've given the opposition their chance. Unless Renamo wants to rediscuss the peace accord, eventually we'll have to pass the electoral law".

ONUMOZ meanwhile reminded the 12 that although the matter of government is a Mozambican choice, ONUMOZ has only a limited time to guide the peace process. Its initial mandate is for one year.

An apparently fractious President ridiculed the opposition at a public rally on May 1. Chissano reminded his audience that two opposition leaders -- Maximo Dias of Monamo and Domingos Arouca of Fumo -- were former exiles in Portugal and still have Portuguese citizenship, while Unamo leader Carlos Reis has a criminal record. Less than half the 12 opposition parties are legally registered with the Ministry of Justice.

"These people want to enter the government without being called by the population", argued Chissano. "They refuse to renounce Portuguese nationality and yet they want to be part of government. They want a transitional government, but they are foreigners".

The President's seemingly intolerant response drew criticism in the independent press and perhaps did little for Frelimo's corroding image.

Nonetheless, Chissano's words struck a familiar chord of doubt among many Mozambicans, concerning the new group of parties. One Muslim sheik summed up the feeling, as he asked "Where were these parties during the war? And if trouble comes back, won't their leaders just run away again?"

Only days after the 12 opposition parties' first joint action, signs of division and internal confusion were back in the headlines. Pademo president Wehia Ripua accused the leaders of two other parties of being racists, exciting counter-charges that his own party is manipulated by Frelimo to divide the opposition. Less than a month later, Pademo general-secretary Marco Juma resigned.

PCN legal advisor and founding member Vasco Campira called for suspension of two leading members after they went to visit Renamo in Maringue, for favouring links with the armed group. As a result, PCN held an emergency meeting which instead suspended Campira himself.

When Pademo President Pordina announced the existence of 2,000 armed men within his party, the other leaders called him a liar and expelled him.

An (unreliable, but perhaps indicative) opinion poll carried out in Maputo by Gestinform in May, found Frelimo leading the political stakes with 40%, to 15% for Renamo and 12% for a coalition. Perhaps the most striking poll result, however, was that 34% said they would not vote for anyone.

While the unarmed opposition still has hard work ahead to build a serious reputation and sizable following, Renamo seemed to be gaining some support, especially in the Muslim dominated, anti-Frelimo north of the country, as its populist campaigning got underway.

By June, debate on the electoral law was still pending, while government was worried that Mozambique itself has no money, either to support the opposition parties or to hold its own elections. This means Mozambique will have to rely on foreign finance for elections, while the government has had to ask international donors to help the opposition establish itself.

According to one top government minister, this is the most worrying issue for national sovereignty. He asked: "Have you ever seen a government commit wilful suicide before?"

Dispute over refugee return

Since the cease-fire began in October, more than 250,000 refugees have returned from neighbouring countries to Mozambique without assistance. The first formal repatriation of Mozambican refugees was due on 12 June, and was to involve 200 people living in Zimbabwe, according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

But government and donors are not agreed on a repatriation strategy to bring home well over a million refugees in six neighbouring states. The programme elaborated by UN agencies and NGOs stipulates that repatriation may only "take place in conditions of security and dignity". But to do this could take three years, the agencies say.

This is rejected by government, which argues that refugees have already started coming home, en masse. So government is pushing hard for funds to be

"The war and drought have finished. It doesn't make sense for us to try and solve problems only over the long term", said Deputy Cooperation Minister Oldimiro Baloi.

However some critics fear that if help is given now to stimulate refugees return, it would benefit the government in the forthcoming election.

The UN Humanitarian Assistance Committee (UNOHAC) foresees the return of 735,000 refugees in the next year. Centres to supervise population movements and give support in establishing basic facilities needed by the returnees are being established in several border districts.

The June operation is seen as a test of the UN repatriation programme. A tripartite meeting on refugees involving UNHCR and the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe was scheduled for 2 June in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare. Zimbabwe hosts an estimated 140,000 Mozambican refugees.

The largest number of Mozambican refugees -- close to one million -- are in Malawi, which has also seen the largest number returning on their own. The Sofala provincial emergency coordinator, Antonio Januario, told *Noticias* that at least 100 returnees from Malawi arrive every day in Caia district. The Tete provincial government estimates a daily average of 250 people are returning from Malawi.

South Africa has never given Mozambicans formal refugee status. According to a UNHCR official in Chicualcuala district, in southwestern Mozambique, at least 150 people per week cross the border from South Africa, returning to their original home areas.

Voluntary returnees from Malawi and South Africa receive almost no support. "The last time we received help for returnees was January", said the UNHCR official in Chicualcuala, Jose Dacaranha Benjamin.

Ajello said he had reached agreement with Renamo to co-operate in enabling UN agencies and foreign and national NGOs to channel humanitarian aid to all parts of the national territory.

With this obstacle overcome, the key remaining problems seems to be inaccessibility of certain roads, because of mines and fallen bridges, and a shortage of transport. In Sofala Januario said "We didn't manage to send tools to the returnees, as we haven't any transport".

There is hope that a donor conference in Maputo in early June will generate some money for formal repatriation. UNHCR's headquarters in New York has promised to allocate Mozambique US\$ 30 million for 1993, although only \$5 million has been made available so far.

UNHCR Maputo representative Emmanuel Owusu said his budget is not enough to meet the current situation, "with all the refugees wanting to come back at the same time, we are still waiting for donor contributions". He expressed optimism about the appeal, saying Scandinavian countries and the United States had already responded positively.

A UNOHAC report cited by the Mozambican News Agency (AIM) says that UNHCR needs another \$27 million for 1994.

support emerging opposition parties.

- 9/4 Battalion of 720 Botswana troops arrives to protect Nacala Corridor.
- 15/4 Zimbabwean troops protecting Beira Corridor return home; 1043 Italian UN troops take over.
- 22/4 Plans fail for a summit meeting between Chissano and Dhlakama aimed to unblock the peace process. Chissano says government has fulfilled its obligations to Renamo under the peace accord, and warns government will defend itself "if war comes back".
- 23/4 Group of 12 non-armed political opposition parties hand a statement to the Mozambican prime minister, saying they would not attend debate on the government's proposed new election law unless their demands, principally for office space, were conceded.
- 23/4 A group of armed men in military uniform allegedly attack a truck on Beira-Chimoio road, stealing goods from travellers aboard. Two other cars attacked the same night in Zimpinga region, Gondola district. These incidents occurred in the Beira Corridor, despite the presence of UN troops. An ONUMOZ spokesperson in Maputo said "the UN troops' main job is protecting trains and convoys. We can't ensure protection of all individual drivers on the road".
- 27/4 12 opposition parties walk out on debate convened by government to discuss its draft electoral law, demanding office space, more "respect" and a transitional government. Justice Minister Oussmane Ali Dauto calls the walk-out a negation of democracy.
- 1/5 At a May Day speech, Chissano tells workers that the opposition 12 are anti-democratic, some are not yet legalised, and two of its leaders (as former exiles in Portugal) are "foreigners" to Mozambique.
- 6/5 Chissano announces that the head of Lonrho, Tiny Rowland, offers Cardoso Hotel to accommodate Renamo delegates to the peace committees.
- 6/5 116 Portuguese soldiers of the Transmissions Battalion 4 (of total 178 to come) arrive in Maputo to join ONUMOZ.
- 6/5 Renamo Secretary-General Vicente Ululu returns to Maputo
- 7/5 UN Special Envoy to Mozambique Aldo Ajello visits Dhlakama in Maringue, accompanied by heads of UN humanitarian agencies in Maputo (UNICEF, WFP, UNDP, UNHCR and UNOHAC). UNOHAC chief Bernt Bernander says Dhlakama guaranteed UN officials that Renamo areas would be open to all humanitarian organisations.
- 7/5 First contingent of 188 Zambian troops arrive to protect Limpopo corridor from Zimbabwe to Maputo port; 185 Bangladeshi troops arrive as part of battalion to guard Nacala Corridor from Malawi to Nacala port.
- 8/5 Chissano says government has launched an
- 8/5 The daily *Noticias* reports that World Food Programme says of 558,000 tonnes of maize requested in November 1992 special emergency appeal for 1993, 452,000 tonnes had arrived by the end of March.
- 11/5 *Noticias* reports murder of a civilian driver by a group of armed men in the Nacala corridor.
- 14/5 Government and UN sign Status-of-Forces agreement in New York, granting diplomatic immunity, freedom of movement and tax exemption to ONUMOZ.
- 14/5 Government and UN sign agreement on technical assistance to the election process.
- 14/5 Ajello goes to Maringue with ONUMOZ armed forces commander, Lelio Goncalves da Silva, and member of ONUMOZ Technical Unit for Demobilisation, Ton Pardoel, to discuss assembly of troops and demobilisation.
- 14/5 Ululu says Dhlakama agrees to meet Chissano in Maputo and to reside temporarily in Cardoso Hotel.
- 14/5 National Convention Party (PCN) delegation visits Maringue following first invitation to visit from Renamo to an opposition party.
- 15/5 *Noticias* cites a source from the "Episcopal Committee for Migrants, Refugees and Displaced People" saying Mozambican refugees living in camps in Malawi were being terrorised by armed groups said to belong to the Malawian paramilitary.
- 15/5 About 60 soldiers demobilised during 1984-91 stage protest in Nacala, demanding back pay, transport to their original home areas and employment in their home areas.
- 17/5 ONUMOZ armed forces reach 4,721.
- 20/5 Deputy Cooperation Minister Oldimiro Baloi tells AIM that from May to September, government will reduce the number of people receiving free aid from 3.9 million to 1.5 million, because people are eating from their own harvests in this period. The number will rise again to 2.2 million by April 1994.
- 22/5 Ajello says he has a "green light" to use the US\$ 6 million in the Trust Fund to help Renamo's transformation into a political party.
- 28/5 Ajello says the UN is studying the possibility of extending "the functions and duties" of ONUMOZ armed forces to include patrolling outside the main national communications corridors. The number of ONUMOZ civilian and military staff reaches 6,171.
- 29/5 Draft law guiding political parties' rights to broadcasting air-time presented to Mozambican parliament.
- 3/6 First meeting since early March of Supervision and Control Commission.