

MOZAMBIQUE

MOZAMBIQUE

UN Peacekeeping in Action
1992–94

R I C H A R D S Y N G E



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE PRESS
Washington, D.C.

The views expressed in this book are those of the author alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of the United States Institute of Peace.

United States Institute of Peace
1550 M Street NW
Washington, DC 20005

© 1997 by the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace. All rights reserved.

First published 1997

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Synge, Richard

Mozambique: UN peacekeeping in action, 1992–94 / Richard Synge.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-878379-70-4. — ISBN 1-878379-69-0 (pbk.)

1. United Nations—Mozambique. 2. Mozambique—Politics and government—1975— I. Title

DT3389.S96 1997

327.17'09679—dc21

97-17773

CIP

CONTENTS

Foreword <i>by Richard H. Solomon</i>	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Political Parties and Coalitions in Mozambique during the Peace Process	xvii
Chronology, 1992–94	xix
1. Mozambique and the Challenges of Peacekeeping in Africa	3
2. The Spirit of Rome: The Peace Accords and the Belated Invitation to the United Nations	15
3. The Launch of ONUMOZ: Inauspicious Beginnings, Troublesome Bureaucracy	27
4. Assembling the Parties and Their Armies: Overcoming Doubts and Hesitations	55
5. Landmines in the Peace Process: Problems in Coordinating Humanitarian Assistance	69
6. Demobilization: A Race against Time	91

7. Elections: Preparations, Crisis, and Success	115
8. ONUMOZ: Achievements, Weaknesses, and Legacy	145
9. Lessons for Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in Africa	169

Appendixes

I. Report of the Secretary-General on ONUMOZ, 3 and 9 December 1992	177
II. Security Council Resolution 797 Establishing ONUMOZ, 16 December 1992	195
Notes	197
Index	209

Maps

Mozambique	2
Initial ONUMOZ Military Deployment along Transport Corridors, May 1993	43
ONUMOZ Military Deployments at Time of Elections, October 1994	93

FOREWORD

With the end of the Cold War, the competition between the superpowers for African proxies and client states also ended. Accordingly, the leading members of the international community have had much less reason than before to intervene in African conflicts. Even when the international community has found sufficient motive and resources to intervene, the intervention has very often failed to yield the desired results, with the UN operation in Somalia being the most notable example.

There are, indeed, reasons to be pessimistic when assessing the prospects for helping to bring peace and stability to Africa. But, as Richard Synge convincingly demonstrates in this important book, there are concrete grounds for optimism as well. "Since 1990 and the end of the Cold War," he notes, "successful mediation has produced promising long-term solutions for Namibia, South Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Mozambique, all of which suffered conflicts deemed 'ripe for resolution' as long ago as 1984."

Mediation in the case of Mozambique—a subject examined in another book from the United States Institute of Peace Press, Cameron Hume's *Ending Mozambique's War*—involved a variety of international actors spending two years to help the warring parties forge the October 1992 General Peace Agreement. That agreement was a significant achievement in itself, but its sheer complexity and its inadequate attention to logistical realities and organizational requirements meant that the task of translating the agreement into practice would be far from easy or straightforward.

In *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992–94*, Syngé takes up Mozambique's story where Cameron Hume left off. Syngé follows the peace process in Mozambique from the signing of the 1992 accords between the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels, through the creation of the UN operation (ONUMOZ) and the endeavors of its military and civilian components, to the expiration of ONUMOZ's mandate in December 1994, on the same day that Mozambique's newly elected president was inaugurated. Syngé focuses on how ONUMOZ dealt with the obstacles it confronted as it sought to organize itself, assemble and demobilize the opposing forces, remove landmines, repatriate refugees, and prepare for Mozambique's first-ever democratic elections. Taken as a whole, the operation was clearly a success. As Syngé says, ONUMOZ "helped to steer a large, war-torn country firmly in the direction of peace. Thus the principal purpose of the UN mandate was achieved."

Given that UN peacekeepers are frequently criticized as ineffectual and that their real achievements are often ignored, Syngé's conclusion is important—and should give pause to those who would write off as futile any efforts to assist African nations to restore their internal stability.

No less important, however, are Syngé's conclusions about why ONUMOZ succeeded to the extent that it did, and about where and why it failed. With access to confidential UN files and key individuals, Syngé has been able to go behind the scenes of the operation and make informed, balanced, and candid judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of the machinery and personnel involved. He also factors in the impact of external circumstances: the pros and cons of contributions from key third-party states, multilateral organizations, and NGOs; and the attitudes and actions of the Mozambican parties and people themselves.

In other words, while this portrait of *UN Peacekeeping in Action* serves to caution against undue pessimism, it also provides a reality check for those inclined to respond to African conflicts by routinely urging the dispatch of a large-scale, multifaceted UN mission. ONUMOZ was by no means a flawless operation. Overambitious mandates, bureaucratic inefficiencies, interorganizational rivalries, scandalous behavior, questionable priorities—the list of impediments and missteps is quite long. Furthermore, as this book makes clear, even the best-conducted elements of the UN operation depended for their effectiveness on matters beyond their control: the engagement of powerful states determined to see an end to Mozambique's war; propitious regional circumstances; and the overwhelming support for peace from the Mozambican people.

For those readers who believe that intervention is not always doomed to failure, who are rightly wary of entanglement but who also recognize the price of disengagement, who judge the case for intervention on the merits and circumstances of the situation at hand—for such readers Richard Synge provides a wealth of dispassionate analysis, measured judgment, and instructive lessons for future practice.

In seeking to contribute to informed discussion of complex, policy-relevant issues, *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action* is an important addition to the work of the United States Institute of Peace. Through its Grant Program, the Institute funded much of the research for this book. A good deal of other work relevant to conflict and intervention in Africa has also been supported by the Institute through its Grant Program, the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, and other activities. Much of this work has been published by the Institute's Press. Aside from Cameron Hume's *Ending Mozambique's War*, recent Institute books include John Hirsch and Robert Oakley's reflections on *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope*; UN special representative Mohamed Sahnoun's analysis of earlier international intervention in the same country, *Somalia: The Missed Opportunities*; Peter Gastrow's analysis of South Africa's National Peace Accord, *Bargaining for Peace*; Pierre du Toit's examination of *State Building and Democracy in Southern Africa*; David Smock's edited volume on foreign intervention throughout Africa, *Making War and Waging Peace*; Fen Hampson's study of the implementation of five peace settlements, *Nurturing Peace*; and a volume edited by David Smock and Chester Crocker, *African Conflict Resolution: The U.S. Role in Peacemaking*.

Other Institute publications include two Special Reports, *Zaire's Crises of War and Governance* and *Dealing with War Crimes and Genocide in Rwanda*; and a number of issues in our Peaceworks series, among them J. C. Willame et al., *Zaire: Predicament and Prospects*, David Smock, *Humanitarian Assistance in Africa* and *Creative Approaches to Managing Conflict in Africa*, Denis Mclean, *Peace Operations and Common Sense*, Michael Hardesty and Jason Ellis, *Training for Peace Operations*, and Roxanne Sismanidis, *Police Functions in Peace Operations*.

To this considerable body of work, Richard Synge's *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action* makes a significant contribution. The Institute trusts that the reader will find much that is challenging within this revealing study of the realities of peacekeeping in Africa.

Richard H. Solomon, President
United States Institute of Peace

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this book was greatly facilitated by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace, as well as by the sustained support of the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London and the African Studies Centre of the University of Cambridge. At these institutions I owe special thanks to David Smock, Nigel Quinney, Steve Kibble, and Keith Hart for their interest and encouragement. Among the specialists on Mozambique who provided valuable advice and assistance, I must especially mention Alex Vines, Andrea Bartoli, Michèle de Rosset, Lucila Romero, Margaret Hall, Joe Hanlon, Moises Venancio, and Jose Soares. I was also greatly helped at different stages of the research and writing by Roy Laishley, Salim Lone, Richard Amdur, Anjeli Peck, Antonio Donini, Norah Niland, Jose Campino, Nick van Hear, Ken Wilson, Miguel de Brito, João-Paulo Coelho, Sam Barnes, Tim Born, Paul Fauvet, Philip Machon, Caroline Toulemonde, Ton Pardoel, Sue Willett, and Agostinho Zacarias, and I thank them all. Last but not least, I thank my family for their patience and understanding.

ABBREVIATIONS

Note: An asterisk indicates abbreviation of Portuguese wording.

Adimemo*	Handicapped Veterans' Association of Mozambique
ADP	Accelerated Demining Program
Amodeg*	Mozambican Demobilized Soldiers' Association
AWEPA	Association of West European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa
CCF*	Cease-Fire Commission
CCFADM*	Commission for the Joint Armed Forces for the Defense of Mozambique
CCPPCCN*	Coordinating Council for Prevention and Combat of Natural Disasters
CENE*	National Executive Committee for the Emergency
CHAP	Consolidated Humanitarian Assistance Program
Civpol	UN Civilian Police
CNAT*	National Commission for Territorial Administration
CNE*	National Elections Commission
COMINFO*	National Information Commission
COMPOL*	National Police Affairs Commission
CORE*	Reintegration Commission
CSC*	Supervision and Control Commission
DHA	United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs
DPCCN*	Department for the Prevention and Combat of Natural Disasters
DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

xiv ABBREVIATIONS

FADM*	Armed Forces for the Defense of Mozambique
FAM*	Mozambique Armed Forces
GPA	General Peace Agreement
GNU	Government of National Unity
GUN*	Government of National Unity
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MPLA*	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ONUSAL	United Nations Operation in El Salvador
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
PIR*	Rapid Intervention Police
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation
RSS	Reintegration Support Scheme
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
STAE*	Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization (Namibia)
TU	Technical Unit for Demobilization
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
Unicef	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
Unita*	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOHAC	United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSCERO	United Nations Special Coordinator for Emergency Relief Operations
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UNTAG	United Nations Transitional Assistance Group
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USCR	United States Committee for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

POLITICAL PARTIES AND COALITIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE DURING THE PEACE PROCESS

AP	Patriotic Alliance
CDR	Democratic Reflection Center
FAP	Patriotic Action Front
Frelimo	Mozambique Liberation Front
Fumo	Mozambique United Front
Monamo	Mozambican Nationalist Movement
Pacode	Democratic Congress Party
Pademo	Mozambique Democratic Party
Palmo	Mozambique Liberal Democratic Party
Panade	National Democratic Party
Panamo	Mozambique National Party
PCD	Democratic Convergence Party
PCN	National Convention Party
Pimo	Mozambique Independent Party
PPLM	Mozambique Liberal Progress Party
PPPM	Mozambique People's Progress Party
PRD	Democratic Renewal Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party
PT	Workers' Party
Renamo	Mozambican National Resistance
SOL	Social Liberal and Democratic Party
UD	Democratic Union
Unamo	National Mozambican Union

CHRONOLOGY, 1992–94

1992

- October 4 Signing of the General Peace Agreement in Rome
- October 13 Security Council Resolution 782 welcomes the agreement, approves the dispatch of military observers, and confirms the appointment of Aldo Ajello as SRSG
- October 15 SRSG and first military observers arrive in Mozambique
Cease-fire begins with minor violations in the following days
- November 4 First meeting of CSC
- December 16 Security Council Resolution 797 establishes ONUMOZ

1993

- March 4 First Italian peacekeeping troops arrive
- March 6 Renamo boycotts peace commissions
- April 14 Security Council Resolution 818
- April 15 Italian contingent replaces Zimbabwean troops on Beira corridor
- May 14 Mozambique government and United Nations sign status-of-forces agreement
- May 20 Renamo trust fund authorized by United Nations
- June Full deployment of ONUMOZ contingents
Number of refugees returned reaches 250,000
- June 3 Renamo resumes participation on peace commissions
- July 9 Security Council Resolution 850 approves ONUMOZ chairmanship of CCFADM and sets October 1994 date for elections
- August 21 Dhlakama's first visit to Maputo for meetings with Chissano

xx CHRONOLOGY

- September 3 Dhlakama leaves Maputo
- September 13 Security Council Resolution 863
- October 18 Boutros-Ghali meets Chissano and Dhlakama in Maputo
- October 22 CSC approves new timetable for the peace process
- October 29 Security Council Resolution 879
- November 5 Security Council Resolution 882 extends ONUMOZ mandate to May 5, 1994
- November 30 CSC finalizes agreements on electoral law and on the assembly of troops
- December Assembly of troops commences at fifteen assembly areas
Number of refugees returned reaches 600,000
- December 20 More assembly areas opened, bringing total to thirty-five

1994

- January 12 Demobilization of paramilitary forces, militia, and irregulars begins
- February 15 CNE commences preparations for elections
- February 21 Last assembly areas opened, bringing total to forty-nine
- February 23 Security Council Resolution 898 approves deployment of 1,144 Civpol monitors
- March 10 First demobilization of FAM troops
- March 18 First demobilization of Renamo troops
- April 6 Joint commanders of FADM sworn in
- April 28 Assembly total reaches nearly 50,000, of whom 13,000 have been demobilized
- May 5 Security Council Resolution 916 extends ONUMOZ mandate to November 15
- June Number of refugees returned reaches 1 million
Registration of voters begins
1,000 Civpol are deployed throughout the country
- July Rioting intensifies in the assembly areas as demobilization is delayed (55 percent of assembled FAM troops and 29 percent of assembled Renamo troops have been demobilized)
- July 11 Assembly of troops declared virtually complete

- July 20 South Africa's new president, Nelson Mandela, visits Mozambique
- July 25 Number of FADM troops recruited stands at 4,500
- August 15 Agreed final deadline for demobilization passes with 16,813 troops still in the assembly areas
- August 30 CCF begins verification of arms depots and caches
- September 2 Registration of voters ends
- September 22 Electoral campaign begins
- October Number of demobilized soldiers exceeds 90,000
Number of FADM recruits reaches 11,000
- October 24 Electoral campaign ends
- October 26 Dhlakama says Renamo will boycott elections
- October 27 Voting begins across the country
- October 28 Dhlakama calls off boycott
- October 29 Voting extends to third day
- November 7 Preliminary results indicate a Frelimo victory
- November 15 Security Council Resolution 957 extends ONUMOZ mandate by one month
Withdrawal of ONUMOZ military component begins
- November 19 Election results announced: Chissano wins 53 percent of presidential vote to Dhlakama's 34 percent; in the National Assembly, Frelimo wins 129 seats to Renamo's 112
- November 21 Security Council Resolution 960 calls on parties to accept the election results
- December 6 Last meeting of the CSC
- December 9 Chissano inaugurated as president
ONU?MOZ mandate expires

