

# The men most likely to succeed

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MOZAMBIQUE will almost certainly announce the name of its new President within the next three days, a decision which will have far-reaching implications for South and southern Africa.

Observers believe that the announcement will be made after the funeral of the late President on Tuesday. This will enable the new leader to hold discussions, as President of Mozambique, with some of the leaders who are expected to attend the funeral.

Since the President's death on Sunday, the 10-man political bureau of the ruling Frelimo Party has been holding meetings, sometimes lasting up to 12 hours.

It is from this body, made up of hard-core veterans of the guerilla war against Portugal, that Mozambique's next leader will be chosen.

In theory it is Frelimo's central committee, of more than 100 members, which elects the party's new ruler. In practice, however, it is the political bureau which will nominate the candidate for the central committee's approval.

Mozambique's constitution states clearly that the President of Frelimo is automatically the President of the People's Republic.

At this stage, observers and diplomats in Maputo believe that the man most likely to become the new President is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Joaquim Chissano.

Other possible candidates are Mr Armando Guebuza, Mr Marcelino dos Santos, Mr Mario Machungo and General Alberto Chlpande — more or less in that order.

## CHISSANO



## Frelimo's No 3 man is the popular choice

JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHISSANO, who celebrated his 47th birthday on Wednesday only three days after the death of President Samora Machel, is the man most likely to succeed to the Presidency.

He is number three in the Frelimo party hierarchy and has been Minister of Foreign Affairs since the country's independence in 1975.

Softly spoken Mr Chissano is extremely popular among large sectors of the population.

Like President Machel, he was born in southern Mozambique in the small town of Chibuto in the Gaza province.

He was one of the first black pupils at the main Maputo high school and later obtained a bursary to study medicine in Lisbon.

He fled to Paris where he met Marcelino dos Santos whom he helped to unite the three liberation movements into Frelimo.

During the war against the Portuguese Mr Chissano was head of Frelimo's security department.

After the death of Frelimo's first president, Dr Eduardo Mondlane, Mr Chissano sided with the radicals in ousting conservative elements within the party.

Mr Chissano was Prime Minister during the nine-month transitional government that led the country to independence between September 1974 to June 1975.

Regarded as a moderate and pragmatic politician, Mr Chissano did not, however, take part in any of the negotiations that led to the Nkomati Accord.

## DOS SANTOS



### A father figure who could be persuaded

MARCELINO DOS SANTOS has been an influential figure since helping to found Frelimo in 1962.

Educated in Lisbon and Paris, Mr Dos Santos was a close advisor to Frelimo's first president, Dr Eduardo Mondlane, who was assassinated in Tanzania in 1969. The Samora Machel, Urias Simango and Marcelino Dos Santos triumvirate led Frelimo after Dr Mondlane's death.

In 1970, when Mr Simango defected, Samora Machel became Frelimo's president and Mr Dos Santos his vice-president, a post abolished two years after independence. However, Mr Dos Santos retained his No 2 spot in the political bureau hierarchy and remains Frelimo's father figure.

It was he who announced President Machel's death over Radio Mozambique.

After independence, Mr Dos Santos, regarded as a pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist, was given the key post of Minister of Economic Planning.

His socialist policies were a disaster and he was dismissed and made Minister Resident of Sofala Province, an appointment described at the time as "semi-retirement". However, he was recently appointed Permanent Secretary of the People's Assembly, theoretically No 2 in the State hierarchy.

Mr Dos Santos' wife, Pam Beira, was a Yeoville girl who fled South Africa in the early 1960s after being charged under the Immorality Act.

At 19 she left for Tanzania after an affair with a black man. There she met her husband, Marcelino, then second-in-command of Frelimo.

## GUEBUZA



### The hard-liner with undeniable power

ARMANDO EMILIO GUEBUZA, almost unknown outside Mozambique, is clearly a man of considerable military and political power.

He was a prominent guerilla leader during the war against the Portuguese and is number four in Frelimo's political bureau.

He was a rising militant within Frelimo's cadres at the time of independence when he was Political Commissar of the People's Liberation Army, a position which enabled him to have control over matters concerning the armed forces.

An uncompromising hard-liner who detests "liberalism", he is said to have been totally opposed to the Nkomati Accord.

He is also totally opposed to any negotiations whatsoever with the MNR.

Since independence Mr Guebuza has held the post of Minister of the Interior twice, and lost it twice after accusations of torture and arbitrary arrests by the police which he controlled.

When he lost the post for the second time in June 1984, President Machel accused him in public of being responsible for police abuses.

Pointing to Mr Guebuza at a mass rally in Maputo President Machel said: "This here is Guebuza. He is the one who arrests many people and just leaves them there."

Later, however, President Machel appointed him Minister in the President's Office, a move which observers interpreted as a clear sign that even President Machel could not ignore Mr Guebuza's power.

## MACHUNGO



### Prime Minister could be the compromise

MARIO DA GRACA MACHUNGO, the country's Prime Minister, is the only political bureau member who was not in exile with Frelimo during the war against the Portuguese.

He was appointed to the political bureau in 1977, two years after independence.

Born in December 1940, Mr Machungo, an economist, was appointed Mozambique's first Prime Minister in July. Observers point out that this appointment did not entail any real power since all his appointments and laws had to be approved by President Machel.

He has had a number of portfolios since independence: Industry and Commerce, Commerce and Tourism, Agriculture and Planning.

His political alignments remain a mystery. It has been reported that he was a protégé of Mr Marcelino dos Santos who supported his election to the political bureau.

During his years as Minister of Agriculture, he approved plans for the creation and mechanisation of large State farms. These proved to be a disaster.

He is said to have been a supporter of highly centralised planning but, as Minister of Planning, his 10-year economic plan was another fiasco.

However, during a short period as governor of Zambezia in 1984, Mr Machungo introduced some free economic policies in the province.

His claim to Frelimo leadership arises from his influence on several economy-related ministries and from the fact that he could become the compromise candidate.

## CHIPANDE



### Military man could get a deadlock vote

GENERAL JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHIPANDE fired the first shot in the liberation war against the Portuguese in 1964, according to official Mozambican history.

After Samora Machel's election to the Frelimo presidency in 1970, General Chipande became one of the top commanders in the guerilla army.

Unlike most of the other Frelimo leaders, General Chipande comes from the northern province of Cabo Delgado, which is inhabited by the Makonde tribe who provided Frelimo with its strongest base and from whom the organisation drew most of its fighters.

General Chipande became Minister of Defence after independence and, as such, is a member of the political bureau. He was also a close friend of President Machel.

He still has the support of the veterans of the guerillas army, even though his performance as head of the defence ministry was considered a disaster.

In 1984, after the party's fourth congress, General Chipande was sent into virtual retirement, although he nominally retained the title of Minister of Defence.

Earlier this year, however, he was recalled to Maputo as President Machel took a more direct and active role in the war against the MNR.

General Chipande's chances of being appointed President are slim. But, in the event of a deadlock, he could be chosen because of his status as a nationalist.