

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

226 23 September 2013 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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In this issue:

Dismissals, French boats, negotiators, police kidnappers

O Pais editor dismissed

Jeremias Langa, Editorial Director of *O Pais* and Director of Information of STV, was dismissed last week by the owners Soico. He is replaced by Olívia Massango, STV programme director and before that editor of *O Pais* (before it went from weekly to daily). Massango is sister of Socio head Daniel David (Macuablog 17 Sept).

O Pais is the main independent daily newspaper and STV the main independent TV station; both have come under pressure for being too critical of Frelimo. Massango's appointment corresponds with *O Pais* joining other publications in running supplements and articles on the achievements of 10 years of Armando Guebuza's presidency.

Meanwhile, *Notícias* has redesigned its website, making it very difficult to find older articles, which under dismissed editor Rogerio Siteo were sometimes quite critical of government.

COMMENT: The dismissal of two editors and the campaign to eulogise the president are causing more polarization in the media, with MediaCoop (*Savana*, *MediaFax*), *@Verdade*, and *Canal* highly critical of Guebuza and Frelimo, while *Notícias* and *O Pais* participate in the campaign to improve Guebuza's image.

@Verdade (20 Sept) talks of the "campaign to deify the President" under the cloak of articles evaluating the presidency of Armando Guebuza. And it contains an article with an unusually strong attack on the president. (bit.ly/1frivVS)

The image campaign seems aimed at urban areas and particularly at Frelimo party members, where there is growing discontent. Guebuza apparently recognises this; in a recent speech in Maputo he said "this city is a centre for movements seeking to discourage work, devaluing what is done well and proclaiming that what was well done was not done well." (*Savana* 20 Sept 2013) *jh*

Transport minister dismissed

Paulo Zucula has been dismissed as transport and communications minister and replaced by Fisheries Vice Minister Gabriel Muthisse (<https://www.facebook.com/gabriel.muthisse>). As always, no reasons were given, but in a long article *Savana* (20 September 2103) blamed four factors.

- 1) The very public controversy over the proposed new railway to take coal to a new offshore port at Macuze, just north of Quelimane. *Savana* alleges that the Council of Ministers said the contract would go to the Frelimo company SPI. Zucula as transport minister went against this and held a public tender. A shortlist of 6 was drawn up, but Prime Minister Alberto Vaquina cancelled the tender. The Prime Minister of Thailand visited Mozambique in July and it was announced that the contract would be given, without tender, to a Thai company, Italthai, with SPI and Investe Logística

(linked to Mossumbuluco Guebuza, son of the President) likely to be junior partners.

2) A similar problem with the Beira coal terminal. *Savana* says it was supposed to go to Mossumbuluco, but Zucula put the contract out to public tender.

3) The continued mess of public transport in Maputo, which has deteriorated to the point which many people now commute standing jammed together in the back of open trucks.

4) Failing to have Mozambique removed from the European Union airline blacklist, which is due to inadequate performance by the national civil aviation agency, Instituto de Aeronáutica Civil.

Government buys €300 mn of French boats

A company part-owned by the security services SISE (Serviço de Informações e Segurança do Estado) is to buy €300 million (\$400 mn) of boats from shipyards in Cherbourg, in northern France. They include 24 fishing vessels, mainly for tuna, and six boats for coastal patrol to combat illegal fishing and piracy.

The boats will be owned by a new Mozambican state company EMATUM (National Tuna Company), which is 33% owned by GIPS (Gestão de Investimentos, Participações e Serviços; Management of Investments, Holdings and Services) which is owned by SISE, 33% by the state fishing company Emopesca, and 34% by IGEPE (Instituto de Gestão das Participações do Estado; Institute for the Management of State Holdings).

Money will come from Mozambique's first big dollar bond issue of \$500 million, which was sold by EMATUM early this month, through banks BNP-Paribas and Credit Suisse. The bonds have a weighted average life of 4.5 years and a quite high final yield of 8.5%. AIM reports there was no shortage of buyers, since the bond issue was oversubscribed.

The boat announcement was made in France on 13 September and only on 17 September confirmed in Mozambique. There are murky links between the French and Mozambican security services, dating back to the apartheid era.

Government & Renamo name military negotiators

Renamo has named a special military negotiating team and government responded Friday with its own team. In naming the new team Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama effectively confirmed that it was the Renamo military which is behind the present confrontation – feeling they have received too little money and prestige.

So far Dhlakama and President Armando Guebuza have proved to be quite rigid, which has made any real negotiation impossible. Two sets of former soldiers might have more in common and might more easily negotiate.

Dhlakama and Guebuza both say they are prepared to talk to each other. But Dhlakama refuses to leave his base in Satunjira, Gorongosa, while it is surrounded by police and army, fearing that they would use his absence to attack the base. But Guebuza has repeatedly refused to pull back the troops.

The Renamo team would be headed by Momad Ossufo, head of Renamo security, and previous Secretary-Generall of the party. Other members are Manava Meque, José Manuel, António Muzorewa, Raimundo Taio and Renato Martins – all military men – and a lawyer, Ezequiel Gusse

The government team will be headed by Brig. Julio dos Santos Jane, formerly second in command of the army, and currently head of the Civic Service. The other members have not yet been named.

Two mediators, Bishop Dinis Sengulane and Professor Lourenço do Rosário, have met again with Dhlakama in Santungira.

- Guebuza has announced a new Chinese funded cement factory near the lime quarry at Estaquinha, Buzi district, but not far from Muxungué, which has been the centre of government-Renamo confrontations. The plant could create jobs for Muxungué residents. There is already a pineapple processing plant proposed for Muxungué, now delayed by the conflict.

700 pedestrians killed in 6 months

700 Mozambican pedestrians were killed by cars and other vehicles in just the six months January to June, according to the Transit Police head of operations Paulo Langa. The worst province was Gaza, with 67 pedestrians killed. (O Pais, 17 Sept 2013)

Police involved in kidnappings

Three policemen, including a member of the Presidential Guard (Casa Militar), were involved in the kidnappings of six Asian businessmen in 2011 and 2012, they admitted at their trial which began in Maputo last week.

At the time, the Asian community paid ransoms and initially refused to cooperate with the police, because they said that police were involved. At the time police denied this, but it turns out to be true. This distrust means that the kidnap victims and their families are refusing to testify in the court case. AIM reports that “the task force that arrested the kidnappers was handpicked by the highest police and security authorities, and bypassed the normal chain of command of the Criminal Investigation Police.”

Arsenio Chitsotso, a member of Casa Militar, the elite unit responsible for the security of President Armando Guebuza, participated directly in the kidnapping of Darmendra Jarandas on 29 December 2011. He wore his uniform and ordered her car to stop. While he appeared to be arresting her, the other members of the gang abducted her and bundled her into their own car. The organiser of the gang, Bendene Chissano (known as “the Angolan”), was said to have paid \$15,000 to Arsenio Chitsotso who gave \$3000 each of that to his brother Luis, a policeman, and to another policeman for their role in the kidnappings. (AIM & MediaFax 18, 19, 20 Sept) The police admitted showing their guns and using forged arrest warrants in the kidnappings.

Do as I say, not as I do

Mozambique has been pressured and forced to follow development strategies designed by the World Bank, IMF and donors. But recent research has looked back at the now industrialised countries, and has shown how their development often followed exactly opposite lines. Thus Mozambique is being told to not follow the successful paths of now-developed countries.

A particularly interesting new book is *Development Success: Historical Accounts from More Advanced Countries*, edited by a Ghanaian, Augustin Fosu, done for the UN University-Wider, and published by Oxford University Press.

The book looks at 10 countries, the four Nordics, Ireland, Japan, Switzerland and eastern European transition economies. The studies point to the need for financial stability and thus agree with that part of post-Washington Consensus policies. But otherwise, histories are very diverse and often contrary.

A key factor in nearly all of the successful developers is a very close relationship between business and government and the centrality of government's role in supporting domestic capital – what the book calls “the corporatist nature of the growth model”. For example, the book points out that

Japan's development success could be attributed to what is now called "crony capitalism". And it notes that "many key decisions have been taken in a kind of twilight zone between private and public functions."

Finland is interesting because it did not follow the model of the other Nordic states, and instead its growth regime might be described as the "interventionist developmental state" similar to that of the Asian tigers.

The book warns countries not to "succumb to international bandwagons." It notes that "the crude imitation of policies developed elsewhere or those that come with the mantle 'international best practice' does not work; instead, policies and programmes have to be moulded so that they are in line with actual existing domestic conditions."

Key to Danish development at the end of the 19th century was transformation of farming, through co-operatives which raised skills and introduced agro-processing for the development of milk and meat products industry. This was, of course, done with heavy state support and protection.

Development partners usually emphasize social sector expenditure, such as health and education, but successful developing countries invested less in social sectors and more in economic sectors and infrastructure.

Recommended reading for donors and World Bank staff to see just how far away from their own history is their advice, and for Mozambican officials who might wish to question the now conventional wisdom.

The book does note that two aspects of previous developers are not available today. First, in countries like Sweden and Ireland, millions of people emigrated, which reduced short term unemployment - clearly not possible for African countries today. Second, developed countries consistently used government subsidies and contracts to promote local industry in way not allowed today by the World Trade Organisation, and freely used all available technological ideas in ways not permitted under current intellectual property rights agreements.

A final note is that although most of the countries opened their economies to global competition, nearly all protected their agriculture sectors. "In agriculture, Switzerland has become one of the most protectionist countries in the world," the book notes. Agri-business and agro-processing can become a key part of industrialisation. In countries like Sweden and Denmark, expanding agriculture provided employment for a growing population in the years before industry was developed enough to create jobs – exactly Mozambique's position today.

On agriculture, still the best study is "Rethinking public policy in agriculture: lessons from history, distant and recent", by Ha-Joon Chang, the prize-winning Cambridge economist, in *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol 36, pp 477-515, 2009. This should be read by all diplomats and aid officials in Mozambique as a reminder of how their own countries actually treated agriculture. I can send copies of the article on request (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk). *jh*

Distrust at resettlement

Resettlement continues to be a very fraught issue. I conclude this newsletter by reprinting a good AIM article by Paul Fauvet.

AIM NEWS CAST, MONDAY 16.9/2013

70913E DISTRUST SURFACES AT PUBLIC MEETING ON GAS LIQUEFACTION
By Paul Fauvet

Quitupo (Mozambique), 16 Sep (AIM) – Public consultation over major economic projects can be a stormy affair, with unpleasant surprises, as government officials in the northern Mozambican

province of Cabo Delgado found on Friday, when a consultation meeting degenerated into a shouting match.

A government delegation, led by the Cabo Delgado permanent secretary, Lina Portugal, went to the village of Quitupo, in Palma district, to discuss the project of the American company Anadarko to set up a natural gas liquefaction plant.

Quitupo is right in the middle of the area (covering 7,500 hectares) allocated by the government for the liquefaction plant and its ancillary activities. If the project goes ahead – which seems a racing certainty – the village will cease to exist.

“It’s in the government’s interest to inform the people about everything that’s going to happen”, declared Lina Portugal at the start of the Friday meeting.

In the first place, that meant explaining the land ownership issue, undertaking a census of the entire area, and choosing community representatives for the Technical Commission for Accompanying and Supervising Resettlement.

So far nobody at Quitupo has been resettled – that will be impossible until the Technical Commission is up and running, and the census has been carried out. Without knowing who lives where, the government cannot be sure how many households need to be resettled.

Anadarko’s preliminary estimate is that 1,500 households will have to be moved from Quitupo and other nearby communities – but company spokespersons warn that the figure has yet to be confirmed.

Within a few minutes of the start of the meeting, it became clear that there was deep distrust among the Quitupo community. One man claimed that a land title (DUAT) to the Quitupo area had been given to Anadarko, without any prior consultation with the community.

The provincial director of agriculture, Mariano Jone, explained that, in reality, the DUAT has been issued in the name, not of a private American company, but of the publicly-owned Mozambican Hydrocarbon Company, ENH, which has a stake in all oil and gas exploration activities.

Furthermore, it was untrue that there had been no consultation. In August 2012 a consultation meeting on precisely this issue had been held at Quitupo. “Some of those present here today signed the minutes of that meeting”, said Jone. “The government never hid anything”.

Noisy dissent among the audience grew louder. The villagers seemed to be denying either that there had ever been such a meeting or that they had been present. Their minds were not changed when they were shown photographs of the August 2012 meeting, with some of the villagers wearing the ENH T-shirts that had been distributed then.

Jone showed the meeting the August 2012 minutes. The law requires a minimum of five signatures, and there were eleven signatures on these minutes.

As he read the names out, the meeting became ever more rowdy. People were on their feet shouting and gesticulating – quite unlike the calm, orderly atmosphere of most official meetings in Mozambique. Some of those who signed in August 2012 were not present. Others denied they had signed. Three men claimed that, since they are illiterate, they couldn’t have signed. Even the community leader, Luis Abdala, whose name topped the list of signatures denied he had been present.

Government and ENH officials who had been at the 2012 meeting were astonished. They remembered that Abdala had been there and had signed.

“You know the people who signed the minutes!”, exclaimed Lina Portugal. “We didn’t bring anyone from anywhere else to sign. We proved there was a meeting, and that you do know about it”.

Regardless of who signed the 2012 minutes, the Friday meeting showed considerable distrust among the community – perhaps best expressed by one man who claimed that those who signed minutes were “selling the land”.

The government delegation knew that similar accusations had been made against Abdala. “We shouldn’t argue that when the community leader goes to Pemba (the provincial capital), he’s selling Quitupo”, urged the Palma district administrator, Pedro Jemusse. “There’s a problem of trust that we have to cultivate among ourselves”.

He told the villagers, who mostly make their living from small scale fishing, that “resettlement is not going to happen today or tomorrow. It’s in the future. Nobody’s going to stop fishing because of this”.

Lina Portugal denied rumours that the government intends to move the entire village to Pundanhar, which is about 50 kilometres inland. Fishermen would continue to live near the coast, she said.

One simplistic theory is that the Quitupo villagers are being manipulated by the environmental organisation Centro Terra Verde (CTV – Green Earth Centre). The villagers clearly have friendly relations with CTV, and indeed the first speaker at the meeting protested at the detention last month of CTV activist Alda Salomao.

Portugal said that Salomao had not been detained, but merely called in for questioning (although anyone hauled into a police station at 06.00 may be forgiven for believing they are under detention).

Salomao “wasn’t arrested”, insisted Portugal. “That’s why she’s here with us today. If she wants to collaborate with you and with us, we’re open to her doing so”.

The idea that a couple of CTV activists can manipulate an entire village is far-fetched. Much more likely is a severe deficit in information and communication, creating an atmosphere in which rumours are easily spread and believed.

A further problem was the community representation on the Technical Commission. There are ten representatives – but they were all hand picked by Luis Abdala, rather than being elected. They are all men, and mostly elderly.

This was unacceptable to the government. Lina Portugal insisted that the community representatives must include women and young people. “We have agreed that this group is not yet complete”, she said. “We have to complete it so that we can continue to work with it”.

Later, Portugal told AIM she feared that the Quitupo villagers had been influenced by the bungled resettlement at Cateme, in the western province of Tete.

People resettled from the area of the open cast coal mine in Moatize operated by the Brazilian company Vale were re-housed in Cateme, some 40 kilometres distant. But the houses were shoddily built, without proper foundations, and the villagers complained they had no access to good agricultural land and of the long distance they had to travel to reach Moatize town. The result was a series of protests, including villagers blockading the railway line taking coal exports to Beira. Lina Portugal insisted that nothing of the sort would happen in Cabo Delgado. The provincial government was committed to implementing the resettlement directives published in August 2012 (i.e. several months after the Cateme fiasco).

These directives state that in resettlement “All those affected have the right to conditions that are equal to or better than their previous standard of living”. Those resettled should also enjoy the possibility “of benefitting directly from the undertaking (in this case the gas liquefaction plant) and its socio-economic impacts”.

Resettling people in new areas must also “take into account access to means of subsistence, social services and available resources”. The income of resettled households must be at least as large as it was prior to resettlement.

Jemusse recognised that “we have to hold a lot of meetings”, and a government delegation was due to return to Quitupo on Monday, and try to persuade the villagers that nobody will lose out because of the construction of the liquefaction plant.

(AIM)

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The new book

Zimbabwe takes back its land

by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publishers

https://www.rienner.com/title/Zimbabwe_Takes_Back_Its_Land

<http://www.jacana.co.za/book-categories/current-affairs-a-history/zimbabwe-takes-back-its-land-detail>

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and on Amazon.co.uk for £17.09

Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South

by Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme

Most of this book can now be **read on the web**

tinyurl.com/justgivemoney

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Also on the web: Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on

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NOTE OF EXPLANATION:

This mailing list is used to distribute two publications, both edited by Joseph Hanlon. This is my own sporadic "News reports & clippings", which is entirely my own responsibility. This list is also used to distribute the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*, published by CIP and AWEPA, but those organisations are not linked to "News reports & clippings"
Joseph Hanlon

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Mozambique media websites:

Noticias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O Pais: www.opais.co.mz

Macauhub English: www.macauhub.com.mo/en/

Savana: www.savana.co.mz

Canal de Moçambique: www.canalmoz.co.mz

AIM Reports: www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news

Carlos Serra Diario de um sociologo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

Good daily newsletters:

English: Mozambique Investor. Send e-mail to joaquim.fale@clubofmozambique.com

Portuguese: Mozambique Hoje. Send e-mail to moçambiquehoje@clubofmozambique.com

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