

MOZAMBIQUE (1977-1992)ⁱ - NARRATIVE

As the Mozambican civil war entered its thirteenth consecutive year in 1990, the Rome-based Catholic lay institute of Sant Egidio hosted a series of low profile talks between members of the opposing sides. These talks lasted two years and helped lay the foundations the General Peace Agreement (GPA) that was finally signed between the Government of President Joaquim Chissano and the rebel movement, Renamo, in Rome on October 4 1992.

From the outset, Sant Egidio's efforts were supported by the Vatican, the Italian Government, and later by the United Nations, the US Government, a number of European and Southern African Governments, and the British businessman Tiny Rowlandⁱⁱ. Furthermore, the final peace agreement was the cumulative result of the Sant Egidio talks and a series of regional African initiatives that were taking place concurrently. However, by virtue of its work and connections within Mozambique Sant Egidio seized upon an opportunity to initiate dialogue between the two sides at a time when other efforts seemed to have failed. The case study below provides a background to the Mozambique civil war, and a chronological analysis of Sant Egidio's involvement and the key events that led to the peace agreement of 1992.

BACKGROUND

European colonialism in Mozambique dates back to the 15th century. The Portuguese arrived there in 1498 and for the next four hundred years settlers and traders flocked to the coastal regions. Gold and ivory were the early attractions but as the slave trade flourished in the 19th century, Mozambique became a main exporter of humanity. Until the 1880s the settlers had little to do with the indigenous populations living in the north, central and southern regions. But the 1885 Berlin Conference established the rules for a final European scramble for land in Africa. Portugal was give the rights to the inland areas of Mozambique and Angola. Lacking the necessary resources to make its claim, however, Portugal turned to Britain for support. The British wary of German expansion in the region and concerned about the status of their own colony Southern Rhodesia, willingly aided the Portuguese.

The British-Portuguese co-operation lasted into the 20th century, with the British establishing themselves as the regional economic power, developing ports and transport links to the coastline of Mozambique, and the Portuguese sending a steady supply of unskilled Mozambicans to work in the mines of South Africa.

The situation altered after 1932 when the fascist Salazar regime took power in Portugal. The new government was keen to assert its own control in the colony. Lisbon based companies were encouraged to develop trade in the colony and thousands of semi-skilled began to emigrate. Over the next forty years, in an effort to avoid land reforms in Portugal itself, the fascist government virtually 'dumped' thousands of landless peasants in Mozambique. The number of émigrés rose to 250,000, but the nature of Portuguese

rule did not change. In the hinterland the authorities co-operated with the traditional tribal leaders, while on the coast the émigrés dominated every aspect of society. The indigenous population was kept illiterate and unskilled and nothing was done to prepare Mozambique for eventual independence.

In 1960 as the UN General Assembly recognised the need to dismantle the colonial yoke, in resolution 1514 (XV), Portugal refused to adopt the resolution. By 1962 however, the Frente da Libertacao de Mocambique (Frelimo) had been launched. It was the first independence movement in over 400 years. Yet Frelimo found the Portuguese unwilling to negotiate, and thus by 1964 the call for independence turned into a military struggle. The fight for independence lasted eleven years until 1975 when the fascist government was toppled in Portugal and Mozambique was granted independence by the incoming government.

But all was not well. The affluent educated and skilled Portuguese fled the country, destroying their own property in their wake and leaving behind an unskilled and illiterate population. Mozambicans lacked even the most basic skills needed to run the economy. In an effort to ensure production, Frelimo opted to nationalise the social services, land and rented properties. Where businesses had been abandoned, Frelimo established a state-run intervention system appointing administrators to each business. But where owners had stayed, they were left in peace to run their businesses. Despite the difficulties, there was a sense of optimism in the country and Frelimo had widespread support.

Throughout the late 1970s, Mozambique embarked on a programme of modernisation coupled with socialism, and by 1977 Frelimo had declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party and Mozambique a one-party state. People who were not members of Frelimo did not suffer direct prejudice, but certainly had limited opportunities to advance towards local or national significance. Yet as 1980 approached, the majority consensus was favourable to the government, and with the economy improving, Mozambique was optimistic about the advent of a new decade.

PHASE OF THE CONFLICT

Phase One 1977-1980: Dispute

However, despite its domestic popularity Frelimo's ascent to power in 1975 was not *entirely* unopposed. There were a number of smaller movements vying for power in the country, but none had had Frelimo's the widespread and organised urban and rural support. On a regional level too, there was a strong degree of opposition from the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia, and the Apartheid regime in South Africa. As an ardent supporter of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU), and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, Frelimo placed itself in the front line of attack from its two neighbours. One of its first acts in power was to close the borders to Southern Rhodesia, preventing them access to transport and trade routes.

Seen as an symbol of direct hostility, the Rhodesians took to sponsoring a small group of anti-government protesters, initially dominated by disgruntled Portuguese, who had fled Mozambique abandoning their properties and businesses. By 1977 there was a steady flow of Mozambicans joining the rebel group, mainly coming from the Mozambican Diaspora and mining communities of South Africa. Andre Matsangaissa an ex-Frelimo army commander sent to correction camp on account of thieving, was amongst the early recruits. He escaped the camp to join the rebel movement and was soon nominated as leader. By mid-1977 the movement that had operated under a series of different acronyms, chose Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana or RenaMmo for short.

Until 1980 Renamo was in effect a sub division of the Rhodesian security forces, but fighting Frelimo. Matsangaissa's death during a raid led to internal conflict and ruptures amongst Renamo's leadership. Afonso Dhlakama eventually took the lead, but with the 1980 the Lancaster House Agreement that led to the emergence of the new Zimbabwean state, Renamo was thrown into further turmoil. The movement was "on the road to destruction"¹.

But during that period South Africa was beginning to take notice of Renamo's presence. So instead of closing down Renamo's activities, the Rhodesians passed the reigns on to their South African military counterparts. New training camps were set up in South Africa, and young Mozambican peasants some through coercion and threats, others voluntarily joined the movement. Once they had joined, they had little choice but to remain, for those caught trying to escape were executed immediately.

Frelimo's Foreign Relations

Concurrent with the regional developments, international events were also beginning to affect Mozambique. First, its vehement anti-apartheid stance, and second non-alignment. Aware of the pitfalls that foreign aid could bring to underdeveloped countries, at independence, Mozambique chose not to join the IMF, the World Bank, and the Lomé Convention. But in a world carved up by Cold War rivalry, non-alignment and neutrality were not easily tolerated. This independent stance threatened the Apartheid regime in South Africa, and proved unacceptable to the incoming Republican administration of Ronald Reagan in 1980. The US was not only vociferously hostile to the Marxist states of Angola and Mozambique, but also advocated 'constructive engagement' with South Africa.

The South Africans, meanwhile, viewed the US's willingness to engage in 'constructive engagement' while maintaining an openly hostile line towards its neighbouring states, as a signal for the intensification of attacks on Mozambique. South Africa's main objective was to maximise destabilisation and inhibit development in the region.. From 1981 they stepped up their commando attacks and raids into Mozambique, attacking both ANC

¹ Dhlakama's own writings quoted in Alex Vine's **Renamo Terrorism in Mozambique**, CSAS, James Currey, Indiana University Press 1991. pp. 17.

members and Mozambicans. The American government did nothing to discourage these actions. With increased resources and training, Renamo's presence throughout Mozambique increased. By 1981 up to 7,000 rebels were active, up from under a 1,000 during the Rhodesian-command days. Although Renamo's primary source of support was South Africa, the group maintained its own independence and leadership.

Phase Two 1981-84: Crisis and Limited Violence

The conflict gathered momentum between 1981 and 1984, as the apartheid regime in South Africa mounted its destabilisation policy in the continent's southern cone. Renamo's operations spread from the central provinces down into the southern regions of the country. Major transport and communications arteries were targeted and destroyed. Agricultural production was disrupted as fields were mined, properties destroyed and peasants and rural populations driven into Maputo and other cities. Amidst this violence, the entire southern African region was also hit by the worst drought of the century. Combined with a rise in oil prices, a world economic recession, and a sudden hike in interest rates, Mozambique's exports and the country's ability to cope with the consequences of the drought were effected severely.

Preliminary Attempts at Negotiations

The sustained violence and devastating famine impelled the Mozambique Government (still a one party state under the control of Frelimo) to engage in negotiations. The first attempt to end hostilities came on 16 March 1984 when President Machel met Prime Minister 'Pik' Botha of South Africa at the border town of N'Komati to sign the "Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good-Neighbourliness". Mozambique was to close down the ANC military bases in its territory; in return, the South Africans were to halt their support of Renamo. South Africa reneged. With airlifts and transport routes through Malawi, it continued to supply Renamo with food, medication, and weapons, including large numbers of landmines.

The Mozambican Government took a different approach by deciding to negotiate directly with Renamo. However, aware of the critical role that South Africa played in its support for Renamo, the Mozambique government insisted that the talks be facilitated and mediated by the South African government. South Africa eventually complied and the regime offered its 'good offices' to bring about a negotiated solution to the conflict. Machel accepted, stating that his Government would give amnesty and assist in the full reintegration of all Renamo members who surrendered voluntarily.

Three rounds of negotiations took place from May to October 1984. But the mediators were neither impartial, nor did they engage in thorough consultations with either side. An atmosphere of mistrust permeated the talks as statements were misinterpreted. Eventually failure was declared and both sides took on more extremist positions. Machel publicly stated that *'Mozambique will not negotiate with kidnappers, bandits and criminals. Instead Mozambique will wipe them out, and that day is not far off.'*ⁱⁱⁱ On the other side Renamo demanded the country's presidency for itself.

Phase Three 1984-88: Intensification

The failure of the talks led to the further intensification of the conflict between 1985 and 1986. Neither President Machel's accidental death in 1986, nor the ascension of the more moderate Joaquim Chissano into the presidency had much effect. By 1987 Renamo had gained substantial ground across the country and was receiving indirect encouragement and backing from a number of conservative and right wing governments in the west. The war was taking a heavy toll on the government, forcing President Chissano to modify many of Frelimo's original policies and positions vis-à-vis the international community^{iv}.

Meanwhile, Renamo's reputation as the 'Khmer Rouge' of Africa had also spread. In 1988, following the publication of a US State Department report, attitudes towards the movement shifted radically. The Gersony Report (named after its author, Robert Gersony) stated that Renamo used excessive violence against the civilian population, including "burying alive, beating to death, forced asphyxiation and drowning, and random shootings..."^v. Despite backing from a number of right-wing organisations in the US, Renamo's hopes of US Government aid and assistance were eliminated. Moreover, its own ideological underpinnings and organisational structure were shown to be ambiguous and malformed. Domestic and regional pressure was also mounting on Renamo to enter into negotiations.

PRE-NEGOTIATIONS: 1988-90

Although the conflict escalated throughout the mid 1980s, there were already sectors of society, notably religious leaders, and other regional actors attempting to initiate a peace process. As early as 1984, the Mozambican Christian Council (MCC) which united seventeen of the country's Protestant churches set up the 'Peace and Reconciliation Commission'. They argued that 'dialogue is the way forward in any dispute' -- an approach that received official rebuff. During the same period, the country's Catholic Church, which already had an ambivalent relationship with the Government (due to its historic ties with the Portuguese), publicly called for dialogue between the Government and Renamo. But at the time President Machel refused.

By 1987, under the presidency of Chissano, the Church was finally permitted to openly recognise the parties to the conflict as well as the possibility of dialogue. Chissano also gave the MCC the go-ahead to conduct dialogue with Renamo, along very carefully defined guidelines. Between 1987 and 1988, the MCC joining forces with the Catholic Church, held a number of meetings with Renamo representatives in the US and in Kenya. President Moi also took an interest in the negotiations. By November 1988, the church activities had become public. The Peace and Reconciliation Commission continued with their efforts, meeting Renamo officials and outlining their objectives. Though aware of Renamo's hostility towards the Government, the Commission became convinced of the group's fatigue and willingness to end the conflict.

In effect, some of the internal conditions necessary for initiating dialogue (war fatigue, stalemate) existed. Externally too, the regional and international political arena was changing. In South Africa, the domestic political situation was witnessing changes and a gradual shift away from the principles of Apartheid. With anti-apartheid sentiments rising, international tolerance (especially in the US and UK governments) of Apartheid had diminished substantially, and South Africa was under both external and internal pressure to change. Internationally, the fall of the Berlin Wall and collapse of Communism towards the end of 1989 and 1990 was the advent of a new era of optimism and willingness to engage in ending the proxy wars of the cold war years.

Negotiations started in August 1989 but quickly faltered as it became evident that the groundwork was still lacking. The Government rejected Renamo's demands for recognition as an active political force in Mozambique, and Renamo back-tracked on its original acceptance of the existing political order in the country. These talks reached an impasse. However, the process made the Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, acutely aware that for Renamo to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the world, continued negotiations and the participation of the international community were essential.

In the same year, the British businessman Tiny Rowland and the US Government also became involved, pushing for direct Government-Renamo talks, within a wider regional context. Rowland's multinational corporation, Lonrho had major business interests in Mozambique and throughout the region. As the war continued and the destruction escalated, Lonrho's interests were badly affected. The company's expenditure on security forces was very high, and no amount of protection money to Renamo's leadership (an estimated \$500,000 per month at one stage), was enough to guarantee the safety of its land or transported goods. In 1989, based on Rowland's advice and knowledge of the region, Lonrho's strategy changed. Tiny Rowland became personally involved in the quest for peace. Through high level contacts with regional governments and Renamo, he arranged for direct meetings between Frelimo and Renamo representatives. Although both sides agreed to participate initially, Renamo's representatives never arrived at the designated meeting point in Malawi.

Sant Egidio's Links with Mozambique

The Catholic lay community of Sant Egidio^{vi} traces its ties to Mozambique during the mid-seventies when a Mozambican priest, Don Jaime Goncalves (later to become the Archbishop of Beira Province, Mozambique) forged close personal ties with many of the community's members while studying in Rome in 1976. After Goncalves returned home, Sant Egidio initiated the 'Committee of Friends of Mozambique' in Italy and continued its links with the Catholic church in Mozambique. The Vatican, with its strong ties to the Portuguese government of the colonial era, had strained relations with the government of the independent state, but through the continued mediation of Sant Egidio, representatives of the Mozambican Government began informal meetings with Vatican officials by 1982.

As the armed conflict worsened during the 1980s, Sant Egidio began sending aid to the Beira diocese. As early as 1982, Sant Egidio made its first contact with Renamo, when negotiating the release of a number of hostage missionaries. Over the next few years, a relationship of mutual trust and understanding began to develop.^{vii} In parallel to their humanitarian assistance, the Community also facilitated meetings between the Pope and Presidents Machel and Chissano, with the real breakthrough coming when the Pope agreed to visit Mozambique in September 1988.

Advancing the Opportunity for Peace

By 1990 Sant Egidio had developed strong ties within the Mozambican Government and the church groups around the country, as well as with Renamo. It was regarded as a trusted and impartial intermediary in the conflict. Moreover, given its role as a principal provider of humanitarian aid to all regions, the group had legitimacy and leverage in the eyes of both sides. In Italy, the Government and the Vatican agreed to support Sant Egidio's peacemaking efforts. Thus, its offer to facilitate high level talks between representatives of the Mozambican Government and those of Renamo at the community's discreet compound in Rome was eventually accepted. Dhlakama arrived in Rome in February of 1990.

NEGOTIATIONS^{viii} ...

The first direct meetings between Renamo and Mozambican government officials finally took place at Sant Egidio's headquarters in July 1990. But it was an inauspicious beginning as the two sides disagreed on the extent of third party participation and mediation, and the order of the agenda and events. It took a further round of talks before both sides agreed to recognise the team of observers (two Sant Egidio members, an Italian parliamentarian, and Bishop Goncalves) as the official mediation team.

A third round of talks was first cancelled, and later re-instated following US support for the Rome process, and series of meetings between the mediation team and regional heads of state. Finally in December 1990, an agreement was reached on maintaining a partial cease-fire along major transport routes, and on providing humanitarian agencies access to the conflict zones. A joint Verification Mission (JVC) was also appointed, with Renamo nominating Kenya, Portugal, the US and Zambia, and the government asking Congo, France, the USSR, and the UK to be members.

The next four rounds of talks, held over a one year period tackled issues of political and electoral reform. As the talks stalled and faltered on, accusations of a breach of cease-fire were made by both sides, and inevitably little humanitarian aid reached those in need. But the presence of the JVC and the signed agreement offered some reassurance to both parties.

Renamo sought support from the Portuguese government and the United Nations, but both refused to interfere in the Rome process. The indications were that all parties (regional and international) were supportive of, and recognised the Sant Egidio talks as

the official negotiations. Any assistance given was aimed to supplement and enhance that process.

...& TRANSFORMATION

In an effort to surmount a number of major obstacles, the mediators drew up a series of Protocols each tackling specific issues, and each demanding concessions from both parties. Once again with support from external observers, the two sides agreed to sign Protocol One. It indicated that the government was to tolerate and not impede Renamo's international contacts, while Renamo acknowledged its compliance with Mozambique government laws after the cease-fire. The two sides also agreed that a joint commission with UN participation, would supervise the implementation of the General Peace Accord. In essence it was a substantial breakthrough, establishing mutual political recognition.

Shortly afterwards, Protocol Two on 'Criteria and Modalities for Forming and Recognising Political Parties' was signed. The critical issues incorporated were that the government had authority to register political parties, and that Renamo would be given provisions to begin activities as a political party once the peace agreement was signed. Protocol Three on electoral reform took more months of negotiation. But finally with American advice and encouragement, Renamo agreed to postpone discussions on constitutional reform and to sign the agreement.

By June 1992, all sides agreed to include the US and Portuguese governments formally into the peace process. But there was little progress being made on the question of military reform. As the negotiations process in Rome ambled on, a humanitarian crisis was mounting in Mozambique itself. Aid agencies and major donors applied pressure on both sides, but still no significant progress was made. Frustrated by the delays in Rome, in July a summit meeting between President Mugabe, President Masire of Botswana, Dhlakama, and the US Ambassador to Botswana was arranged by Tiny Rowland. The meeting gave a positive boost to the proceedings, and Dhlakama agreed to face-to-face talks with Chissano.

In early August, at an 'African' summit in Rome, Chissano and Dhlakama, met in the presence of Mugabe and Rowland and agreed to a further meeting in October. But behind the scenes there were still numerous obstacles. Renamo feared for their security after the peace agreement was signed, and there were signs of dissent amongst the ranks of both sides. In a series of smaller meetings with the mediators who were engaged in 'shuttle diplomacy' issues such as the size of army, reform of the police, and the future of secret service were discussed. However, the mediation team lacked the authority and means to enforce any agreements, so the UN was invited in.

CONSOLIDATION

By October 1992, a number of the issues were finally resolved. Regional governments including South Africa were supportive, the UN was to send monitors and troops to

uphold the agreement, and the Italian government agreed to donate US \$10 million towards Renamo's transformation into a political party. After two years, and with the involvement of regional and European governments, the United States, the UN, a major international corporation, not to mention Sant Egidio itself, the Rome General Peace Accord was signed.

ⁱ The historic information noted below was gathered from various sources: Alex Vines, 'No Democracy without Money, the Road to Peace in Mozambique,' CIIR Briefing paper, and Cameron Hume, Ending Mozambique's War, The Role of Mediation and Good Offices, (Washington DC: United States Institute for Peace Press), 1994.

ⁱⁱ As director of Lonrho, a multinational British-based corporation with diverse interests in the Southern African region, Tiny Rowland had the necessary financial means and the political connections to wield a degree of influence with Renamo and regional governments.

ⁱⁱⁱ Quoted in Vines, pp.4

^{iv} Initially, Frelimo had taken a non-aligned stance in the international community but given President Reagan's deep rooted intolerance of left-wing and Marxist governments, Mozambique was forced to modify its position.

^v Quoted in Hume, pp.15

^{vi} Sant Egidio was founded in 1968, when a group of religious students decided to establish a charitable organisation as a means of expressing their commitment to society. By 1994, the Community had over 100,000 members world-wide, working with 300 local groups across Italy and throughout Europe, Latin America and Africa.

^{vii} By 1984 Sant Egidio's involvement in the provision of humanitarian aid had also increased. In 1985 the 'ship of solidarity' transported 3,500 tons of aid. In 1988, a further 7,000 tons was sent. Throughout that time, at home and across Europe, Sant Egidio developed a network of regional groups and committees to help collect funds and materials, while also spreading information about Mozambique's crisis. Inside Mozambique itself, a new network of mainly local parishes gradually emerged, helping those suffering from the war. Strong ties were also forged with local missionaries working in mine-ridden areas and Renamo-controlled territory. Communication with Renamo also continued to develop, so much so that by 1989, plans were being drawn for Dhlakama to visit Rome.

^{viii} The detail of events listed in this section are quoted from Cameron Hume Ending Mozambique's War, The Role of Mediation and Good Offices (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994), and Alex Vines' 'No Democracy without Money the Road to Peace in Mozambique'.

MOZAMBIQUE - CHRONOLOGY

COLONIAL WARS & INDEPENDENCE

1960s - As the wave of independence swept across Africa, Portuguese colonial rulers denied the legitimacy of the independence movement in Mozambique and continued to encourage European settlers into the country.

June 1962 - Defying the bans placed by their Portuguese rulers, three groups merged together to establish, Frelimo (Frente da Libertacao de Mocambique), under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane.

September 1964-69 - From bases in Tanzania, Frelimo launched attacks against the Portuguese, managing to gain ground in the North. The group continued its struggle over the years, enduring some failures and setback, including the assassination of Dr. Mondlane in 1969.

April 1974 - Coup d'etat in Portugal, brought a military government to power. September 7th 1974, the Government of Portugal officially handed the administration of Mozambique to a Frelimo-dominated transitional government. Mr. Joaquim Chissano became Prime Minister. The agreement prompted the mass exodus of thousands of European settlers.

GUERRILLA OPPOSITION EMERGES

June 1975 - President Samora Machal became the first President of independent Mozambique. But with few trained or skilled professionals, the country faced an uphill struggle towards economic development. Furthermore, with its overt opposition towards the minority-ruled governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the government provoked their hostility. The latter began to provide military training and supplies to anti-Frelimo supporters.

1976 - In complete support of the Zimbabwean National Liberation struggle, the Mozambique government chose to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia, rendering the country completely land-locked.

1977- Frelimo declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party, and the government signed co-operation pacts with the USSR and Cuba. Southern Rhodesia stepped up its covert support for the opposition movement which emerged under the banner of Renamo (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana). An ex-army man accused of theft, Andre Matsangaissa Renamo's first leader fled to Southern Rhodesia to receive training and begin launching armed attacks into Mozambique.

October 1970 - Matsangaissa died, and Alfonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama becomes Renamo's President.

1980- Zimbabwe gained independence and support for Renamo decreased substantially. But South Africa and numerous Western countries stepped in to fill the void.

1980-82 - Renamo's strength and effectiveness increased dramatically, destroying social and political infrastructures. Membership went from less than 1,000 fighters to over 8,000, and their operations spread from the central provinces into the south.

THE VIOLENCE ESCALATES

1981-83 - The Apartheid regime in South Africa also undertook direct air and land raids against Mozambique. The destruction of transport routes and supply facilities in Mozambique had a detrimental impact on Zimbabwe and Malawi, which were dependent on them for foreign trade.

1982 - With the agreement of the Mozambique government, Zimbabwe sent 10,000 troops to protect the Beira transport corridor from the East coast into the West. Tanzania also sent troops to protect the Northern corridors. All three neighbouring countries also became the destination of many Mozambican refugees.

1982-84 - The increased activities meant a rise in minefields and dangers in the countryside. Movement became hazardous for military and civilian personnel alike. Agricultural production was severely disrupted, and the drought of 1982-84 intensified food shortages. The famine of 1983-84 killed tens of thousands of people.

PEACE THWARTED & CONFLICT RAGES

March 84 - Machal and his government made their first bid for peace with South Africa. At the border town of Nkomati, the 'Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good-neighbourliness', was signed by Machal and P.W. Botha, South Africa's Prime Minister. The latter agreed to stop support of Renamo, while the former agreed to stop supporting the military operations of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa.

October 1984 - South Africa agreed to mediate peace talks between RENAMO and Frelimo, but the talks collapsed. Evidence found later showed that while Mozambique kept its side of the bargain, South Africa continued to support Renamo through airlifts in Malawi and other supply lines. Renamo intensified its campaign.

1985-86 - The war reached a new peak, when Renamo moved towards Zambezia (centre-north) and Tete (north west), threatening the regional capital, Quelimane. The beleaguered Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM), had to rely on support from the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean militaries.

October 86 - President Machal died in an air crash. Joaquim Chissano was appointed President in November.

1987 - Renamo made substantial territorial gains. Widespread abuses of human rights and atrocities were reported - probably committed by both sides.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACEMAKING

1988 - Sant Egidio - Catholic Church intermediaries undertake tentative negotiations, which quickly involve other Africa governments - Kenya, Zimbabwe, followed by Botswana, Malawi, other 'Front-line States' and South Africa.

1989 - Indirect contact between Renamo and government momentum gained with support from Italy, Portugal, UK, US, and the UN.

1990 - With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and its economy and basic infrastructure destroyed, the government decided to abandon its Marxist stance, and undertake political and economic liberalisation. A new constitution and the introduction of a multi-party system, brought support from Western governments. Renamo remained politically isolated, but it still had sufficient military power to withstand defeat.

1992 - Final stage of negotiations begins in Rome. UN asked to monitor and guarantee implementation of agreement.