

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

264 30 June 2014 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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Book launch 30 July in Maputo

Galinhas e cerveja:

uma receita para o crescimento

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon

(The book is in Portuguese only. 30 July replaces previously announced dates)

Venue and speakers will be announced shortly.

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Dhlakama cannot be ignored; give him a role, says Raffaelli

but military demands are unjustified

"I think Dhlakama must have a relevant role in the political life of the country. ... Dhlakama must not be marginalised," said Mario Raffaelli, the Italian chief mediator in the Renamo-government negotiations that led to the 1992 Rome peace accord. "I think that the government must recognise the role of the Renamo leader in democracy and in guaranteeing peace in Mozambique. I think that ways must be found to recognise Afonso Dhlakama, whatever the political results." He was speaking in a long interview with *O Pais* (27 June).

It was a very strong message to the Mozambican government from Raffaelli, who was in Maputo to be named by President Armando Guebuza as an honorary citizen on independence day, 25 June, along with Aldo Ajello, UN head during the 1992-94 period between the peace accord and elections. At a time when Renamo is harking back to the 1992 peace accord, it is interesting the Guebuza, too, was highlighting that period.

But Raffaelli had an equally strong message for Dhlakama. "Renamo should demand guarantees to ensure that the electoral process is just and transparent, but not 50% of the army and police. This is a task for parliament." He argues that Renamo is wrong to be resorting to violence and other issues must be discussed in parliament, in part because there are no longer just two parties (as in 1992) and MDM is also in parliament.

Raffaelli is highly critical of Renamo negotiating strategy. "I don't understand Renamo's real intentions. I do not understand their constant changing of positions."

Renamo alleges that the government has violated the peace accord by making the military forces just one party, "but this is not completely true," notes Raffaelli. The process of integration of the two armies "was not completely observed", but this is because so many Renamo and government soldiers did not want to remain armed and wanted to become civilians.

"One error in the peace accord was to not have been more careful about the process of Renamo

demilitarisation, in the context of Afonso Dhlakama asking to maintain a personal security guard. In fact, there are still many armed people," Raffaelli noted. "It was a mistake to have left Renamo with weapons."

Raffaelli rejects the idea, suggested here, that Renamo should just be given money. Status for Dhlakama is more important. But it will be necessary to create a fund to integrate the Renamo fighters into civilian life and provide them with the money for "daily necessities".

Finally, in the interview Raffaelli confirms the role of Kenya as Renamo's main political backer during the war, and cites the Kenya diplomat Bethuel Kiplagat (wrongly called "Keep Legard" in the transcript) as being key to convincing Dhlakama to negotiate in 1990.

Part of the Raffaelli interview: <http://opais.sapo.mz/index.php/entrevistas/76-entrevistas/29960-deve-reconhecer-se-a-importancia-de-dhlakama-no-pais.html>

Savana: <http://macua.blogs.com/files/savana-1068-27.06.14.pdf>

Talks resume, with tiny steps forward

Renamo and Frelimo resumed talks today (Monday) in Maputo after a two week break, and reiterated their agreement on some initial general points: the need to end hostilities, the need for a meeting between Guebuza and Dhlakama, and that there must be observation and monitoring of the cease fire and reintegration of Renamo forces, AIM reported this afternoon. They also agreed to end verbal hostilities, including on social media. But discussion has hardly started on the more fundamental points of demobilising and disarming Renamo fighters (a Frelimo demand) or the withdrawal of troops from around Gorongosa and eventually a complete restructuring of the military (both demanded by Renamo).

Divide the country, says Renamo

If government does not reached agreement with Renamo in the on-going negotiations, then the country should be divided, with the area south of the Save River for Frelimo and the area north of the river for Renamo, Renamo's National Council decided in Beira Tuesday 24 June.

Spokesperson José Manteiga said that "the National Council decided that if there were no conditions for co-habitation of Frelimo and Renamo, this signified that Frelimo wants to divide the country." Mariá Inés, a member of the National Council, said the Council decided "that it is better if Frelimo stays in the south of the country, below the River Save, and Renamo in the centre and north." Several hundred delegates attended the two day meeting.

The main issue dividing the two sides in the on-going negotiations is that the military, police and security services be completely restructured, going back to the 1992 peace accord, with half Frelimo and half Renamo at all levels.

Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama spoke to the Council meeting by telephone, and also gave a 30 minute address to a rally of several thousand Renamo supporters on 24 June. He said that Guebuza and some embassies accuse Renamo of attacking civilians on the N1. "But this is not true", he said, because "the government is using civilian cars to transport weapons on that road."

"Renamo does not attack civilians. The majority of victims are soldiers or members of the riot police. When there are civilian victims it is because there are soldiers or riot police in the cars in the convoy, or suspicions there are, because they do travel in civilian vehicles" confirms Padre José Luiz Gonzalez. From the US-based catholic Comboni Missionaries, he has been in Muxungué for six years, and was giving an unusual interview to the Club of Mozambique website, published Saturday 27 June. But he continued that in his area no one agrees with Renamo about dividing the country, and no one support the violence.

In a Friday press conference Renamo spokesperson Antonio Muchanga reminded journalists that Frelimo presidential candidate Filipe Nyusi was Minister of Defence when the current military campaign against Renamo was planned, and claimed that "Nyusi was in Sadjundjira to praise those who captured the house of president Dhlakama." And he said that the reason Frelimo will not allow an integrated army is because they want to use it to maintain power "on 17 October when they realise they have lost the elections."

(Lusa, *Savana*, Club of Mozambique, *O País*, CanalMoz)

<http://www.clubofmozambique.com/pt/sectionnews.php?secao=mocambique&id=29629&tipo=one>
<https://www.facebook.com/CanalMoz?ref=stream>

The war continues

Almost daily attacks have continued on the N1 between the River Save and Muxungué, and there have been recent incidents in Zambézia and Tete.

The most complete list is on bit.ly/mapa-de-guerra. Or go to <http://www.verdade.co.mz/>. Below the map, click on 'Ver Mapa da "guerra" a partir de 21/10/13.' On the left is a list of attacks, the most recent is at the bottom of the list.

The website <http://www.mozambicanhotels.com/tourist-information/travel-safe-in-mozambique> has a shorter list, in English.

Attacks since the last newsletter, 17 June:

N1: According to @Verdade, recent military convoys attacked have been: Saturday 28 June, bus machine-gunned with 2 dead and 6 injured; Friday 27, 2 soldiers and 2 civilian killed (reported *O País* only); Wednesday 25, no further details; Tuesday 24, 1 civilian dead, several injured; Monday 23, bus shot at, 2 dead and 2 injured; Friday 20, dead and injured; Thursday 19, two attacks, no casualties (Lusa report); and Tuesday 17, attack on convoy and shooting near Muxungué. Convoys have been reduced to two a day in each direction, which is seriously disrupting trade between the centre and south of the country.

Elsewhere in Sofala: Various reports of fighting around the Gorongosa mountain. No details or confirmations. For example, Gorongosa community radio reports an attack on vehicles near Casa Banana. Too little traffic for a formal convoy but a civilian vehicle was following a military one when they were ambushed, killing two civilians. But the radio notes that the civilian car was also carrying two soldiers, not in uniform.

Tete: Saturday 21: Renamo attacked the police post in Matenje, Chiúta and stole weapons and attacked the local administrative post (*O País*). Notable because this attack was not near the Malawi border, unlike the other Tete attacks. Another armed attack may not have been Renamo; on Tuesday 24 June armed men attacked an armoured car of Delta Segurança in Macanga district, killed four guards, and stole 100 million Meticaís (\$3.3 mn) intended for Mozambique Leaf Tobacco to pay farmers.

Zambézia: An attack on soldiers in Murrotone, Mugeba, Mocuba district, Saturday 28 June is reported by *Diário de Zambézia*. The soldiers were trying to capture a Renamo arms cache; five soldiers were injured. @Verdade and Lusa report that on Tuesday 17 June, Renamo attacked soldiers near Murothoni, 50 km from Mocuba; @Verdade said 6 dead and 10 injured. There is a Renamo base near Murothoni, and Lusa reports that a military brigade from Lichinga, which intended to attack the base, itself came under attack as it approached. @Verdade says there were also attacks in May 2014 and October 2013. Mugeba is on the main road north from Mocuba to Gurué and to Nampula. We think Murrotone, Murothoni and Murrothone are different spellings of the same place.

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Beira reprieved. But is government reversing municipalisation?

Beira cannot be divided without an act of parliament, José Tembe, vice minister of state administration, has confirmed. However, the reprieve may only be temporary, because it appears that government is trying to reduce the size of all the municipalities except Maputo. This is unrelated to whether the cities are opposition controlled, and more about transferring significant numbers of people from administrative units which are elected to ones which are centrally appointed.

Sofala Governor Carmelita Namachulua said last week that the division of Beira remains part of the government's plan to restructure all municipalities except Maputo. according to @Verdade (Thursday 26 June, <http://www.verdade.co.mz/destaques/democracia/47132>)

Last year, parliament passed a law creating 13 new districts. Little noticed, apparently even by parliament, was that some of the new districts included areas which were part of municipalities. *Faisca* (20 June) reports on the appointment of the administrator to the new district of Lichinga, Niassa. The new district takes in some of the most populous neighbourhoods north of the centre of the city, in areas where the city has been expanding in recent years, including Massangele, Namacula, Assumane, Naluila, Utumwile, Chiulugo and Sambula. *Faisca* says that, in effect, a second city has been created in the new district.

Although attempts to cut Beira down in size seem part of a broader agenda of tightening central control, there are also growing confrontations between the Frelimo central government and the MDM administrations in Beira and Nampula. Vice Minister José Tembe on 23 June accused the mayors of Beira and Nampula of trying to turn their cities into independent countries. (AIM 24 June, citing *Diário de Moçambique*.) He claimed the two cities were completely ignoring coordination with central government.

And in Nampula, as happened in Beira 10 years ago, there is a battle between Frelimo and the city for control of building which were used as joint neighbourhood offices for both party and city. In Carrupeia the two sides are breaking in and changing locks.

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The next book

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon will be launched 30 July in Maputo.

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 also as an e-book and

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

Now in paper at a reasonable price

Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique?

by Joseph Hanlon & Teresa Smart

is now available in **paperback**, for £17.99 (+ p&p)
from the publisher <http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=13503>

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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This newsletter can be cited as "Mozambique News Reports & Clippings"

Also on the web: Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on
tinyurl.com/mozamb

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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

On Facebook:

@Verdade: <https://www.facebook.com/JornalVerdade>

CanalMoz: <https://www.facebook.com/CanalMoz>

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

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 theinvestor@clubofmozambique.com

Portuguese: Mozambique Hoje. <http://mail.clubofmozambique.com/mailman/listinfo/mhoje>

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