

Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin



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City council elections in 97?

City councils and mayors could be elected in up to 23 cities in November 1997, but the timetable is very tight and a delay to 1998 is possible.

Elections had been planned for this year. But in November 1995 Parliament unexpectedly concluded that the 1994 municipalities law (3/94) and the proposed election laws were unconstitutional.

On 29 October this year, Parliament unanimously approved a constitutional amendment which will start the process moving again. The amendment also radically changes the type of lower level councils to be elected in later phases.

Minister of State Administration Alfredo Gamito said after the amendment was approved that he hoped to resubmit a package of bills, including revisions to the municipalities law, to Parliament in late November for approval in this session (scheduled to end in mid-December). If those laws are approved, registration could take place in June or July 1997, before the 1-15 August national census, or in September. Elections would be in November.

This schedule is tight because preparatory work was halted when Parliament threw out the proposed laws last year. One official in the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) commented in early November: "We had already done the planning for 1996 elections. We did not want to waste time again planning for what might not happen. So we are waiting until the text of the amendment is actually published before we start work."

Gamito said that the work to revise the proposed laws to conform to the new amendment had been completed by early November, but officials in his own

ministry said only limited technical work had been done. The redrafted bills must be approved by the Council of Ministers before submission to Parliament, so the process will require unusual haste.

Officials were wise to wait, because the amendment drafted by the parliamentary Ad Hoc Commission to Revise the Constitution is significantly different from what was expected.

Meanwhile, it remains unclear how many places will have elections. The government continues to propose that the first elections only be held in the 10 provincial capitals and Maputo, as called for in the municipalities law. But Gamito and MAE are prepared to extend the election to the 12 other places with the status of cities (Nacala, Chókwè, etc).

The permanent Technical Secretariat for Election Administration (STAE) also suspended election preparations last year and has done little since. It will need to move quickly once Parliament decides where elections will be held. Up to \$20 million is needed from donors to fund elections in 23 cities.

Power and cooperation

The long, drawn-out process involved in approving local elections shows that ministers, officials and parliamentary deputies are still finding their way. Sometimes there is a clear attempt to assert authority, while in other cases there is cooperation.

The government last year decided to withdraw the bills rather than redraft them, and to accept a constitutional amendment drafted by Parliament.

This reflected the views of government and parliamentary parties that it was best to have consensus on local elections. This was reinforced by the unanimous support for the amendment.

But a lack of cooperation is being shown at a technical level. The amendment was drafted by the Ad Hoc Commission headed by Hermenegildo Gamito. Although he is the minister's brother, there seems to have been no formal contact between the commission and the civil service, and the form of the amendment apparently came as a surprise to the ministry (although it is widely supported). Similarly, MAE appears to be drafting the local election law revisions without reference to the report of the old National Elections Commission.

Finally, the parliamentary benches seem not to be planning ahead. The amendment required agreement with Renamo because of the need for a two-thirds majority. With its parliamentary majority, Frelimo can now pass the electoral law package even if Renamo is opposed. A key negotiating issue will be how many places will have elections; last year Renamo was still insisting on local elections in the entire country, while the government was promoting gradualism. It might have been expected that a deal would have been made on this before the amendment was approved, but this did not happen.

Another indication of failure to look ahead occurred with a package of laws on national defence which passed through all committee stages with Renamo agreement. But when the bills came to the floor of Parliament on Thursday 31 October, Renamo surprised everyone by announcing that if the bills were not withdrawn it would walk out. The following day the Frelimo bench decided to press ahead. But on

Sunday the Frelimo Political Bureau decided to withdraw the package, which the government did at the opening of the Monday session.

The desire for consensus remains strong, which gives Renamo an effective veto in Parliament.

Constitutional changes

The municipalities law (3/94) proposed that there would be elected governments for the 11 capital cities by 1996 and later in the 128 districts. The amendment to the constitution changes this radically.

The constitution now defines two kinds of local units. There are "municipalities", which are cities (23) and towns (116 other district capitals). Rural areas of districts are already divided into 394 "administrative posts" and these are now to be called "villages" (povoações). Each unit will have its own elected council and mayor. Thus there will eventually be 533 elected local councils instead of 139.

Last year, Parliament ruled that proposed local elections laws -- and by implication the municipalities law passed two years ago -- was unconstitutional, in part because they called for the election of mayors when the constitution left this as an appointed post. The amendment resolves this not only by removing the appointment clause, but by removing entirely a distinction in the old constitution between elected representative organs and appointed executive organs at local level.

The amendment should have the effect of giving more power to local councils than was intended by the drafters of the 1990 constitution. In particular, councils are given power to carry out "economic, social and cultural programmes" and are charged with "promoting local development".

The amendment specifically requires an elected council and a directly elected "president" (mayor). The amendment requires that the council be elected by "proportional representation".

Under the amendment, local councils are regulated by the government only in a post hoc way, verifying that laws have been satisfied. Central government can judge the "merits of administrative acts" only if this is specifically permitted in national law.

* The proposed laws were also ruled unconstitutional last year because they referred to an independent National Election Commission as called for in the 1992 peace accord, while the constitution makes the Constitutional Court, and before it is appointed, the Supreme Court, responsible for elections. This requires merely a drafting change in the law, to make the election commission subordinate to the Constitutional Court. In all other respects, the elections laws are expected to be unchanged from those described in *Bulletin* 16, December 1995.

More invalid votes?

The draft local election law submitted to Parliament last year ignored recommendations by the National Election Commission (CNE) after the 1994 election. The position is unclear, but the law will probably be resubmitted to Parliament this year in virtually the same form. If approved, it would lead to significant numbers of invalid votes.

The 1994 law required a cross or a fingerprint inside a tiny square on the ballot paper. CNE eventually allowed marks anywhere on the larger rectangle with the party name and symbol, and recommended that in future the law allow this.

But the 1995 draft allowed only a cross in the tiny square, and did not even allow a fingerprint.

Gradualism and tiers

The government had always advocated the gradual introduction of elected local councils, arguing that council elections should only be held in those places with adequate conditions including a small town hall with basic equipment. The municipalities law actually says that a district can become a municipality only when it had acceptable conditions.

Gradualism remains, but arbitrary decisions about "conditions" are removed. There are now four clear levels: 11 capital cities, 12 other cities, 116 towns (all of which are automatically "municipalities") and 394 "villages". Thus it is logical to have elections in the cities first, towns next, then villages, removing a politically unacceptable element of descretion.

The major constraint will be the lack of trained people. The first formal training school only opened last year. The Instituto Medio de Administração Pública in Machava is the first of what are planned to be three middle level institutions run jointly by the ministries of education and state administration, giving three-year courses for people with ten years of schooling. But it will be a decade or more before there is even one trained person for each village.

Neither Frelimo nor Renamo is ready for nationwide local elections -- another reason for delay. Recently Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama publicly supported the gradual phasing in of local elections. Based on 1994 election results, Renamo is expected to win in several cities; both sides seem happy to start slowly to see what happens.

Implicit in the constitutional change is more councils, but initially with less power. There was wide agreement that Mozambique is so large that districts are often unmanageable. Even in some "villages" people will live more than 50 km from the centre. So there is a sense that 533 councils instead of 139 will bring councils closer to people.

At the same time, Frelimo's concern about losing local elections had led it to want to reduce decentralisation and to give local councils less power; this is easier with more councils covering smaller areas, so that fewer issues are defined as "local".

It also appears that for the foreseeable future, districts will remain as the lowest level of officials appointed by central government. This leads to a structure of an elected national government, centrally appointed provincial and district governments, and elected local councils.

The actual powers of local councils, especially in the villages, will only be clear next year when the government issues regulations to go with the revised municipalities law, and when it publishes a local government finance bill. Gradualism applies here too, with the regulations likely to give councils increased powers over time.

Because Mozambique has never had independent local government, this is all new terrain. In particular, people are only beginning to realise the implications of a local council controlled by a party which is in opposition at national level. This causes difficulties in all countries, and could be very tense in Mozambique.

To cite a trivial example, many US and European cities named streets after Nelson Mandela while he was in jail, and while some of their own national governments still called Mandela a "terrorist". Will a Frelimo national government be sensible enough not to object if a Renamo local council names a street after its first leader, Andre Matzangaissa?

Land law sets precedents for debate

Intense, wide-ranging and very open discussions around the new land law are creating an effective and precedent-setting method of handling controversial legislation. The debate has already continued for more than a year and will continue at this session of Parliament -- and perhaps afterward.

Last year, the government set up a Land Commission in the Ministry of Agriculture. It was formalised in March 1996 as the Interministerial Commission on the Revision of Land Law, with a technical secretariat, directed from early this year by Conceição Quadros. Ten ministries are represented, and the technical secretariat drew on peasant organisations, local experts from the university, and the US-funded Land Tenure Centre.

A January 1996 draft of a new land law was widely circulated and was the subject of formal consultation in several provinces. A new draft was debated at a National Land Conference 5-7 June which drew government ministers, peasant representatives, and big land holders.

A draft law was then submitted to the Council of Ministers which made its own changes on 11 September and submitted the bill to Parliament. The parliamentary Agriculture and Rural Development Commission then held an innovative public hearing on 26 September. It was in the main parliament chamber and drew more than 200 people, including a group of secondary school students. The hearing was given extensive TV coverage and was the lead story in *Notícias* the following day.

Heated debates are expected in November in the Agriculture Commission, which will surely propose changes, and in December on the floor of Parliament.

If the law is approved, the technical commission plans to co-opt ten other people, including peasant representatives, to draft the regulations that go with

the law. Quadros hopes by April to be able to circulate a draft of the regulations for discussion.

In part the process reflects the fact that Frelimo is more internally divided on land than any other issue, and has no clear line. But this has created a precedent which has been important both in establishing democratic systems and in giving a wide range of people experience in debating complex issues.

Peasants' organisations have become much more active and influential this year. Helder Muteia, chair of the parliamentary Agriculture Commission, particularly noted the influence of three groups -- ORAM (Rural Mutual Assistance), UNAC (Peasants Union), and AJAM (Young Farmers). They have learned how to draw on experts on land and law, and have participated in discussions with the technical commission. These organisations conducted their own hearings in rural areas and developed their positions based on what peasants told them.

They have also developed lobbying skills and made effective use of the media to promote their case, with press conferences and press visits to rural areas. This made land a major media issue, with television debates and front page articles.

Women's organisations have also played a growing role, particularly on the question of women's access to land.

The process has changed thinking on land. Two years ago, many ministers and high officials argued that land was not a problem; now no one does. Similarly a number of complex issues, including women's inheritance rights and how to define rural communities, were discussed and clarified.

Finally, no one doubts that the land bill submitted to parliament is significantly different from what a group of technicians would have prepared had the bill been drafted in the normal closed way.

Repaying the IMF

The Netherlands and Denmark have taken the unprecedented step of giving Mozambique \$24 million specifically to make all repayments due to the IMF in 1996-8. Normally donors will not pay debts to other "donors", but this plan has been advocated increasingly in Maputo. The hope is that the money Mozambique would have used for debt repayment can be used for other things, and it gives the government more freedom.

Normally the IMF would not permit this extra spending, but it has indicated that an exception will be made in this case. The Netherlands and Denmark are requiring that the money be used for social spending.

Conflicts and donors

The land debate has been driven by four very different engines:

+ Peasants complained that they were being pushed off land and that constitutional guarantees (article 48) for those occupying land were being ignored because registration processes were so complex and expensive. This drew support from Nordic donors and international non-government organisations.

+ Confusion about who could allocate land rights led to the same land being given to different people by different ministries; this is a problem both for would-be foreign investors and for high officials using their time in office to accumulate land and other resources.

+ The United States and World Bank wanted the privatisation of land. They wanted the effective repeal of article 46 of the constitution which says land is owned by the state and cannot be sold or mortgaged. They said private land would encourage foreign investment and mortgages would make it easier for farmers to obtain credit. *MediaFax* argues that this position is backed by some in the political elite who want to accumulate land for later sale to foreign investors.

+ Some Mozambicans and some donors were anxious to recognise the role of customary law and "traditional" chiefs in land allocation.

Initially the process was very donor-driven. And many things were done, as Mozambicans say, "para Inglês ver" -- for the English to see, in other words, for show for the donors. The Land Conference was in the Polana Hotel, Maputo's most expensive, to keep donors comfortable, and there were various glossy magazines produced with donor money to satisfy donor demands.

However, the process led to a mobilisation of public and political opinion that has, at least temporarily, defeated the donor demand for privatisation and also reduced the role of traditional leaders.

Protecting peasants

The draft law submitted to Parliament offers strong new protections of the rights of peasants now occupying land. Any individual or community which has used land in good faith for ten years would have full occupancy rights, even without a written title, and oral testimony from members of local communities would be admitted in court as proof of occupancy (presently a paper title overrides oral evidence in land cases).

The draft recognises and defines "local communities" as groups of families and the land they use, not just for farming, but also pasture, forest, and even reserves for expansion. And the draft recognises the concept of a collective title for land use.

The draft also gives local communities the right to participate in the allocation of land, the defining of which land is unoccupied, and the resolution of conflicts. Local communities are also given the right to participate in the "management of natural resources" which will encourage community wildlife projects such as Campfire in Zimbabwe.

Despite other weaknesses in the draft, these improvements are seen as important enough that ORAM and some other groups back the adoption of the draft law.

Peasants' access to land, under both present and proposed laws, depends on their knowledge of their rights to remain. Several organisations have done education campaigns, but more will be required.

Allocation

Under the constitution, the present law, and the new draft law, land remains the property of the state, which then issues titles for the use of land. Under the draft law, titles would be permanent for communities and for personal use; in other cases titles would be for up to 50 years, renewable for another 50.

A key issue is who allocates land which is unoccupied. The present system is contradictory but basically controlled by the Council of Ministers. The land commission draft proposed a decentralised form, with local councils allocation up to 15 ha, provincial governors 15 to 250 ha, the Ministry of Agriculture 250 to 10,000 ha, and the Council of Ministers more.

The Council of Ministers rejected this and retained the right to allocate land "in consultation with local communities". Ministers feel the need to be able to negotiate with foreign investors, and also feel that peasants and local councils will be too easily cheated by foreigners. But some are also unwilling to give up the right to assign land to themselves and their friends.

This has brought two protests. At the parliamentary Agriculture Commission hearing, a district administrator complained that the Council of Ministers will be too busy to ever consider the sort of application he would deal with, for a few hectares.

And some members of Parliament who object to 150,000 ha in Niassa being given to South Africans without consultation will demand that Parliament have a voice in large allocations.

Mortgages and transfer

Mortgages would be permitted on buildings and other improvements, but not on land. The draft submitted by the land commission would have allowed transfer (and therefore sale) of use rights, if there were buildings or improvements on the land. The Council of Ministers added the requirement that the

Peasants in Niassa

The allocation of 150,000 ha in Niassa to white South African farmers under the Mosagrius project remains controversial. Local groups in Niassa, with the support of ORAM and the Núclio de Estudo de Terras, have formed a group to ensure that peasants are not pushed off land and to fight for some Mozambican involvement.

Mozambicans have not been involved in the planning; they see the new white settlement as being like the Portuguese ones of 50 years ago. It appears that Mozambicans will only be used as labour; the fear is that white South Africans want to introduce labour relations no longer acceptable in South Africa.

Another fear is that some South Africans are going to Niassa because they are bankrupt and hope to raise international finance. If they are to get development money, it should also be available to Mozambicans, ORAM says.

Joao Muthembene of ORAM said that "in the past we have not been included, but we have been promised that now we will be."

government must approve each transfer and has first option to buy.

In part, this is because of a paternalistic attitude by some Frelimo leaders that peasants need protection to stop them selling their land to South Africans for a few rand. But one lawyer commented: "It is the government who is giving the land to South Africans, and not the peasants."

The requirement to approve transfer also has no value against companies. There is no restriction on the sale of a company which owns a title, which would mean an effective sale of the use rights.

Privatisation of land

Privatisation is one of the most intensely debated and misunderstood issues. Peasants generally see land as belonging to the ancestors and not something which can be sold; people are given permission to use the land during their lifetime. This distinction seems to be embedded in the draft law and constitution, where a "title" is given which allows the use of the land for 50 or 100 years. It is also reflected in some European laws which allow one person to own the "freehold" while another owns a lease (often for 99 years) which gives the right to use the property and can be sold and mortgaged.

AWEPA:

Seminars for Parliament ...

AWEPA continues to assist the new Parliament, but after some basic training for staff and deputies in 1995, this year the programme has been more specialised. There have been three seminars:

- + On defence and security with the Commission on Defence and Public Order and some other deputies in June.
- + On Lomé IV with 4 commissions in August.
- + In Nampula in August, 50 of the 54 Nampula provincial deputies joined with government officials and a wide range of civil society groups to discuss the role of members of the national Parliament in the province they represent.

A delegation from the Agriculture and Regional Development Commission visited Botswana to look at local power and land issues. Deputies have also participated in AWEPA programmes in Rome, CapeTown, Copenhagen and Dublin. Two staff members worked for three weeks with the Portuguese parliament information section.

... and civic education

AWEPA has resumed training civic education trainers, with a special emphasis on helping citizens to understand the new democratic institutions arising out of the 1994 elections. Regional seminars in the north, centre and south have been organised with traditional AWEPA partners: CCM, OMM, trade unions and OJM. Seminars are being organised with the Renamo Youth, sports, cultural and other organisations. Seminars are tailored to suit each organisation, but always include human rights, constitutional issues, democratic principles, the functioning of Parliament, and decentralisation and local government.

Two different groups reject this distinction. United States officials continue to demand that the land itself and not simply use rights be privatised, while some old-line Frelimo leaders do not even want to permit the sale and transfer of use rights.

There is a widespread fear of any mechanism which could lead to peasants losing land. In Brazil, for example, landlessness is often caused by peasants mortgaging land and losing it after a bad season

when they are unable to pay.

Also, there is a feeling that however serious the problems, peasants are more likely to be protected by the state. Ismael Ossemame of the Peasants Union (UNAC) comments that peasants have no weapons against the free market, while elections and public denunciations are weapons against political corruption.

What is "tradition"?

Traditional leaders clearly retain power and influence in many rural areas, and marriage and inheritance is often covered by customary law. Practices vary widely, but in many areas women are discriminated against in terms of land and inherited property.

There was a strong move at the time of the end of the war in 1992 to pay more attention to traditional leaders and the land commission draft specifically recognised "customary systems". This was criticised at the land conference as supporting discriminatory and backwards systems.

The Council of Ministers withdrew these references and substituted the concept of local community. This still leaves space for customary law where it retains a recognised role, but does not enshrine it in law.

The concept of local community evolved during the debate this year, and is probably the most important concept added to the bill by the widespread public discussion.

Comment:

Decentralisation and power

The *Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin* continues its irregular publication following the process of democratisation in Mozambique. This issue is devoted to two currently hot topics -- the new land law and local elections. Both are closely linked to decentralisation, which in turn means devolution of power to lower levels. And as a government official working on the new land law reminded us: "No one gives up power voluntarily."

There seems to be no grassroots demand for either autonomous local government or for a new land law. Rather, the demand is to make services work and to secure constitutionally guaranteed land rights. It is the Maputo-based donors and government ministers and officials who argue that these needs are best met through the new laws. This makes the process totally top down.

Decentralisation and local autonomy is an intensely debated issue throughout the world. Reductions in government spending and demands for tighter fiscal control mean that those who control the

purchase strings are demanding ever more control of how the money is used. Since most local governments depend on income from central government, this has had a direct impact. In Britain, for example, local governments have lost much of their autonomy over the past 15 years as central government tried to reduce spending.

Similarly, the Mozambican leadership, under intense pressure from the Bretton Woods Institutions to control spending, is reluctant to give too much fiscal and administrative autonomy to poorly trained and inexperienced local officials.

The same thing has happened with donors. Funds become tighter and head offices demand tighter control; country representatives in turn demand more control over how recipients use the money.

In Mozambique, decentralisation is a fashionable donor demand and is largely driving both local government and land processes. Donors -- who are themselves ever more centralised and not prepared to devolve power either to local offices or to the Mozambican government -- are using their power to demand that Mozambique decentralise.

There is now a momentum for decentralisation. The land law debate has been very open and has sharply increased the capabilities and power of civil society. Nevertheless, the process remains top down. Decentralisation can only succeed when it is demanded from below. That, in turn, requires that people see some initial successes.

Local government as is now known in the US and Europe has taken more than a century to evolve, and is still the subject of intense debate and conflict. In Brazil, after decades there are still remote areas that do not have elected local governments. Yet some donors think Mozambique can do overnight what in their own country required decades.

Donor pressure did get the ball rolling. Can donors now practice what they preach, decentralise a bit of power to Mozambicans, and allow them to set the pace of decentralisation?

Comment:

Kinds of democracy

The openness of the process of drafting the new land law should be a source of pride for the Mozambicans involved. This has been democracy in action, and the process is not yet complete. The use of a broadly based commission to draft the law, with extensive consultation and several conferences, followed by revisions by the elected government and then a very public parliamentary committee hearing, have drawn in a range of views uncommon even in more established democracies. This has also been the first example of effective work by pressure groups, in this case those representing peasants and women.

And yet "the drafting of 1979 land law was much more democratic," argues José Negrão of the Núcleo de Estudos da Terra da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. "Then there was much more public discussion which led to many changes in the draft law. Many people debated the law in the then Saturday morning political studies seminars. Peasants played a major role in the debate. But there were no peasants at the Polana Hotel seminar to discuss the new land law."

The switch from limited direct democracy to representative democracy has brought losses as well as gains. In the one party era, Frelimo decided which topics were to be debated, but for those it selected the debate was both deep and open, directly involving many more people than participate now.

In the new representative democracy, ordinary people only speak through others -- either elected representatives or pressure groups and NGOs which claim to represent them. Frelimo could, and did, exclude dissident voices, which is unlikely now. But today topics for discussion are still selected by a Maputo political elite -- and by the donors. Twenty years ago, no one dared to propose capitalism; today, who would dare to argue for socialism?

The transition from having a limited direct voice to making effective use of representatives will take many more years.

New books

Peace Without Profit: How the IMF blocks rebuilding in Mozambique by Joseph Hanlon, pp 176, James Currey, London, 1996, £9.95, ISBN 0-85255-800-7. By the editor of the *Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin*, this book argues that the International Monetary Fund is preventing post-war reconstruction and making Mozambique poorer by demanding that inflation control have top priority. The book shows how IMF control of what is called "deficit before grant" is actually a limit on how much donors can spend on repairing war damage, and this has been savagely cut.

The United Nations and Mozambique 1992-1995, UN Blue Books Series Vol V, pp 321, UN, New York, 1996, \$29.95, ISBN 92-1-100559-0.

This is the full set of official UN documents on ONUMOZ and the peace process, with all of the Secretary's General's reports and statements, Security Council reports and resolutions, and the peace accord itself. The blue book also reprints a number of letters, particularly to and from the Secretary General.

This is not, however, a freedom of information document, and it contains nothing that would make the UN look bad. There is no correspondence relating

to the scandalous delay in demining caused by UN infighting, there are only hints at the bitter battles within the UN that delayed the start of ONUMOZ for nearly six months, and nothing on the fights between ONUMOZ and UNDP. Someone still needs to tell those stories.

An introduction sketches the history and provides useful references in the margin to the UN documents.

The report has only one surprise. It admits (p 51) that there were 12,000 "children who had fought mostly for Renamo", a much larger number than previously reported publicly (e.g. *Bulletin* 10).

The United Nations and International Peacekeeping by Agostinho Zacarias, pp 230, Tauris, London, 1996, £39.50, ISBN 1-86064-065-6.

A Mozambican and former director of ISRI (Institute for International Relations), Zacarias' comments on the UN in Mozambique (only one part of his study) are of particular interest. "The behaviour of ONUMOZ can in no way be described as impartial," he notes. But he concludes that the bias toward Renamo was necessary. "The success of the peacekeeping operation ... depended not on impartial behaviour by Renamo but on a correct reading of the character of the conflict and the adoption of solutions deemed attractive to Renamo." In particular, the precedent-setting trust fund for Renamo gave an alternative source of funds to replace the taxes charged in areas it occupied, and gave it a financial stake in sticking with the peace process. UN bias gave it "a leverage that ensured Renamo's cooperation at crucial moments, such as its refusal to participate in the electoral process six hours before the opening of the polls," Zacarias notes.

Not surprisingly, the UN blue book reviewed above contains no discussion of intentional bias.

Renamo: From Terrorism to Democracy by Alex Vines, pp 209, James Currey, London, 1996, £9.95, ISBN 0-85255-355-2.

An updated version of an earlier book on the origins and transformation of Renamo, it now includes useful material on the peace talks from Vines' CIIR report reviewed in *Bulletin* 16. An annex provides a list of the main Renamo personalities.

African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican strategies and struggles in Lourenço Marques 1877-1962 by Jeanne Marie Penvenne, pp 229, James Currey, London, £19.95, ISBN 0-85255-614-4 <Also Witwatersrand University Press, 1-86814-268-X>.

For those who have worked in Mozambique and want a better understanding of how Mozambique arrived at its present position, this is a readable book (why can't more academics write this well?) with stories and interviews as well as analysis. It shows how, over a century, the Portuguese colonial system

constructed and institutionalised inequality and created a form of apartheid that prevented Africans from developing skills and capital. Penvenne uses the colonial archives to refute claims of colonial benevolence and show that regulations were "specifically designed to define Africans as lesser beings".

Twenty years after independence, Mozambique is still paying the price. Two decades has not been enough to reverse a century of dehumanisation and marginalisation. So it is hardly surprising that Mozambique cannot compete as an equal in the new international free market, and that aspects of colonial power relations are returning.

The Lower Zambezi Basin in Mozambique, by Shubi Lugemalila Ishemo, pp 292, Avebury, Aldershot (England), £42.50, ISBN 1-85628-450-6.

This very detailed study of colonial penetration and resistance in the period 1850-1920 will be of interest mainly to academics, but people who have worked in Quelimane and the Zambezi valley will learn the history of places they know.

Human Rights Watch World Report 1996, pp 388, Human Rights Watch, New York & London, 1995, ISBN 0-300-06658-9.

The section on Mozambique notes the implicit agreement of both sides not to talk about the war (in contrast to the South African truth commission), and looks at problems of dual administration, police abuses, and very bad prison conditions.

Angola: Promises & Lies by Karl Maier, pp 224, Serif, London, 1996, £12.99, ISBN 1-897959-22-2.

A former correspondent in Mozambique, Maier has also been covering Angola for nearly a decade. Through very readable stories of his own experiences and pen portraits of people and places, he paints a depressing picture of leaders sacrificing the people of Angola to their own power struggles. Followers of Mozambique will find the book interesting in part because it shows just how different Angola is.