

MOZAMBIQUE  
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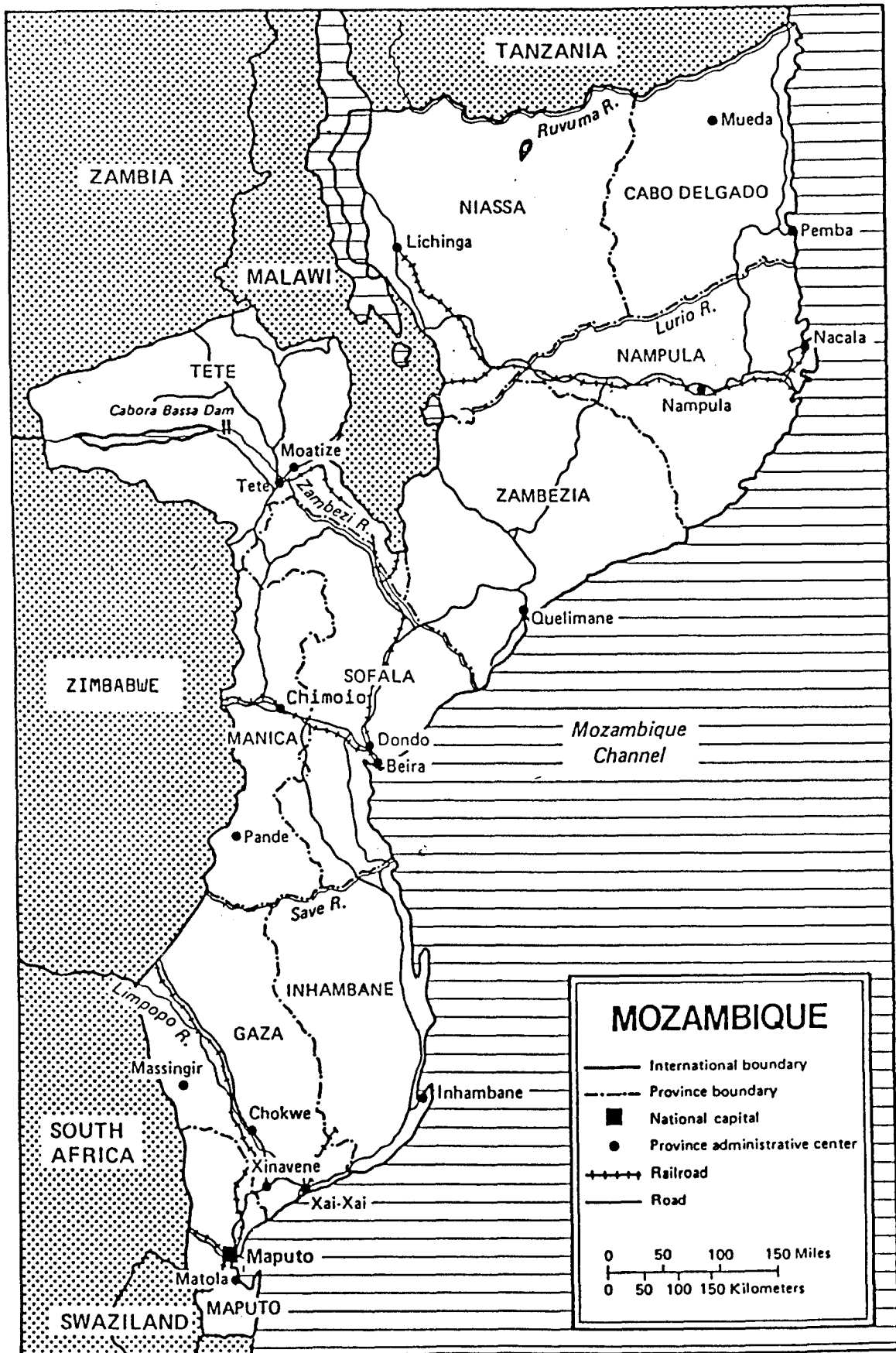
DOSSIER ON THE PEACE PROCESS  
IN MOZAMBIQUE

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DOSSIER  
ON THE PEACE PROCESS  
IN MOZAMBIQUE

PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY PRESIDENT CHISSANO,  
ON 17 JULY 1989

STATEMENT (extempore)

The topic for this meeting is what we are doing in the search for peace, peace initiatives. We have been trying to obtain peace in the People's Republic of Mozambique since before the Nkomati Accord, and we have never stopped taking initiatives either before or after signing the Accord. As everyone knows, the process was interrupted after violations of the Nkomati Accord were verified, and remained dormant for a considerable period of time, but even during this period some actions and initiatives were undertaken in an attempt to bring about conditions conducive to peace.

Our greatest effort during this period was focussed on the external factors in the violence and destabilisation of our country. These had to be reduced to a minimum before we could consider internal factors in greater depth. We thus made contacts within the international community to explain the nature of destabilisation and the nature of the war in Mozambique, and we were successful in this.

The nature of this war had to be understood even inside South Africa itself. We managed to make our message heard in different sectors of South African society, including in South African political and economic circles.

So we won a lot of sympathy within the international community and almost every sector began to repudiate terrorism, leaving a small number of people who still sympathised with destabilisation.

As you must remember, with these successes we reactivated direct talks and dialogue with South Africa, on the basis of commissions that were created, such as the joint commission on security, the commission that deals with economic questions, and some specific commissions such as that on Cahora Bassa, etc.

The high point in this process was the Songo meeting with Pieter Botha, the South African President. The process was somewhat weakened by his illness, but nevertheless contacts continued at various levels. We kept this initiative going, and finally we saw that conditions were propitious for an advance.

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At the same time, we were taking the feeling of the people inside Mozambique in relation to the problem of the war. We found massive repudiation of terrorist acts, but at the same time a great desire to see the war end. The people were ready to fight in every way possible, including militarily within the self-defence system, in support of the huge efforts being made by our armed forces to eradicate armed banditry.

By military action we managed to weaken terrorism, banditry and destabilisation substantially. We retook strategic positions and weakened others that are not yet recovered, but we always maintained our conviction that other non-military measures had to be intensified in order to accelerate the peace process.

Having listened to the people we decided that it was time to listen more closely to the Mozambicans who were attacking the people and the People's Republic of Mozambique, to see whether they could give us a concrete idea as to their intentions, or what they wanted, and to help us to define more clearly who they were. We knew that they were people who were used by interests that were alien to the Mozambican people, but we still had to establish who they were. To do this we had to make some form of contact, or have someone who could contact them.

We were always careful that whoever might make contact with them would not give them an identity they do not possess. I mean, that they should not be considered a political movement, and much less a party, because they are neither one nor the other. We know how they were created and they are not a movement or a party. In fact, the arguments that they began to use later, no doubt with foreign guidance, are illogical if we consider that the movement was launched before Mozambique's independence, immediately after the signing of the Lusaka Accord on 7 September 1974.

If we take into consideration that some of the people who joined this so-called movement were with us prior to the Lusaka Accord, then we cannot link the movement's appearance to events or developments that took place after independence.

So some contacts were made, the main ones brought about by ourselves. And in accordance with the wishes of various of our religious leaders, we requested them to try to contact the armed bandits with two purposes. First: find out what they want, get to know a little better who they are, so as to give us a basis for rationale - a popular rationale, because it would be the rationale of the religious leaders themselves who would try to understand the phenomenon a little better.

But the question as to what they wanted was never replied to in a logical way, but always with many contradictions.

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We thus had some information from scattered meetings with individuals, and some from other sources, about the thinking within RENAMO. And finally, with the support of the Kenyan government, a more organised meeting was held between a delegation of the so-called RENAMO and religious leaders from our country representing 19 different faiths, namely the Catholic Church and the faiths grouped in the Christian Council. They met in Nairobi but failed to reach any conclusions due some contretemps in the meeting.

One of the chiefs of the so-called RENAMO delegation became seriously ill, and there were shortcomings in the discussion, but our religious leaders got the impression that it would be possible on the part of RENAMO to agree to end atrocities committed against the people.

But this did not happen. The atrocities continued. The appeal was made on a humanitarian basis by the religious leaders, and they requested a meeting with the head of the so-called RENAMO, Mr Dhlakama, because they wanted a first-hand discussion with him in order to get his reactions to an attempt to create conditions for a direct dialogue between the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and RENAMO chiefs.

A lot of time was spent preparing this meeting, following the first meeting in Nairobi. It was finally decided to convene a meeting for 12 July. The religious leaders were ready, but it was decided to postpone it to 17 July. It did not take place on the 17th, and was postponed to the 19th. And so a delegation of religious leaders is to this day waiting in Nairobi to speak to Mr Dhlakama. But for as yet unknown reasons he did not appear, nor has any delegation from the so-called RENAMO appeared. However, efforts for the meeting to be held are still under way.

We would like to inform you that a small delegation is in Nairobi to follow this process, not to participate in the meetings but to be available to the Kenyan government and if necessary to the religious leaders to give any explanations they may need. Not to have a dialogue, not to discuss through the intermediary of the religious leaders or the Kenyan government, but to give peaceful explanations that might help to understand our positions. This small delegation is still in Nairobi.

In preparation for this second meeting, our government thought that it should do something to move the process forward. As in March and April, it was expected that the meeting would take place in April, our government decided to take a further step consisting in providing the religious leaders and the Kenyan government with bases that would enable them to dialogue more positively with armed bandits.

By this I mean that, instead of eliciting suggestions from the armed bandits of what they wanted, as we had

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been doing, we decided to put forward a basis for reflection by the RENAMO people, and so we made recommendations to the religious leaders and to the Kenyan government indicating the principles to be observed for there to be a dialogue between the government and the so-called RENAMO.

They are principles, and we said that once they were accepted the dialogue would be guaranteed. The principles were transmitted verbally to the religious leaders and the Kenyan government, and as there were many countries that were also interested in what they felt to be initiatives under way, we thought it useful to communicate these principles to them as well. Everyone was asking us: the Party and government do or don't want dialogue, accept or don't accept dialogue, are doing what? Do they think the struggle will end through military means alone or are there other initiatives?

When I visited the United States of America I told President Reagan that we would coordinate our efforts to find solutions for the problem of destabilisation in Mozambique, and also for Southern Africa. I spoke with President Reagan, as I discussed with other countries such as Britain, and we also have contacts with such countries as France, Italy, West Germany, not to mention the Front Line States.

We transmitted our principles verbally to all these countries, including Portugal, which is an important country in this search for solutions. We had frequent contacts. We had to communicate our principles to South Africa itself. In this way they were all clear that the Frelimo Party and the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique are not against dialogue per se, but reject dialogue outside the framework of the principles we enunciated.

As an aide-memoire for those individuals and governments to which we communicated our principles, we wrote them down in a paper which is not a document nor a peace plan. But it is starting from these principles that a peace plan or a peace platform could be drawn up. In principle, this platform was to be communicated directly to the RENAMO chiefs, but they repeated that they wanted "unconditional" negotiations. We do not understand what they mean by "unconditional" talks, as we know perfectly well what the conditions are and what they want to achieve with such "unconditional" talks. So, we wanted to put forward principles, that were put down on paper but which do not constitute a document.

We are saying that if they accept these principles then there is dialogue, and with a clearly defined agenda; that is to say, on clearly defined questions. Because in this way we, for our part, are trying to reply to the question we have asked so often: Dialogue about what? Negotiate, but negotiate what? It should be clear that we

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never said no to negotiations, but we always said: Negotiate what?

And we sometimes let our ideas come out, also in an attempt to help the others produce a reply. In our discussions, in our public meetings, we always said that if they want to talk about their integration into society, to obtain guarantees, etc, we could receive them. But it seems that this was not enough. This was why we put our principles on paper, so that they could be used by all those who might want to help us find a solution.

(reading of the paper - attached)

This last paragraph sums it all up. That is, once these principles are accepted a dialogue can take place about ways of ending violence and establishing peace and normalisation of life throughout the country. These are principles that, if accepted, will mean that we can then meet and dialogue with the so-called RENAMO.

As you must have noted, even here we do not demand that fighting ends as a pre-condition, but simply that they accept the principles. We know that they are afraid to put down their weapons because they do not know what would happen to them afterwards, so we cannot insist that they put down their weapons before they know. This is why the final paragraph says that the acceptance of the principles would lead to a process aimed at ending violence, followed by the normalisation of life for all Mozambicans.

When we say all Mozambicans we don't only mean those who are in the bush with their weapons aimed at the people or the government, but all the Mozambicans whose life is not proceeding normally. There are refugees, displaced people, Mozambicans living abroad, some who have committed no crimes but are afraid to return.

We extended the Amnesty Law and tried to inform followers of the so-called RENAMO that the amnesty is a necessity. They think that they have not committed any crimes, but we know that rebellion and resorting violence are crimes that are illegal in the People's Republic of Mozambique, not to mention the atrocities they commit and have committed against the people that are known throughout the world, and the theft of the people's goods. They don't classify this as a theft, but the citizens think that it is, and only an amnesty can give them back their dignity without humiliating them and without even placing them in the position of being defeated. A defeated person has to obey everything, and can't have an opinion about anything. But the amnesty transforms them into normal people and considers them free from guilt, including in relation to the crime of disobedience and the crime of rebellion.

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These principles should have been made known to the RENAMO chiefs at the meeting that was to take place in Nairobi, and should have happened last week. We hope that the meeting will be held, and that they will be informed of these principles.

Meanwhile, we have not stopped. I invited President Arap Moi to visit Maputo, and we will begin to discuss and to prepare the next stages.

We are hopeful that perhaps they will, finally, listen to the appeal that comes from all over the world and from our people, and accept the principles we have just set out, and on this basis we think it is the moment to begin to prepare the next stage. So President Daniel Arap Moi will be here in three days' time, and with him we will outline the next steps.

We have ideas. We cannot reveal these ideas now, it would be premature, and perhaps even after the meeting with President Moi it will not be appropriate to reveal them. Perhaps the ideas that we have today will be amended after the meeting with President Moi, and so it would be inopportune to speculate about them. What I should tell you is that the Central Committee, which is currently in session, approved these principles and approved the measures that have been taken by the leadership of our party.

You will remember that we had called a press conference a few days ago, which we then cancelled. We cancelled it precisely because we felt that it would not be correct to begin to publish such delicate matters in the press, although there was already a great deal of speculation about them and some revelations here and there, because we should not officialise the information before giving a full report to our Central Committee. For this reason we decided that now that the Central Committee is informed we could say something about it. Even so, we delayed a little, because we had thought that it would be good to let the Nairobi meeting take place, but as time is going by and we know that sectors of national and international opinion are thirsting for knowledge as to what exactly is happening, we decided that even so we should give this press conference.

from B.I.P. (Public Information)

DISCUSSION AT  
FRELIMO PARTY FIFTH CONGRESS

During the debates of the Frelimo Party Fifth Congress, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano repeated that his Government will engage in direct dialogue with MNR bandits "if they accept our principles". Speaking on 27th of July to delegates at the congress, he said that the authorities had come across demands of the bandits listed in a speech by MNR Commander, Afonso Dlhakama, that included: the formation of a joint government between Frelimo and MNR, changes to the Mozambican constitution, the holding of fresh elections and the restoration to power of the "regulos" (these were local chiefs normally appointed by the Portuguese, who acted as the agents of colonial power in rural areas). President Chissano, however, pointed out that "we have our principles approved by the leadership of the Party, and we can speak with them if they accept these principles".

Recently, the Mozambican Government circulated a set of 12 principles, which could form the basis for a dialogue with the bandits for the re-establishment of peace. These 12 points were read out again by President Chissano to the Congress. He added that such a dialogue could be mediated by a group of African Heads of State, an idea first publicly aired on 22nd of July, during the visit to Maputo of Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi.

Among the principles to be observed by MNR are the ending of all acts of terrorism and banditry, so as to create conditions to normalise the life of all Mozambicans. The set of principles points out "it is unacceptable that a group uses intimidation or violence to impose itself on society as a whole. It is anti-democratic to alter the Constitution and principal laws of the country by resorting to violence".

The Government's initiatives to establish peace in the country have the support of the Mozambican Defence and Security Forces, expressed in their message to the Frelimo Party 5th Congress, on the 25th of July. In their first public reaction, presented by the Defence Minister Alberto Chipande, the Armed Forces, the Police and the Security Service declared that "the search for peaceful solutions is a long tradition of our people".

On the same day, presenting the final chapter of the Central Committee Report to the 5th Congress and referring to South African aggression against Mozambique, President Chissano underlined that aggression against Mozambique had been one of the fulcral points of the apartheid regime's "total strategy". The report adds that Mozambique was a target because of its ports and railways which offer routes to the sea for landlocked countries of Southern African Development Conference (SADCC).

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"By rendering unviable the use of Mozambican ports, the South African Government would ensure that all the trade from the six landlocked countries of the SADCC would have to pass through South African ports and railways", argues the report. It accuses South Africa of repeated violations of the Nkomati Accord that it signed with Mozambique in 1984. "Irrefutable proof" of this was

found in documentation captured when the MNR's headquarters in Gorongosa District was overrun by Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces in 1985. After this discovery, South Africa "increased terrorist activity in our country, particularly against Zambezia Province and against the Zambezi Valley".

The Central Committee Report stresses, however, that recently "the balance of forces is inducing Pretoria to accept dialogue". As a result, negotiations last year led to the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and the implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibian independence. The report says that, in Mozambique, the meeting last September between President Chissano and South African Head of State, P.W. Botha, "marks the revival of the spirit that inspired the Nkomati Accord".

This was also the subject of a press conference held by the Mozambican Foreign Affairs Minister, Dr. Mocumbi, at the Frelimo Party's Fifth Congress, on the 26th of July. He said that the government was taking seriously South African party leader F.W. De Klerk statements in support of Mozambique's peace plans, made last week in Maputo.

Regarding the peace initiatives, Dr. Mocumbi reiterated President Chissano's statements at his press conference last week and said that it was agreed during talks in Maputo, between the Mozambican government and Kenyan President that Arap Moi would work "in coordination with President Mugabe (of Zimbabwe) to help the Mozambican Government to bring peace and stability to the country".

He said that this plan did not in any way affect the meeting that was to take place between church leaders and MNR representatives, though he had no idea when or if that meeting would take place. "We should not be rigid" in determining "the next step", Dr. Mocumbi stressed, adding that the government would continue to work on all levels to achieve peace.

However, he underlined that "special institutions like intelligence or security forces inside South Africa" are continuing to provide support to the MNR bandits. Dr. Mocumbi said "as a Frelimo militant", it was hard for him to accept that any individual or group could "give material support to the MNR without the complicity of such forces inside South Africa. He added that the

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"difficult situation" that Mozambique faces was "essentially due to external factors".

AIM - 25-26-27/7/89

FIFTH CONGRESS RESOLUTION  
ON PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY

The Fifth Congress of the Frelimo Party, at the end of an all-night session, Sunday morning approved a resolution on peace and national unity, stating that the Mozambican people want "a peace that does not constitute a prize for terrorism".

The document, introduced by delegate Francisco Madeira, who is also President Chissano's diplomatic adviser, reaffirmed the delegates' support for President's efforts in the quest for a "dignified peace".

The document stated that the "terror and brutality" of the MNR bandits can only be understood "by its profoundly anti-national character, by its unmistakably foreign inspiration and management". The resolution declares that behind the MNR bandit actions, "lie the designs of those who make use of banditry in order to force us to renounce our struggle for a society without discrimination, a society of equals". The MNR bandits' lack of political credibility is based on their barbarous actions and also on the fact that its "only platform" has been "to make the country unviable as a nation, without defining any path for its construction".

"Peace is achieved through consensus of society as a whole" and through "the genuine willingness of all Mozambicans to develop the country while respecting the state's institutions", the document proclaims. This formulation echoes the Central Committee Report to the Congress, presented on 24th and 25th July, which is entitled "for a national consensus to normalise the society".

At the same session, which began on the 29th afternoon and only ended after 6 a.m. on the 30th July, delegates saluted the defence and security forces for their actions, which had made the process of preparing the congress possible. The motion praises the "gigantic effort" undertaken "to liberate thousands of people who were in bandit captivity, recover areas terrorised by the bandits, and bring emergency aid and means of production" to those in need.

The Congress also approved a motion on international solidarity, which described the massive support of international community "as an act of commitment to a country that it is the object of aggression derived from racial oppression and discrimination".

AIM - 30/7/89

ZIMBABWE, KENYA ENDORSE GUIDE-LINES

A communique was issued in Nairobi at the end of a meeting on 7 August between the Kenyan and Zimbabwean Presidents stating that "the two Presidents reviewed and endorsed the guide-lines for the meeting between Renamo and the church delegation" due to take place in Nairobi on 8 August. The statement went on to say that the outcome of this meeting "will determine the level and nature of subsequent meetings". It added that Presidents Moi and Mugabe are greatly encouraged by the spirit and willingness of the two sides to the conflict to undertake serious discussion to find a peaceful solution.

The two Presidents called on all those interested in assisting the peace process to lend their support to this initiative. The communique stressed that the meeting between the bandits and the churchmen would be based on the 12 point set of principles outlined by the Mozambican government.

The first point in this document declares that "we are facing a destabilisation operation which should not be confused with a struggle between two political parties". It says that the "inhuman situation" caused by the war should be brought to an end, and that the first step in this must be "the stopping of all acts of terrorism and banditry". Conditions could then be established "to normalise the lives of all Mozambican citizens so that all may participate in political, economic, social and cultural life". Such participation would also be open to those who "up to now have been involved in violent acts of destabilisation", but "it is unacceptable for a group to use intimidation or violence to impose its' will on society as a whole".

If such principles are accepted, they can lead "to a dialogue on the modalities for bringing an end to violence, establishing peace and normalising life for everyone in the Country".

from AIM - 8/8/89

CHURCHMEN REPORT BACK ON NAIROBI MEETING

Leaders of the MNR bandits have told Mozambican churchmen that they want peace, but there remain difficulties to be overcome in the peace process, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Maputo, Cardinal Alexandre dos Santos told AIM the day after his return from Nairobi, on 11 August. There he had been one of four leading religious figures who held discussions with the MNR. The other three churchmen present were the Catholic Archbishop of Beira, Jaime Goncalves, the Anglican Bishop of the Libombos, Dinis Sengulane, and the Chairman of the Mozambique

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Christian Council, the umbrella body of 17 Protestant Churches, Pastor Jeremias Mucache.

Cardinal dos Santos said that the MNR delegation consisted of six people, led by their top military commander, Afonso Dhlakama. He said that all six had come from Mozambique to Nairobi via Malawi. The Cardinal said that the churchmen had given the MNR the set of 12 principles which the Mozambican Government has outlined as a basis for possible dialogue. But he pointed out that he left Nairobi ahead of the rest of the church delegation, and before the MNR had delivered a formal response to the principles.

The Cardinal was reluctant to give details of the discussions before he and the other churchmen had had an opportunity to report back to the government, but he described the atmosphere at the meeting as "open and frank".

He said that, at the recent Fifth Congress of the Frelimo Party, the Mozambican Authorities "showed they were open to roads for peace, and we are now finding the same disposition from the MNR". He said "everybody wants peace" but added "the path to peace is naturally long. Problems are not resolved from one day to the next". The Church leader continued "the MNR says it wants peace, and will work for peace, ....so does the Mozambican Government. But there will be difficulties in reaching an agreement on several points".

He said the religious delegation expected to meet with government representatives to present the MNR reply to the set of principles.

from AIM - 12/8/89

#### PRESIDENT CHISSANO DISMISSES MNR DOCUMENT

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano dismissed as "meaningless" the 16 point document produced by the MNR bandits at the end of recent talks in Nairobi between bandit leaders and Mozambican churchmen.

Speaking to the Mozambican journalists who had accompanied him to the summit of SADCC (Southern African Development Conference) in Harare, President Chissano said that the MNR's document "has no meaning at all". The bandits' 16 points, he added, merely showed that "there is still a great lack of understanding" among the bandit leaders.

The MNR 's 16 point document tries to establish the bandits as a legitimate political organisation, deny the well-documented massacres, mutilations and other atrocities committed by them, and demand the withdrawal of "the foreign forces brought in by Frelimo", while failing to mention the MNR's own origins as a creature of first the Rhodesian and then the South African secret services.

from AIM - 26/8/89

AIM COMMENT : ON THE MNR'S "16 POINTS"

by Antonio Makwala

At Inchope, where the road from Beira to Zimbabwe diverges from the main road south to Maputo, armed men stepped out onto the tarmac and machine-gunned the passing bus. In the massacre, 14 passengers were killed, and others injured. The gunmen then grabbed the passengers' possessions and made off into the bush.

A depressingly familiar story from the war in Mozambique. But what may surprise some readers is that this massacre did not take place last week, or even last year. The dateline on the story is 28 December 1978, over a decade ago. The whole history of the MNR is written in blood, and punctuated with massacre. The carnage at Homoine in July 1987 - when bandits, yelling "We've come to finish off the people of Samora Machel", slaughtered over 400 people - was no isolated incident, merely the largest in a series of mass killings that began almost immediately after the creation of the MNR in what was then still called Rhodesia back in 1976.

This gruesome record is what makes the MNR's claim that it "defends intransigently the people" so absurd. That claim features in the 16 points document that the bandit leaders gave to Mozambican churchmen at the end of their recent talks in Nairobi. The document clearly attempts to present the MNR as a legitimate political force, as a genuine Mozambican opposition movement.

To work this conjuring trick, the MNR assumes that the western media have short memories, and will therefore collaborate in the effort to dress up mass murder as legitimate political activity, forgetting the MNR's sordid origins, and brutal track record. But history cannot be abolished that easily. The films and the photographs exist showing the tormented bodies of those whom the MNR mutilated, showing the burnt out shells of buses and train carriages that fell into bandit ambushes, showing children slowly learning to walk on artificial limbs after MNR mines had blown their legs off.

Some of the victims have visited Europe, demonstrating in person that MNR atrocities are not a fiction of the Mozambican media. Teacher Joaquim Mapinda, who suffered horrific mutilation in 1982, when an MNR gang cut off his nose and both ears, was seen by hundreds of people when he visited Sweden for plastic surgery. Even in the latest film from inside MNR-held territory, shown on Britain's Independent Television News, and which the bandits seemed to regard as some kind of propaganda coup, we see an MNR instructor showing recruits how to plant and hide anti-personal mines. "Anyone who steps on it will be blown up", he remarks cheerfully.

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The talks in Nairobi produced no let-up in the massacre of Mozambican peasants by MNR gangs. Quite the reverse. The night before the churchmen and the bandit leaders met, 7 August, the MNR butchered 54 people at a village just outside the southern town of Xai-Xai, axeing, stubbing and clubbing their victims to death. On Sunday 12 August, as the Nairobi talks were winding up, the MNR murdered 16 people in attacks on two communal villages in the northern province of Nampula.

These were not accidents. Bandit leader Afonso Dhlakama sent orders by radio instructing his men to wipe out villages, bombard towns and "cut the throats" of those who opposed them. Thus the MNR talked with the churchmen about peace and reconciliation while doing exactly the opposite. It is not the first instance of such cynical behaviour. On Easter Sunday this year bandits murdered three Italian missionaries in the central province of Zambezia, shortly after an earlier meeting abroad between MNR representatives and church leaders.

The MNR's document claims that "armed struggle only serves as the last resort in defence of the people against the denial of their rights and against their oppression". But the historical truth is that, far from being a "last resort", the MNR took up arms against Mozambique within a year of the country's independence.

The people who founded the MNR were precisely those forces defeated by Frelimo during the independence war - it was members of the Portuguese secret police, the PIDE-DGS, members of elite units in the colonial armed forces, and leaders of the September 1974 white settler takeover of the radio station, who fled across the border, and were organised by the Smith regime's Central Intelligence Organisation into the nucleus for the MNR. Both the men who served as MNR General Secretary, Orlando Cristina and Evo Fernandes, were Portuguese citizens, and both had worked for the PIDE. They did not worry about "rights" and "oppression" when they served the Portuguese fascist regime.

The MNR's role as a willing tool, first of the Rhodesians, and later of the South African Directorate of Military Intelligence (which is all very amply documented), make the complaint in the 16 point document about "the foreign forces brought in by Frelimo" highly ironic.

The war against Mozambique has become a war against the whole region, given the importance for SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) of the Mozambican ports and railways as alternatives to routes through South Africa. It is in this context of regional destabilisation that Zimbabwean and Malawian forces are inside Mozambique, at the invitation of the Mozambican authorities, helping defend key transport routes, vital

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for the region's effort to fight off South Africa's economic blackmail.

The MNR's concern for the well-being of the people, expressed in the document, sounds odd from the mouths of those who have thrust much of rural Mozambique back to the stone age. The MNR has so devastated the trading, transport and agricultural systems that hundreds of thousands of peasants have been reduced to wearing bits of tree bark or old sacking instead of clothes, and to surviving on roots and berries.

Among the MNR's prime targets have been schools, hospitals, warehouses, convoys carrying relief food supplies. Their banditry has resulted in the destruction or closure of 847 health units and 2,699 primary schools. According to UNICEF estimates, the war has produced a child mortality rate of between 325 and 375 per thousand births. The total number of war-related deaths could be higher than 700,000.

These are not the actions of a guerrilla army in the normally understood sense of the word. They are the behaviour of a surrogate force employed by South African interests to destroy Mozambican society. The MNR's document thus has nothing to do with seeking peace in Mozambique: it is merely a public relation exercise, designed to improve the bandits' image in the West.

Of course, the document is technically competent. To someone who knows nothing of the recent history of Mozambique, it might even sound persuasive. Taken in the abstract, much of what it says is unexceptional. A denunciations of alcoholism is also unexceptional - but becomes rather strange when uttered by a habitual drunk. The sentiments of the document, in short, are at complete variance with the origins and the practice of the MNR. For that reason, nobody should assume that it is a serious expression of the MNR's real political position.

The Mozambican government has the heavy responsibility of looking for routes to peace that do not endanger the country's hard-won independence. It sees the negotiation process as complementing rather than contradicting the duty of the armed forces to protect the people from banditry and terrorism and to establish the presence of the state throughout the national territory. For, as the first line in the Mozambican government's 12 point set of principles for ending the war clearly stated, the conflict "is a destabilisation operation and not a struggle between two political parties". Bandits remain bandits, regardless of how often they may shake bishops by the hand.

August 1989

SUMMITS' SUPPORT FOR PEACE INITIATIVES

Speaking to journalists on his return from attending a series of summit meetings in N, President Chissano said that all three summits had declared their support for the peace initiatives of the Mozambican government. These meetings were the Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the meeting of eight central and southern African heads of state on the Angolan situation, and finally the summit of the Southern African Development Conference (SADCC).

"There was a spontaneous reception for our points of view on how to bring the violence in Mozambique to an end" said the President, alluding to the set of principles made public by the Mozambican authorities in mid-July. He said that the government would continue its efforts to ensure that these principles were accepted and applied.

President Chissano also accused Unita leader Jonas Savimbi of keeping his own followers in the dark about what had really been decided at the summit of 18 Heads of State in Gbadolite, Zaire, on 22 June, which had thrown its weight behind the Angolan government's peace initiatives. He said that continued Unita violations of the cease fire in Angola could be because other Unita leaders "do not in fact know what was decided at Gbadolite. Their chief, Jonas Savimbi, did not tell them".

Mr Chissano insisted that Savimbi knew full well that the Angolan government's peace plans were accepted at Gbadolite. This plan includes the "temporary and voluntary" withdrawal of Savimbi from Angolan politics, and his exile in a country that does not border Angola, and the integration of other members of Unita into existing Angolan institutions.

The Mozambican leader also said he thought that South African acting President F.W. de Klerk would be willing to study the declaration on South Africa approved by the OAU's Ad-hoc committee last Monday. This declaration calling for the freeing of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the unbanning of all anti-apartheid organisations as prerequisites for any negotiations; "reflects the wishes of the majority of the South African people" said President Chissano. Once these democratic principles were accepted "many things can change in South Africa", he added.

fromAIM - 26/8/89

MEETINGS TO RESUME IN NAIROBI

A group of Mozambican churchmen left Maputo on 28 August for a further round of talks in Nairobi with leaders of the South Africa backed MNR bandits. Among the churchmen are the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Maputo, Cardinal Alexandre dos Santos, and the chairman of the Mozambican Christian Council, Pastor Jeremias Mucache. They were joined by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Beira, Jaime Goncalves.

In an interview with the Beira Daily "Diario de Mocambique", before his departure, Archbishop Goncalves said he did not know when the MNR delegation would arrive in Nairobi. The churchmen might have to wait two days or more for the MNR to show up, he said. The Archbishop told the paper that these meetings started "at the initiative of the Church, because we wanted to see if an end could be put to the armed conflict. We had not been asked by the government to do this, but we contacted various people who could help us in this mission".

He said that the fact of the initiatives was communicated to the Mozambican authorities, and that later the churchmen became couriers carrying messages and ideas from the government to the MNR and vice versa. "In this first phase, we dealt with everything orally", he said. "Only later did we reach a phase of written documents". This included the set of principles outlined by the Mozambican government which the churchmen took to the bandits at a meeting earlier in August. The move to written documents was important, Archbishop Goncalves said, because "the ideas have moved into the public domain".

He noted that the MNR had now produced its own document but declined to describe this as a reply to the government's principles. The Archbishop thought it important that "each one express what they think about the normalisation of the country's life. Each one has some ideas on the process. We of the Churches involved have something of a role of facilitating dialogue for peace in the country". He added that "we can be useful for both sides". The Archbishop told the paper that the churchmen believed both the government and the MNR "are decided to end the war".

"Diario de Mocambique" pointed out, however, that despite the MNR's alleged desire for peace, bandit massacres were still taking place. The Archbishop replied "as for the violent destruction of lives - the Church has already condemned and does condemn this, and has spoken about it to both sides".

from AIM - 29/8/89

POSITIONS ON PEACE AT  
SUMMIT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

by Antonio Gumende

Speaking in the Yugoslav capital Belgrade on 4 September President Joaquim Chissano reiterated that the dialogue for an end to the war in Mozambique "cannot be concerned with creating situations that damage national unity, the division of power or changes in the constitution".

President Chissano was the eleventh head of state to speak at the Non-aligned Summit that began on 4 September. The Mozambican leader emphasised that "any alteration is acceptable only on the basis of the established order, of democracy and popular consensus, and not because of the violence of a group which is against the people, against organised society, against the state".

The Mozambican leader informed the summit of the steps taken by the Mozambican government to end the war of aggression imposed by "terrorists and criminals" who are in the service of "foreign forces who want to impose their hegemony on the region". He stated that the "anti-national character" of the MNR bandits, as well as their practice and "their true and undeniable nature" made fruitless the attempts of their mentors to "recycle terrorism and banditry in Mozambique".

The President said the bandits' backers were attempting to give armed banditry "a political profile, to dress them up as an opposition movement, as a political party". President Chissano added that "in spite of these actions, the enemy has not managed to achieve its objectives", and he stressed that the steps taken by the Mozambican government confirm the need "to privilege peaceful means to the solution of the problems that we are facing".

He said that the Mozambican government was ready "to accept the collaboration of all those who offer to help us to find peace" on the basis of the principles established by the Mozambican authorities and said, "we will count on the support of the Non-aligned Movement". The President added that Mozambique hoped as well to have the material support of the movement "for the growth of our defensive capacity since the backers of the armed bandits still have not given up their plans and their activities". He noted that "the consequences of the more than 12 years of aggression will persist for a long time".

AIM - 5/9/89

PRESIDENT CHISSANO SPEAKS ON PEACE  
TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano has stressed that peace in the country "cannot be achieved at any price". Opening a session of the Mozambican parliament, the People's Assembly, President Chissano stressed that peace "must be an instrument for the consolidation of our independence and national unity".

Peace was only acceptable "on the basis of the established order", he added, "not on the basis of violence practised by any single group". He added that diplomatic efforts to end the war against the MNR bandits went hand in hand with strengthening the armed forces and stepping up the fight against banditry.

President Chissano said that the recent offensive against MNR strongholds in the central provinces of Manica and Sofala "is part of the defence of the people and of the economy". While diplomatic efforts continued, "we cannot allow the economy and our people to be destroyed. It is our duty to defend them with all the means at our disposal".

He reiterated the government's commitment to its "indispensable" principles for a peaceful solution, as made public in mid-July, to bring about "conditions propitious for an eventual dialogue between the government and the chiefs of the bandit gangs."

He noted that South Africa's Acting President F.W. de Klerk on his July visit to Mozambique promised that he would try "to end the support given to the bandits from South African territory." President Chissano expressed the hope that de Klerk, in his term of office, "will ensure that the Nkomati Accord is fully implemented."

from AIM 14/9/89

"IRREVERSIBLE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE"

On 25 September, Mozambique's Day of the Revolution and of the Armed Forces, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano repeated his offer to integrate into society repentant bandits of the South African backed MNR.

Speaking at the start of the military parade that marked the high point of celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the start of Mozambique's war for independence from Portuguese rule, President Chissano stressed that the Mozambican authorities would know how "to transform all Mozambicans, including those now fighting against us, into children of our motherland".

(continued ...)

He declared that Mozambique's victory over the colonial army was due to unity around the Frelimo Party. "It is due to Frelimo that we won the battles and created a strong united Mozambican family, so that the Mozambican people could exercise power", he said. It is through the Frelimo Party that we will achieve a strong and genuine democracy".

A quarter of a century after the first shots were fired in the liberation struggle "We are here united, from the Rovuma to the Maputo (the two rivers that mark the country's northern and southern borders) to celebrate our victories, victories over the foreign forces that wished to dominate and exploit us", said President Chissano.

"We, the armed forces, are here to say no to division, no to foreign domination", he added. The Mozambican leader pledged that Mozambique would win the battle for development and peace, and for full economic independence "through vigilance, work and unity around the Frelimo Party".

Speaking after Defence Minister Gen Alberto Chipande had pledged the armed forces' loyalty to him, as part of the ceremony, President Chissano declared that military victories against the MNR bandits in central Mozambique have created "irreversible" conditions for peace.

President Chissano was referring in particular to the offensive by Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces against MNR strongholds in the central provinces of Manica and Sofala. This offensive began in July, and included the destruction of the MNR headquarters, located in the district of Maringue in Sofala.

"The victories of 1989 are indisputable, and create irreversible conditions for peace", the Mozambican President stated, adding that the government had begun "serious and decisive" contacts with bandit leaders in order to bring peace to Mozambique. But he warned that, while the search for 'peaceful solutions continued, the government would continue the military struggle against banditry "until the victory of reason".

The mere fact that the government was looking for peaceful means of ending the conflict did not mean that it would allow the MNR "to commit genocide in our country".

"There is no economic sabotage that is not against the people", continued President Chissano. "The sabotage of tractors, factories, power lines, hospitals, schools, this sabotage is all against the interests of the people. We have the right and the duty to continue the struggle until the victory of reason. It is on the basis of reason and the people's will that we are fighting".

from AIM - 25/9/89