

# BAOBAB

# NOTES



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## RENAMO reversal on territorial agreement

Merely a week after Chissano and Dhlakama signed the September 3 agreement on territorial administration, aimed at unifying the country under the same set of laws, a spokesperson for RENAMO said it would continue to control and restrict people's mobility, political activity, and business-making in RENAMO-held areas, contradicting the terms of this latest agreement. Chissano strongly criticized this announcement, saying it violates both the Rome peace accord and the territorial agreement, which specified that RENAMO-areas would become integrated into the government's administration. He noted the hypocrisy in RENAMO controlling civilians' freedom of mobility while exercising such freedom in their own campaign tours and circulation. (*Telinforma, No.108, 9/12-13/93*)

## RENAMO burying weapons

Fuelled by the course of events in Angola, many Mozambicans fear that RENAMO is hiding weaponry instead of surrendering it to the UN peace-keeping forces. Numerous residents of the district of Sussundenga reported they had witnessed RENAMO members burying weapons near their military bases, presumably in order to be prepared for war should they lose elections. (*Telinforma, No. 108, 9/12-13/93*)

## Angola peace breakthrough

The UN announced a breakthrough in truce negotiations between the Angolan government and the rebel group UNITA that would lead to the resumption of peace talks on November 3, 1993 in Lusaka. UNITA has accepted in writing to withdraw its troops from vast territories they occupy. The Angolan government "reacted positively" to the declaration. Currently, the UN has no monitored areas in Angola, having withdrawn most of its peacekeepers. (*Boston Globe, 11/4/93*)

## U.S. satellite data for air force denied

Angolan armed forces (FAA) spokesperson José Manuel described claims that U.S. satellite data was being provided to FAA as false. Sources at the U.S. Embassy in Angola agreed, saying the recent world reports about U.S. satellite aid were a "disinformation campaign" and that recent FAA successes in the war were due to its re-organization and not external assistance. (*Angola News, No.14, 9/22/93*)

## Far right training mentally handicapped

The ultra far right BWB is training mentally handicapped people to be "soldiers of Jesus Christ" in an isolated camp in the Northern Transvaal. The BWB argues that this is a form of affirmative action, but there are fears that the handicapped trainees are being abducted and trained to risk their lives in missions they may not fully understand. (*US-SA Sister Community Project, SA Political Update, 11/2/93*)

## Mandela & de Klerk win Nobel peace prize

The Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the Nobel peace prize to Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, for "looking ahead to South African reconciliation, instead of back at the deep wounds of the past, [showing] personal integrity and great political courage". Mandela dedicated the prize to all courageous people fighting apartheid and called it a challenge to himself and de Klerk to isolate those who "foster racial and ethnic hatred and war". The Nobel committee acknowledged that violence has taken the lives of thousands since 1990, and that awarding the peace prize was done more for the future promise of peace than for peace achieved. (*Boston Globe, 10/16/93*)

### *I am a Growing Seed*

*I am a growing seed  
Which was sown by the  
people.  
I was under the soil  
For nine days  
It was dark under the soil  
And when I wanted to breathe  
I could not.*

*But someone came  
And watered the ground  
And I germinated.  
The sun shines on me  
Giving me the light  
And energy I need.  
The rain pours down on me  
Wetting my leaves  
So that they do not dry up  
From the heat of the sun.*

*I grow up  
And give birth  
To many other seeds  
Because the people need seed  
For their food and their fields.*

*The people will come and harvest  
When we are grown up  
And ripened.*

**Feliciano Machava**  
Age 14  
*Breakfast of Sjamboks*



## Inside This Special Issue

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## Dhlakama & accord bribe

Speaking at a press conference in Nairobi, Dhlakama made the revealing admission that he had only signed last October's peace agreement because he had been promised money. He complained that donors had not provided RENAMO with promised funds, saying: "We have not received any 11 months later". Italy has already contributed \$5.7 million to a UN-administered trust fund set up to finance RENAMO with a target of \$10 million.

In another event, a secret agreement between RENAMO, the Mozambican government, and the then Italian Director-General of Cooperation Carmelo Adrazza signed two and a half months after the peace accord came to light after RENAMO claimed the agreement promised them \$15 million. The text of the agreement has not been published. (*Mozambique News Agency, AIM Reports, No. 17, 9/23/93*)

## Polls show Chissano's support

An opinion poll taken in Maputo between 3 and 12 September on the presidential elections in Mozambique show that President Chissano would win by a comfortable margin. Forty-nine percent of the people surveyed said they would cast their votes for Chissano, while 26 percent would vote for Mozambique United Front's Domingos Arouca. RENAMO leader, Afonso Dhlakama trailed badly with only 12.6 percent. Another poll taken in Gaza province between 6 and 12 September shows FRELIMO with 44.8 percent of the vote and RENAMO at a mere 19 percent. However, 18.9 percent said they would not vote for any party and another 8.8 percent refused to give a reply. In a presidential election, 52.9 percent would vote for Chissano while 15 percent would for Dhlakama. (*Mozambique News Agency, AIM Reports, No. 17, 9/24/93*)

## Emerging political parties

You are probably familiar with acronyms like FRELIMO and RENAMO. But what do you know about the emerging political parties? Here's a rundown of eight small parties allied with Renamo: UNAMO (Mozambique National Union), a breakaway from RENAMO; PALMO (Liberal and Democratic Party) has a racist platform against white, Asian and mixed-race citizens; A co-founder of PALMO has broken away to set up the Social-liberal party (SOL); Mozambique People's Progress party (PPPM) claims a 1 million plus membership and boasts of having anonymous donors which will contribute \$1 billion toward the building of low-cost housing should PPPM win the elections; PAFEMO (Mozambican Federal Party) is a breakaway from PPPM. One of PADEMO's (Democratic Party of Mozambique) proposals is to move the capital to the geographically central location of Mopeia, a tiny town without any infrastructure; Jose Massinga, a self-confessed CIA agent and former foreign ministry official, founded PANADE (National Democratic Party); and a co-founder of the PCN (National Convention Party) broke away to form PACODE (*Democratic Congress party*). (*Telinforma, No.109, 9/14/93*)

## Lobbyists' business connections

Antonio Rebelo De Sousa and Jose Telles Gomes, who specialize in lobbying for former colonial owners in Mozambique are holding international economic groups under siege. De Sousa, who is close to RENAMO and the Portuguese Socialist Party and founded Forum para a Democracia em Moçambique is preparing to set up a holding company to acquire participations in state enterprises which are to be privatised.

Gomes, who is close to Portugal's Christian democratic politicians, is currently bridging the gap between representatives of Portugal's former colonial interests and Indian and South African. (*Indian Ocean Newsletter, 9/18/93*)

## Start-up program for repatriated refugees

To date, with the help of UNHCR, 300,000 Mozambican refugees have been repatriated from Malawi, 24,000 from Swaziland and 140,000 from Zimbabwe. Next year, the UNHCR plans to repatriate 20,000 refugees from Zambia, and another 140,000 from Zimbabwe. There are approximately 1.5 million Mozambicans living all over southern Africa. UNHCR is contributing R30 million to provide repatriated refugees with health care, a stipend, agricultural tools and seeds so they can return to farming. UNHCR and Mozambican leaders are cooperating to inform refugees still in camps about the changing conditions at home. (*Weekly Mail, 9/17-23/93*)

## Mozambique joins the Commonwealth

The government of Mozambique has confirmed the country's membership of the Commonwealth. Foreign Minister Pascoal Mucumbi, returning from the Commonwealth summit in Cyprus, announced that he hoped to finalize documents and recommendations regarding membership within the next three months. (*SouthScan, 11/5/93*)



## Italian scandal

Former Italian Socialist prime minister Bettino Craxi is under investigation for suspected corruption over the distribution of Italian overseas aid involving projects in Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, and Angola among others. In Mozambique a cloud has been hanging over Italian-funded schemes since the corruption scandal broke. In reaction to the scandal, Italy withdrew its financing of the Cahora Bassa scheme, leaving South Africa and Portugal to make up the difference. (*SouthScan, Vol. 8 No. 5, 9/24/93*)

### UN prods Renamo

The UN Security Council passed a sharply worded resolution on September 13 stressing "the unacceptability of attempts to attach conditions to the peace process [and urging] Renamo to join the government of Mozambique in authorizing immediate assembly of forces". Demobilization has been so delayed that the UN and others fear the October 1994 may not take place as scheduled. In response to this fear the UN Security Council "reaffirms the importance it attaches to the holding of elections no later than October 1994". In a September 24 meeting of Renamo's National Council, Dhlakama stressed the desire to hold elections in October, but restated its position that Renamo would not demobilize without UN supervision of the police and the demobilization process, adding a suggestion that Renamo would be willing to participate in elections without any demobilization of its and the government's armies.

### Hopeful on the ground

While anxiety grows in political circles about the paralysis in Mozambique's peace process, the grassroots view seems more encouraging. Thousands of refugees have returned to Mozambique after years in exile. Contact and commerce between people in government and Renamo held areas is gradually opening up. The September issue of *Medecins Sans Frontiers'* (MSF) monthly bulletin on the nation's nutritional status described the food security situation nationwide as "stable and remarkably good, given the recent widespread hunger and dependence on food aid". Harvests in most parts of the country were good this year, due to decent rains and relative stability. Many NGOs say their working relationships with Renamo are gradually improving and that, in small ways, they are managing to bridge the gap between government and Renamo, for example by easing cooperation on health and education. However, Renamo continues to prevent NGO access to Renamo-controlled areas. Medical aid agencies say they cannot give out medical supplies of even a basic kind in many Renamo zones, since no one is qualified to use them. Nevertheless, Renamo have allowed in some government nurses for an ongoing vaccination campaign.

### Dhlakama eye-opener

Sources close to Renamo said Dhlakama confessed to Chissano that he was surprised at the welcome he received upon his arrival to Maputo for the August 23 to September 3 summit, his first trip to Maputo since the war. He added that his men in Maputo had not kept him fully informed of some of the documents and communiqués Renamo's representatives in Maputo have signed. Revealing high levels of mistrust and confusion within Renamo, several Renamo sources have complained that external interests directly influence its president, leaving its own leaders on the sidelines. "Inside Renamo everyone wants to hear what the president will say, then echo him, and as far as possible try to show they understand why things were decided in that way", a Renamo member said.

### Chissano & Dhlakama summit

The two leaders met from August 23 to September 3 in their first encounter on Mozambican soil and only the second since they signed the General Peace Accord on October 4, 1992. They met to discuss three points: territorial administration, the police and the media. Renamo pushed for government concessions on all three points substantially beyond those made as part of the peace accord. On territorial administration, Chissano and Dhlakama accepted that governors remain the highest authority in the province but that Renamo could appoint 3 advisors to each governor. The governor will determine the departments in which the advisors will work, and the advisors must give an opinion on all decisions taken by the governor relating to Renamo-controlled areas. The advisors will be civil servants with salaries, houses, and cars, giving Renamo its first formal place in government administration, although the advisors will not be considered actual members of the government. Regarding the police, Renamo continues its mistrust of the "Rapid Intervention Police" (anti-riot police) and the transfer of government soldiers into the police force. It wanted to transfer control of the police to the new joint national army and to immediately disband the anti-riot police. Finally the two leaders agreed for the UN to send an international police contingent to monitor the police, which was not part of the original peace accord although the UN had already suggested a UN police-monitoring contingent. On control of the media, Renamo wanted tighter control to ensure what it called greater neutrality in the state-owned media. The government disagreed, saying press freedom is guaranteed by the existing press laws and in the national constitution.

### Renamo businesses?

Well-placed sources within Renamo say that Renamo is starting to make contacts in South Africa with the aim of setting up timber and mining companies in areas under its control. "The idea is to set up these companies and have other such economic commitments with certain people, and in the process of handling these areas over to government control, to demand respect for commitments Renamo assumed when it administered the zones", the source said.

### Zambezia: Regulos in power

Frelimo willingly admits it made a major political mistake in the early years of its rule (1970s), when it deposed and ostracized traditional chiefs— usually known as mambos or regulos. These local leaders were appointed by the Portuguese colonists, but usually came from families of traditional leaders and so often had local standing. Now Frelimo is looking for an acceptable role for regulos in modern government. However, the regulos have historically been the key link between civilians and Renamo soldiers. Renamo now promises regulos power if it wins the next elections. One regulo named Bernardo Tukutuku explains: "In wartime, we built things for Renamo soldiers, but that has stopped now, and we just give them food...One of my jobs is calling people to bring food for Renamo".

### Exclusive Dhlakama interview

Following the summit with Chissano, Dhlakama told Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin he was pleased with the government's concession to allow Renamo to appoint government advisors. About the peace process, he said: "this transition is a hard task, because the means we need have changed. During the war, we could attack an enemy position and capture enough material. In this work of transition things have changed; we need offices, fax machines, finance. And the means we have are not sufficient. The only problem we have in transforming ourselves is this one, of resources." Dhlakama expressed his disappointment with England, France, Portugal, and the United States who had promised during peace negotiations to make money available for Renamo's transformation into a political party, but had failed to fulfill their promise. Regarding elections, Dhlakama warned: "The elections must be free and democratic, not like what happened in Angola". This is ominous, because international observers all judged the Angolan elections to be free and fair.

### UNHCR allowed access to Mozambican refugees in SA

On September 6, the UNHCR sealed a breakthrough accord with the South African government, allowing UNHCR access to Mozambican refugees in camps in South Africa. Mozambican refugees have been classified by SA as "illegal immigrants". UNHCR is allowed to register and assess the situation of foreign national refugees, thus implicitly giving them legal status as refugees for the first time in South Africa. This process is designed to eventually permit repatriation, at the earliest in April 1994.

### Strains remain

Aid workers with many contacts in the field note a sense of strain between the former Renamo guerilla fighters and a growing army of civilian staff, many of them youngsters with more education and little experience fighting. But Renamo's provincial political delegate for Zambezia, Adalberto Pereira, denies tension between the military faction and growing political wing of Renamo.

### Child tracing programs suffer obstacles

Efforts to deal with the problem of child soldiers in Renamo zones and re-uniting them with relatives seems to have suffered a reversal. Soon after the peace accord, hundreds of children were allowed out of Renamo zones and Renamo seemed open to Red Cross and NGO child tracing programs. In Nampula, The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) registered 103 children in Renamo's military base at Naminge, and the local commander allowed 30 of them out to be re-united with their families. Suddenly the commander reversed orders and stopped the ICRC evacuations, saying that families of the registered children would have to come pick them up. After the ICRC persuaded Renamo to set up an orphanage in Marringue, Dhlakama put a stop to the operation, saying it was being used for "anti-Renamo propaganda". Similarly, Renamo refused permission either to let the Mozambican Red Cross (CVM) take 200 lost children out of the area or let families come fetch them. Renamo has refused entry to Accao Social, which runs the national family tracing program, into its areas. The primary reason behind this reversal in Renamo's behavior seems to be that it is embarrassed to admit its well-documented and extensive use of child soldiers and servants during the war.

### Boutros-Ghali's Mozambique speech

The following excerpts from UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's statement after his 20 October meeting with President Joaquim Chissano and RENAMO head Afonso Dhlakama were taken from UN press release:

"I just want to say that this morning we have been able to produce a breakthrough, and we had a very constructive and positive meeting with the President of the Republic of Mozambique, with the President of RENAMO, myself and my Special Representative. We reached agreements on very important issues. The Electoral Commission will be composed of 10 members for the Government, 7 members for RENAMO and 3 for the other political parties and one independent chairman."

"Another very important subject is the problem of demobilization. Demobilization of paramilitary forces, and militia and irregulars, the dismantling of these forces will start simultaneously with the movement of the first troops to the assembly area and will proceed in parallel with the demobilization process until its completion." "[Regarding] the police, I was very frank with the President and the President of RENAMO. I told them that in the United Nations now we have problems due to the number of situations all over the world, due to the fact that we have a financial crisis, and we will not be able to provide immediately the police necessary, in conformity with the agreement that was concluded in Rome. There were 128, which is the minimum that we agreed. We will have COMPOL (Commission of Police) here in Maputo, and observers of COMPOL in the different police posts all over the country." "Meanwhile, as I promised to President Chissano and the President of RENAMO, I will work to obtain as soon as possible, one: the finance, and two: the policemen who belong to different countries."

"Finally, RENAMO has agreed to approve the documents concerning movements of troops after the signature of the peace agreements, presented by my Special Representative and already approved by the Government." "This new momentum will help me convince the Security Council to continue to give me a mandate to maintain the UN presence in Mozambique. This will help me obtain from the different financial institutions all over the world and from the donor countries, from the European Community, more assistance for Mozambique, because Mozambique has reached an agreement and Mozambique is activating the peace process."

"The other good news is what has happened in Angola, where we have been able to send humanitarian assistance for the first time to different cities mainly in Cuito and Huambo, and we will do the same with other cities." "So let us be optimistic, there is progress in Mozambique, progress in Angola, progress in South Africa. And let us hope that this progress, these successes, will encourage similar successes all over the world because we are all in the same boat and all of the programmes are interrelated, are interconnected. When we are successful in one place, this success helps us to cope with different other situations."

## Ms. South Africa, ANC sponsor deal

Just weeks before Jacqui Mofokeng became the first black Miss South Africa, an ANC delegation, which included Mandla Dlamini, Rocky Malebana-Metsing and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, met in July with representatives of beauty pageant co-sponsors. They agreed to establish a R250,000 training fund for beauty queens to be administered by the co-sponsors and an ANC representative. Members of the ANC delegation called this beauty queen fund "a major breakthrough for the oppressed masses". Dlamini said the fund would "upgrade participants...[and] help our township girls to be equal to their white counterparts". The ANC Women's League sent a strong letter of protest to the National Working Committee who dismissed the proposed deal without a vote. Women's League secretary general Baleka Kgositsile felt the ANC should prioritize more important women's issues than beauty contests. (*Weekly Mail*, 9/10-16/93)



## COSATU conference

COSATU held a special congress to decide on 20 government office candidates to run on ANC's election lists, draft worker's rights and principles they want enshrined under a new government, and decide whether COSATU should strike a Reconstruction Accord with the ANC, what the accord would contain and how it would be employed. COSATU's 1.2 million members will be a significant constituency in the elections. The pact would cater to basic job, health and housing needs, provide a national skills development program, and the inclusion of workers' rights in the new constitution. Some key candidates include Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU; Elizabeth Thabethe, executive committee member of Chemical Workers' Industrial Union; Moses Mayekiso, radical unionist and builder of the civics movement; and Marcel Golding, assistant general secretary of National Union of Mineworkers. (*Weekly Mail*, 9/10-16/93, 9/17-23/93)

## Multi-party talks extended

The Multi-Party Talks at Kempton Park have been extended until November 14th in order to finalize details of the Interim Constitution and allow time to try to draw members of the Freedom Alliance back into the process. (The Freedom Alliance is the alliance of the conservative homeland leaders and two right-wing parties which wants a constitution entrenching regional powers finalized before next year's elections.) Parliament has already passed the Interim Broadcasting Act and legislation establishing the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The TEC, which will govern the country until elections in April, is meant to be fully functional by December 1st, but to date parties have not submitted the names of who will serve on the TEC.

Besides the opposition of the Freedom Alliance, there is also some opposition from progressive organizations on elements of the Interim Bill of Rights. The National Land Committee argues that the clause guaranteeing property rights will effectively sabotage possibilities of land reform. COSATU has called for a nation-wide strike in opposition to clauses it sees as limiting worker rights. (*US-SA Sister Community Project*, *SA Political Update*, 11/2/93)



## German lawyer & IFP

The German government is sending a top constitutional lawyer to advise the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on constitutional issues, in response to the international community's growing concern about IFP's refusal to return to the World Trade Center and its threats of civil war. Germany's decision may also be an effort to counter the influence of conservative U.S. lawyer Mario Ambrosio on IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Ambrosio has previously been on RENAMO's payroll. (*Weekly Mail*, 9/17-23/93)

## PAC teens murdered in raid

35,000 people gathered in a stadium in Umtata, capital of Transkei, on October 16 to mourn five teenagers murdered on October 8 by South African troops in a raid on what authorities called a "base of the Azanian People Liberation Army (APLA)". The raid was approved by de Klerk. Killed were PAC activist Sicelo Mpendulo's twin sons (16 years), another son (12), and two nephews (12 and 19), who were shot in the head as they slept. (*Boston Globe*, 10/16-17/93)

## SA arms trade

In a recent UN effort to track the global arms trade, South Africa, which the Stockholm register identifies as a major arms exporter, said it would be "inappropriate" for them to reveal their imports and exports since they are under a UN arms embargo. Peru, however, reported purchasing four pieces of Navy equipment from the South Africans in 1992. (*Boston Globe*, 10/26/93)

## Death penalty for Hani's murderers

Clive Derby-Lewis of the Conservative Party who provided the gun, and Janusz Walus, the gunman and also a white extremist, were sentenced to death for the April murder of Chris Hani. Gaye Derby-Lewis was acquitted, although she allegedly composed a hit list which included Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo. Hani's widow, Limpho Hani, was outraged at the acquittal of Mrs. Lewis, whom she called the "mastermind" behind the murder. South Africa has suspended executions until a post-apartheid government considers the issue. The ANC opposes the death penalty. (*Boston Globe*, 10/15,17/93; *New York Times*, 10/15/93)

## President Chissano's U.S. Visit: Fragile Peace and New Directions in Mozambique

by Jenny Dahlstein and Heeten Kalan

On the 25th of September 1964, FRELIMO soldiers attacked the Portuguese administrative post at Chai in the province of Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. The raid marked the beginning of the armed struggle against the colonial regime. Exactly 29 years later, among friends old and new, President Joaquim Chissano shared his thoughts on the past and present predicament of Mozambique at a reception organized by Roberta Washington, an architect who has worked in Mozambique, and hosted at Sylvia's Also in Harlem, New York.

On this rainy evening, numerous friends of Mozambique came together to celebrate with and learn from the President of Mozambique and his delegation. Friends who had spent years with FRELIMO in the bush, friends who were with FRELIMO in Maputo, and even friends who had never been to Mozambique but continued to fight for peace in that region, filled Sylvia's Also on Malcolm X Boulevard. The Mozambican delegation came to the U.S. to attend a conference in Virginia organized by the Governors of the southern states of the U.S. to promote cooperation, trade, cultural exchanges and investment together with other African leaders. They were in New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly.



President Chissano with Ambassador Commissario (right), Roberta Washington (left), and Arlindo Lopez, Minister of Information looking on (far left).

At the reception President Chissano alluded to the success of the struggle against colonialism and the ongoing one for peace, pointing out, "Our main weapon has always been to be able to mobilize people and mobilize public opinion outside of Mozambique." President Chissano painted a picture which highlighted the international solidarity efforts and the importance of those links to the Mozambican people. After a momentary pause, he glanced around the room recognizing friends of the late Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first president, and mentioning among others, "Prexy [Nesbitt] teaching in schools prior to the struggle." "We rejoice with them [friends of Mondlane], but also with new ones who have learned to love and embrace Mozambique," he complimented as he spoke in praise of the solidarity movement.

Addressing the present state of affairs President Chissano

stressed the urgency to work towards national reconstruction in Mozambique. He started by demystifying the common notion of 'civil wars' in the region. "We never had any 'civil wars', only colonial wars, wars of destabilization, by racist countries in favour of domination of minorities, of racists, fascists," he noted with some outrage.

The 4th of October 1992 marked the anniversary of the signing of the General Peace Accord with the peace still holding, but with no troops in assembly points, no demobilization, little access to RENAMO-controlled areas, and only limited progress toward elections which should have been held by the first anniversary but which have now been postponed to October 1994. Currently there are 7,000 peace-keeping UN forces, including observers, in Mozambique at 35 approved assembly points at an approximate cost of \$1 million per day.

Speaking to the recent peace initiative he said with mixed emotions, "We have had no armed confrontation since August, but no peace either. RENAMO combatants still have weapons in their hands. The training of the new army has timidly begun." RENAMO has recently proposed the holding of elections without first demobilizing the forces of the two sides and without creating a joint army in an attempt to attach new conditions to the peace process.

"What can you do?" to contribute to this effort of national reconstruction he asked the people who were awaiting the President to answer that very same question. "Continue to do what you are doing. Continue to support consolidation of freedom. Continue to share experiences with new generations so that we can continue the friendships we have built. Continue to transmit information. Help us to destroy bad and build good," he stated.

Since the peace Accord was signed a year ago, UN figures for people in need of food aid suggest that over 1.5 million war displaced people may have moved home. "Displaced people are returning to their place of origin. They need support," he commented. He placed a strong emphasis on 'people-to-people' links in order to help build Mozambique. President Chissano emphasized that his call was extended to ordinary folks who work from their hearts. "It is very helpful. We will learn and teach and transfer the spirit of solidarity as we train, create jobs, and repatriate people," he added.

"Peace will come to Mozambique and it will come forever. We expect you to help us from the outside," he mentioned as he extended a plea to the solidarity movement: "Raise your voices for peace in Mozambique. Influence your government to take the correct step in order to help Mozambique consolidate peace," President Chissano urged the group.

On the role of NGOs, President Chissano offered that "NGOs can help with the overall development -- social, economical, and cultural development. There are more than 140 NGOs in Mozambique, there is still space for more to come, to join the people of Mozambique to fulfil their aspirations." He continued, "Mozambique faces misery and

## Fragile Peace and New Directions (continued)

illiteracy, there is no field where NGOs cannot participate and transfer knowledge to Mozambican people. Not just transfer formal education. People need to discover their sleeping capacities, they need to be awoken. Translate your experiences and you will be amazed at how quick Mozambicans will learn. We have to kill hunger, disease, and illiteracy. The people-to-people interactions are crucial as we need to fight for peace not only in Mozambique but everywhere in the world," he concluded. "We are here, happy to know we were here to celebrate the 25th and receive encouragement," he said.

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### **"Continue to share experiences with new generations so that we can continue the friendships we have built. Continue to transmit information. Help us to destroy bad and build good"**

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On the 28th of September, President Chissano and his delegation joined another group of activists at a breakfast meeting organized by the American Committee on Africa and hosted by William Howard at the New York Theological Seminary. This meeting was convened to honour the president and discuss new directions for activists, relevant to the new context of peace and development opportunities in Mozambique.

"I was overwhelmed by the interest I found in Mozambique" and found interaction with local communities the most rewarding because "attention at that level focused on Mozambique [was] more than I expected," he opened. He then recounted recent events in that country, beginning with the Rome peace agreement and cease-fire that resulted after more than two years of difficult negotiations with RENAMO. President Chissano noted that the word "reconciliation" is often misused with respect to peace between RENAMO and the Mozambican government, because it is not really a reconciliation between a "splinter group of the Mozambican family" but instead a war fought indirectly by outside [Rhodesian, and South African] forces who recruited Mozambicans. RENAMO soldiers fought for years "for reasons which are not theirs" he clarified.

A third of September agreement, at a summit aimed to speed the stagnated peace process between President Chissano and RENAMO head Afonso Dhlakama, specified the appointment of three RENAMO advisers to each governor, RENAMO nomination of officials in areas under its control, and agreement on UN monitoring of the police. RENAMO still stresses that the summit agreement did not mean that they would stop controlling movement and economic, political and social activities in its areas. They have also renewed demands for uniforms and military equipment before RENAMO soldiers go to assembly points.

Chissano said he thinks the RENAMO guerillas want peace also but that "political advisors from outside...[are] telling them to do different things than they want." He suspects this outside influence has caused Dhlakama to propose ideas that were not in the peace agreement, such as creating an economic and social council to ratify government decisions on economic and social matters.

RENAMO sources have also complained that external interests directly influence its president, leaving its own leaders on the sidelines.

Chissano described the program of national reconstruction which is underway for the rebuilding of thousands of schools, hospitals and churches which were demolished in the war, totalling \$20 billion in damages. An important element of this program concerns the reconstruction of social life, of Mozambique's social tissue. Specifically the President referred to how the war disrupted and destroyed families, and the countless, traumatized children who do not know the whereabouts of their parents. An estimated million children currently do not have schools to attend.

Chissano spoke in measured, positive terms about Mozambique's potential and the crucial need for a good working relationship between that country and the United States. He asked that President Clinton help raise \$1 billion for Mozambique, and stressed the importance of drawing up a policy regarding U.S. business investments in Mozambique. A request to which Clinton did not respond.

Illustrating the true meaning of solidarity, Chissano shared a story about the first time he came to the United States in the 1960s. On his first evening in New York City, he was walking down a street and encountered a Puerto Rican worker who said to him: "You are not from here, if you are walking down this dangerous street." The worker helped Chissano find a cheaper hotel than the one he had been recommended before. The room was simple but adequate and the heat more than plenty at 30 plus Celsius, as the hotel managers had increased the heat because Chissano "was an African". Chissano thanked the kind man for his help, who gave him \$20 (a lot of money at that time) as an act of solidarity, toward the work in Mozambique. "That is solidarity," ended the President, who also noted sadly that he wished he knew the Puerto Rican man's name, so that he could thank him for his kindness.

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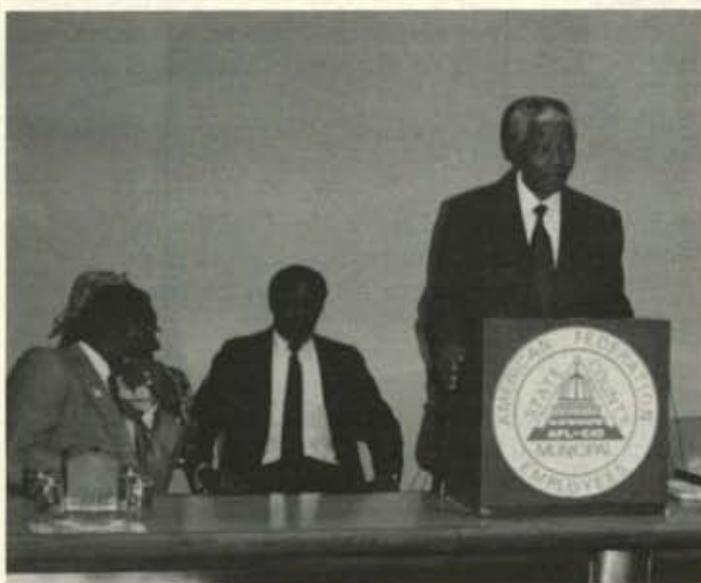
### **RENAMO soldiers fought for years "for reasons which are not theirs."**

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In terms of the roles of U.S. activists, many of whom feel that they lack a concrete direction and sense of what is needed in Mozambique following the peace agreement, Chissano proposed a number of tasks. Although the country is currently not in war, people's lives are still in a state of crisis, and there is a great need for emergency funds and relief assistance. He again suggested that NGO's should remember that in their efforts to create sustainable development and progress, they must make sure that Mozambicans play a key role in being able to continue the work after the various relief and development organizations leave. "We don't need you to come and substitute us... We need you to come support our program," and added jokingly, "We will learn very fast!" Finally, he encouraged activists here: "And don't get tired, because you have done a lot. Don't fall five inches from the winning post. You have to cross it!"

## Nelson Mandela in D.C.: "Our Victory is Your Victory"

by K. Venda



*President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela addresses activists in D.C.*

On the 1st of October 1993, President of the ANC Nelson Mandela addressed a group of anti-apartheid activists at a meeting hosted by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Washington, D.C.. The meeting was coordinated by the American Committee on Africa and the Washington Office on Africa.

Mr. Mandela began by acknowledging the people in the room as being in the "forefront of the struggle" and that he came not only to speak but also to listen in the hope that stronger solidarity may emerge out of the meeting.

"Now we are making new friends with powerful governments," he added, "and they ask the ANC to not work with the South African Communist Party." "This to us is a non-issue," he stated as he continued, "our allies have been with us during the most difficult days. We cannot abandon them because our victory is their victory. No leader of any moral integrity will abandon friends on the verge of history -- we can never do that." He went on to argue that present friends will never trust the ANC if they have betrayed old friends. "We rise, we win, we fail with our friends," he stated emphatically. On the ANC's relationship with COSATU, he said, "We will never betray the workers of South Africa, especially COSATU." He warned however that it would be a "fatal illusion if COSATU relies on its existence on the ANC." "COSATU needs to rely on workers and to cater first and foremost for the interests of workers. They should be ready to put the ANC in place if the ANC ever betrays workers," he argued. In an unselfish and disciplined statement he urged COSATU, "If the ANC fails to deliver, do to the ANC what we are doing to the present regime."

Coming back to the ANC's relationship with the SACP, he stated, "The ANC will never betray the SACP. We worked closely with the SACP and produced some of the most heroic freedom fighters. The SACP widened our horizons to make the ANC the most progressive liberation movement on the continent. We need the SACP to build and strengthen the country and to keep a check on the ANC so social programs are carried out."

"Church and religion is in my blood." Mr. Mandela noted, "yet we are told that the SACP and the workers are atheist. Everyone must accept that in a democratic system, any political party should participate." "In the last World War, President Roosevelt, Churchill and de Gaulle felt that they were not in a position to face Hitler. They went to Stalin and asked to form an alliance. In doing so, they saved the world," he argued. Today all western countries have relations with the former Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Why then do they question our alliance with the SACP," Mr. Mandela articulated.

Changing his focus to the crowd, he said, "I am here today because of the struggle you put on. You are thousands of miles away yet you stayed excited and showed the regime that the U.S. people are enemies of all racists. I felt it absolutely imperative to be here today. Our victory is your victory. I have come here to acknowledge that," he stated.

On recent criticisms around the lack of consultation with the anti-apartheid movement he offered, "We would have liked to consult you before we went to the UN [to call for the lifting of sanctions]. You are entitled to know. We called a meeting of some leaders of the anti-apartheid movement on Friday and they gave us their backing. We would have preferred to have a conference but events have moved so quickly. We are faced with grave problems of unemployment, high crime, disease and poverty. In this light we had to lift sanctions." In concluding he candidly stated, "Retaining power may be more difficult than overthrowing the regime. We will need your support."

Unfortunately, Mr. Mandela could not stay for the entire scheduled two hours and left after listening to the speeches of Gay McDougal from the Lawyers' Committee on Civil Rights Under the Law, and Kathy Cook from the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network and the South Coast Foundation.

That same morning Mr. Mandela also addressed the Institutional Investment in a Post-Apartheid South Africa conference. This event brought together many top executives from corporations who one would hardly find sympathetic to the ANC a few years ago. Yet, corporate executives courted ANC officials like 'old buddies'. It was rather disturbing to see discussions and debate about issues such as housing without even attempting to address the issue of land distribution.

That same evening, The Fulbright Association honoured Mr. Mandela with The J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding. The prize, a sculpture titled "Tribute" and a \$50,000 stipend, was sponsored by the Coca-Cola Foundation, and the Senior Vice-President of Coca-Cola presented the award to Mr. Mandela.

This eventful and very interesting day showed off the 'new players' in the South African scene and demonstrated the urgent need, now more than ever, of the vigilant anti-apartheid movement to ensure not only a transition but the eradication of all remnants of apartheid which will continue to haunt South Africans for decades. The struggle continues! Amandla!

# A Special Appeal from the Editors

Welcome to this special issue of the Baobab Notes.

Many of you have been with us for many years while some of you have recently joined us in struggling to keep southern Africa, and specifically Mozambique, on the map. Some of you subscribe to the Baobab Notes, some of you used to subscribe, some of you need to renew, and some have been getting it through other organizations. Yet, you are familiar with the Baobab Notes and its mission. The Mozambique Solidarity Office (MSO) is in a new phase which includes consolidation around the Baobab. **As part of this phase we appeal to you to assist us by sending in your subscription.**

The Baobab Notes first began in 1987 as a regular newsletter of the Mozambique Support Network (MSN) out of the Chicago National Office, where it was founded and edited by Prexy Nesbitt. When the MSN encountered financial difficulties, the Mozambique Solidarity Office took over and named the newsletter Baobab Notes. Now, in MSO's new phase, we are involved in strengthening the Baobab to make it more viable and useful. There are now two departments of MSO; the editorial department continues in Chicago (P.O. Box 2284, Chicago, IL 60690-2284), while the administrative/production department shares office space with the South African Exchange Program on Environmental Justice (SAEPEJ) in Jamaica Plain (address on subscription form).

For too long now we have sent people the Baobab regardless of subscription status. We can no longer do this! And so we urgently seek your assistance in helping us preserve the Baobab. We would like to extend our gratitude to the World Division of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church which recently gave the MSO a substantive contribution to enable the consolidation process. A big thank you to the Mozambican Embassy, the Washington Office on Africa, and the Joint Ministry in Africa Office of the Disciples of Christ and the United Church of Christ for their assistance. **We strongly believe that more people should meet at the Baobab.**

The Baobab Notes is a reliable and easy-to-read newsletter aimed at informing people in the U.S. about the events in Mozambique and southern Africa. Most of the sources are foreign, alternative and often inaccessible (due to price) to our readers. For years now we have tried to provide the most up-to-date and important news from the region. All this in the hope that a more informed public may be able to hasten change in that troubled region.

We encourage you to send in your subscription and urge interested friends and family to do the same. We understand that these are hard times. But it is in these tough times that we need each other the most.



Source: Summers, Orlando Sentinel in Chicago Tribune 10/23/93

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## U.S. donation for displaced

The U.S. Ambassador to Angola, Edmond Dejarnette has donated six tons of blankets to displaced people from Huambo Province. "We are going to go on helping the people of Huambo," he said, "and the Angolan nation." A source from the commission dealing with displaced persons from Huambo said the blankets would be distributed not only to people who had fled to Benguela and Luanda from Huambo, but to others who had gone to other provinces. (*Angola News, No. 14, 9/22/93*)

## War and Starvation in Cuito

Despite threats of UN sanctions against them, UNITA maintains control over the city of Cuito, where up to 35,000 people have died of war, hunger or disease since being occupied last January. Government planes were able to drop some supplies into Cuito on September 15, despite recent UNITA artillery bombardments on the ruined city. Foreign minister Venacio de Moura reported that the lack of food caused starving inhabitants of Cuito to eat flesh of dead people. UN officials are describing the Angolan war as "the worst war in the world". UN aid workers were able to fly in their first mercy mission to Cuito on October 15, describing the situation as "Dante's inferno". (*Sunday Nation, 9/19/93; Boston Globe, 10/16/93*)



## S.A., UNITA, C.I.A. threesome

The German-based Top Secret magazine has revealed new allegations of South African support for UNITA, reporting on a large number of military transport flights carrying logistical support from South Africa to UNITA. Fifty, mostly C-1390 flights, took place between 30 October and 2 November 1992. Top Secret, which claims to have sources inside the South African intelligence, said that in December and January 1993 almost 100 flights were made, mostly from the SADF base at Pomfret in the northern Cape Province. Since then, the route has shifted and most large transports fly from Bophuthatswana to Kamina airbase in Zaire. Top Secret also alleged CIA cooperation in these operations. (*SouthScan, Vol.8 No. 35, 24/9/93*)

## Call for stronger U.S.-Angola policy

Although the international community, through the UN, approved and imposed a mandatory arms and oil embargo against UNITA in September, the rebel army continues to be a powerful war machine, and will continue to be unless the international committee enforces the embargo and implements other measures to curb UNITA's power. UNITA purchases arms with profits from diamond sales. In a draft U.S. policy, the Washington Office on Africa proposed: 1) allocating intelligence resources to identify states, companies, individuals involved in arms supplies to UNITA; 2) putting pressure on diamond merchants purchasing diamonds from UNITA-held areas; 3) insisting that S.A. prevents flights with supplies, including those originating in Bophuthatswana; 4) strong warnings not to attack U.S. or other on- and off-shore oil installations. Foreign Minister Venacio de Moura said the U.S. has special responsibility to revive the 1991 peace accord because of its past history of support for UNITA. He reiterated the government's appreciation of UN efforts but ruled out the idea of sending UN peace-keeping troops to Angola, saying it could threaten the country's sovereignty. (*Angola News, No.14, 9/22/93; Washington Office on Africa, 10/93*)

## UNITA's Portugal offices closing

Portugal has warned UNITA that it will close its offices in Lisbon following the UN security council's condemnation of UNITA. The Lisbon office has served as Jonas Savimbi's main political and propaganda platform for years. (*SouthScan, Vol. 8 No. 35, 9/24/93*)

## Ex-UNITA members speak out

Reiterating allegations that UNITA leader Savimbi's only goal is to be the leader of Angola, Francisco Antonio Sapassa, former UNITA representative in southern Africa, broke with Savimbi, saying "it was a big mistake to take up arms to support a political demand at a time when the system established in the country permits the discussion of all issues". Similarly, former secretary-general and co-founder of UNITA, Miguel Nzau Puna said that Savimbi "does not believe in anyone" because he is power-hungry. (*Angola News, No.14, 9/22/93*)

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