

out that a national debate is already under way on a series of constitutional amendments.

The most significant of these proposed changes would alter the way in which the President is elected. The President of the ruling **Frelimo** party is now automatically the head of state: the constitutional amendment proposes that the head of state be elected by the 11 elected provincial assemblies.

This change opens the way for a greater separation between party and state.

The constitution has been under debate for more than a year, and MNR members who abandon the war will have the same rights of discussion as any other Mozambican citizens.

There is already an amnesty for all rebels who surrender to the authorities, and a promise that they will be fully "reintegrated" into society.

The government document goes one step beyond this in speaking of "dialogue". But it never actually mentions the MNR by name, and government spokesmen have remained adamant that there can be no "political negotiations" with the rebels.

In mid-June, in one of the preparatory meetings for the forthcoming Frelimo party congress, a minority of delegates called for negotiations with the MNR.

The Security Minister and Frelimo politburo member, Mr. Mariano Matosinho, replied that there could be no such talks with the rebels, since they were merely instruments of South Africa.

At no point does the government plan mention multi-party elections, which have always been a demand of the MNR. It lays the onus fully on the rebels to end violence and to respect "individual and collective liberties, human rights, and democratic rights."

### **South African Pressure**

News of the leaked dialogue plan coincided with reports that the South African government was engaged in secret negotiations between the MNR and the Mozambican government to end the fighting, according to an article published in the South African daily, *Volksrant* on June 24th, and cited by the South African agency on the 25th. South Africa was putting pressure on the MNR leader, Mr. Afonso Dhlak-

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## **MOZAMBIQUE ARBP 26(6)**

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### **Plan to End War 15/6/89**

Mozambique has circulated a plan to end the war with the South African-backed rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) to selected embassies in Maputo.

This document has now been leaked by diplomats to journalists. The plan makes clear from the start the government's view that the conflict is "a destabilisation operation" and not "a war between two parties."

It insists that the rebels must first "stop all acts of terrorism and banditry." Then, a "dialogue" might begin that would be open to "all individuals, including those who up to now have been involved in violent destabilisation."

Implicitly, this dialogue would not be with the MNR as an organisation, but with those of its members who accepted the government's terms.

The government insists that it will not accept any alteration to the constitution by means of violence, but points

ama to end the war and had reportedly offered him a villa in Durban, the agency said.

Radio Mozambique (Maputo) the same day broadcast a speech by President Chissano to mark National Day, in which he expressed the hope that "the Angolan people's victory" in achieving peace could also be achieved in Mozambique (see p. 9316). "We already had hopes, but our hopes were renewed with the knowledge that a transition to peace, tranquillity and harmony had begun among Angolan citizens, who were at war just two days ago," he said, adding: "We are happy, especially because that peace process occurred along the lines that our own party, the Frelimo Party, has always proposed." President Chissano called on "those who continue to carry out violent acts, massacres and terrorism to examine their consciences and decide." "Those massacres, this war, this key, the end to this war, is in their hands. We do not call on them to do so out of weakness or inability to continue the struggle . . . We know the Mozambican people are with Frelimo," he added.

It was not initially clear whether the peace plan document had been presented to the MNR but reports in Lisbon (**Portugal**) on June 28th, said the MNR had accepted a 12-point peace plan put forward by the Mozambican Christian Council at a meeting between Mr. Afonso Dhlakama and church officials in Nairobi (**Kenya**) during the weekend of June 24th-25th.

The ecumenical church group had been mediating between the warring factions since August 1988.

Portuguese diplomatic sources in Lisbon said the deal was virtually a resuscitation of the ill-fated Nkomati Accord signed between Mozambique and South Africa in October 1984 (p. 7397).

That accord was designed to end Pretoria's backing for the MNR and bring peace to the country.

### End in Sight?

The latest deal is reported to include: an end to hostilities 45 days after the signing of the agreement; mixed verification commissions to monitor the ceasefire; an accommodation agreement between the two armies, and the study of mutual political, social, economic and military integration.

The monitoring commission will con-

sist of four Maputo government members, four MNR members, and four foreign government observers who will chair the commission.

The MNR will agree to recognise the authority of the head of state and government of Mozambique.

President Chissano of Mozambique has already endorsed an end to hostilities and a "dialogue" with the MNR, and has sought United Nations Security Council support for his efforts.

The President dedicated most of a speech on June 24th to mark the 14th Independence Day celebrations, to an appeal to the rebels to end the war.

Meanwhile the MNR's first congress held in Lisbon on June 5th and 9th discussed the political and military situation in Mozambique and mapped out guidelines for future activity. The MNR communique said the Mozambican conflict must be resolved through dialogue. The congress reviewed the MNR's statutes and programme and elected a new national council. It also adopted a new MNR flag. (R. Lisbon 16/6, SAPA 25/6, D. Tel 29/6, GD 24/6)

### Soviet Advisers Withdrawing

After a decade of advising Mozambique's Frelimo army in the war against the right-wing rebels, Soviet military experts are withdrawing from the southern African nation over the next two years, diplomatic and military sources in Maputo confirmed in early June. First word of the dramatic turnabout came on June 1st when Mozambique's Defence Minister, General Alberto Chipande, announced to an applauding audience of senior army officials that "more than half of the advisers that we have are leaving and they will be replaced by Mozambicans."

Although General Chipande, a member of the ruling Frelimo Politburo, gave no details on the pullout, diplomatic sources said the withdrawal of the estimated 700-800 Soviet military advisers would be phased over two years, with half of their number going home this year and the rest departing by the end of 1990, when the current five-year Soviet-Mozambican military co-operation accord runs out.

It is unclear how the training programmes of **East Germany** and **Cuba**, the other significant providers of military advisers will be affected, but General Chipande's open-ended statement

suggested that their military and security teams too would be cut back.

**Britain**, the leading Western military backer of the Chissano government, keeps its small team of instructors at a safe distance in the mountain camp at Nyanga, in eastern **Zimbabwe**.

The announcement followed the arrival of a high-powered Soviet military delegation on May 17th to iron out the details of a military agreement between President Joaquim Chissano's government and Moscow earlier this year. Training in conventional warfare and deliveries of heavy weapons are to be replaced by increased supplies of helicopters, trucks, communications equipment and light weapons. The savings to the budget-conscious Soviet Union could amount to 40% of its annual military aid programme in Mozambique, which one diplomatic source put at £80m.

Mr. Chissano's government hopes the changes will help to rebuild the 30,000-strong Frelimo army into a more mobile counter-insurgency force. (Ind 3/6)