



A Luta Continua

The end of war in Mozambique might be near but first there are huge problems which have to be overcome, reports *Ruth Ayisi* from Maputo

Despite a widening multi-national diplomatic drive to end Mozambique's 14-year old war, fighting on the ground is intensifying.

While Kenyan and Zimbabwean diplomats met with rebels leaders in Nairobi, Kenya last month, the REN-AMO insurgents appeared to be moving even closer to provincial capitals throughout Mozambique.

Recent targets include Chokwe town in the southern province of Gaza, Chimoio, the provincial capital of the western province of Manica, and the suburbs of Tete, the provincial capital of the northern Tete province. The rebels also plunged Maputo, the capital, into darkness at the end of September when they sabotaged the power lines from South Africa. REN-

AMO have killed hundreds of civilians in a war that has already cost at least 100,000 lives, billions of dollars in economic damage, and left one third of Mozambique's 15 million people dependent on international aid.

The on-going fighting is "contradictory to what we want" the Catholic Archbishop of Beira, Jaime Goncalves, one of the leading figures in Mozambique's peace process, said in a recent interview. "We want to finish the war, reduce violence with peace talks. But what we see is an intensity in the war".

RENAMO officials told Mozambican churchmen, who have played a key role in the initial peace talks, that they were still fighting "to keep themselves alive," said Goncalves.

"But it is regrettable that they are still fighting. I think as the dialogue is carried on they will at least agree to reduce the violence".

"The feeling is that both sides want the situation to be solved quickly," said Goncalves. "A ceasefire will be in less than one year," he predicted. Archbishop Goncalves and the other churchmen, who include Cardinal Alexandro dos Santos of Maputo and the Anglican Bishop Denis Sengulane, began the process of trying to bring the rebels and President Joaquim Chissano's, ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), together in direct talks.

A new stage has now been reached where Zimbabwean and Kenyan officials, President Chissano's appointed mediators, have taken over from the churchmen as the main actors. In early October (Oct 4-8), a delegation including Foreign Affairs Ministry Permanent Secretaries, Bethwell Kiplagat of Kenya, and Alec Mat-sangaidze of Zimbabwe met with RENAMO leaders in another attempt to persuade them to accept the Mozambican government's proposals to begin



face-to-face peace negotiations. Mozambican officials, Geraldo Chirindza, head of the Africa and Middle East desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Alberto Chissano, the president's brother and director of local administration in the Ministry of State Administration, accompanied the delegation not to meet the rebels but to monitor and answer questions on the government's position if needed.

FRELIMO's new proposal, devised in early October, resembles the 12-point proposal which President Chissano announced in July. The new set, however, is more specific. They call on RENAMO to agree that if they want change, they must work through the present one party system. Only then can direct talks begin between the two sides.

News that RENAMO had rejected the proposals came from President Chissano himself on October during a visit to the northern province of Zambezia. Telling a public meeting about the stage of the peace process he said, "Dhlakama says to end the war, it is necessary to finish with FRELIMO first".

During a week-long trip, the people have generally rejected the idea of FRELIMO sharing power with RENAMO. Indeed, it is only recent this year, that talks with the rebels were announced as a way to end the war. RENAMO has earned itself the reputation of being one of the world's most brutal rebel movement. Memories of the slaughters and mutilations characteristic of the reign of terror that they have inflicted in much of the countryside, run deep.

When the Catholic Bishops first called for talks with the RENAMO, the State-owned newspaper notices, labelled them "the apostles of treason".

RENAMO, created as an insurgency movement by Rhodesian intelligence in a desperate attempt to stave off Zimbabwe's independence, has had no long-standing comprehensive political programme.

While the church is now taking more of a background role, Archbishop Goncalves said they would be ready if they were called on again. Meanwhile the South Africans, RENAMO's main backer since 1980, met with Mr Chissano on Oct 10. The meeting between the Mozambican

president and Niel Van Heerden, Foreign Affairs Director General in South Africa, is one of many with Mozambique's neighbour, which after its record of destabilising the Front-line States, is now trying to promote a conciliatory image in Mozambique's peace process. Mr Chissano announced last July that he no longer thought the South African government was directly supporting the rebels.

Yet, even if a political agreement can be reached between RENAMO and the government, a question mark remains over how much hold rebel leaders have over the 20,000-25,000 strong movement. "With a guerrilla people in such a large country, with little means of communication and little ways of travel, they cannot control all the details," said Archbishop Goncalves.

Critical to the success of any ceasefire will be how the rebels are re-integrated into society. "Every war in the world - even after the last World War - has problems to be solved, some are still not solved," he said. "For us one of these is the soldiers - where to put them, how to get jobs for them. That's a problem"●

Insider Plotting

ANGOLA

The current infighting in the ruling MPLA politburo between former Interior Minister Alexandre Rodrigues 'Kito', and Foreign Minister, Pedro do Castro Van Duenm 'Loy', has sparked off a series of rumours of an impending coup against President Eduardo dos Santos. The latest talks of a December putsch was planned by a British-based group of mercenaries with links with South African intelligence, former Rhodesian security officers, and Israel. The group was supposed to have met towards the end of October in Sussex, Britain.

A team of three Britons is in charge of recruitment - the total number of mercenaries to be involved in the operation is said to be around 250. The plotters' coordinator is believed to be a Greek citizen with a long association with South African Navy intelligence. He is reported to be working closely with a Swede, Stellan Ludqvist,

a former Sonangol consultant. Ludqvist is implicated in the Sonangol scandal - more than \$100m are alleged to have disappeared from the parastatal at the time when it was headed by Loy. Ludqvist is believed to have bought a house in London from some of the diverted money.

It is not clear who the plotters want to install in Luanda, but President Dos Santos is being kept informed of their activities by Angolan counter-intelligence officers. Dos Santos himself has once again threatened to resign, overwhelmed by the intrigues around him. But at the moment, the majority in the politburo have prevailed on him to stay on.

Both Kito and Loy are said to have higher ambitions, but their names are linked to some of the country's highly publicised scandals - Loy with Sonangol scandal and Kito with the controversial purchase of an executive jet at a cost

of \$22m, which President Dos Santos refuses to use because he says he did not authorise it.

At the moment, Kito is ensconced in his home, hardly going out since he was dismissed as Interior Minister. But in the politburo, he has devoted himself to fighting Loy, who now tries to act as number two to Dos Santos. Both have been accusing each other of 'financial malpractices' with tales of US bank accounts and 'commissions' worth at least \$20m. But Loy has been increasingly criticised within the politburo by the way he is conducting diplomacy and running the Foreign Affairs Ministry. In particular, his detractors here mention his appointment of J Lemos, former Deputy Minister for Provincial Administration as Director of Human Resources in the Foreign Ministry. Lemos, a former Catete, is a former member of PIDE-DGS - the former Portuguese secret police under the dictator Antonio Salazar. There is now a strong speculation that Loy may soon lose his job●