

# MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

299 8 October 2015 Editor: Joseph Hanlon ( [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk) )

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**Election study collaboration:** We have detailed election data from 1999 through 2014 and are inviting scholars to use this data collaboratively. <http://bit.ly/MozElecData>

**Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique** by Teresa Smart and Joseph Hanlon is on <http://bit.ly/chickens-beer>

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## Dhlakama reappearing today after going into hiding following ambush that killed at least 15

Afonso Dhlakama's armed convoy was attacked twice by unidentified gunmen near Chimoio, and there have been at least three other confrontations between Renamo and government forces.

Dhlakama retreated into the bush in either Gondola or Gorongosa districts. Journalists and mediators went into the bush today (Thursday 8 Oct) and met Dhlakama in Gorongosa district, according to *CanalMoz* (8 Oct). They are expected to accompany Dhlakama, probably to Chimoio and then Maputo. Both *O Pais* and *Diário de Moçambique* reported that he was expected to reappear yesterday (7 Oct) and journalists were called to Chimoio airport to report his departure to Maputo, which did not happen.

The worst incident occurred on Friday 25 September, Mozambican Armed Forces Day. At around noon, an armed convoy of cars carrying Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama was on the main road going eastbound from Chimoio toward the junction at Inchope when it was attacked by heavily armed men in civilian clothes firing from a hillside near the village of Zimpinga, Gondola district. The driver of a minibus going in the opposite direction was also shot and killed and the minibus crashed into a parked fuel tanker. Some vehicles were burned. This much is confirmed by journalists and local residents.

Reports of all the confrontations are confused and contradictory, so the summaries below must be read with caution. Fourteen Renamo soldiers and staff were killed on 25 September according to Dhlakama, speaking later on the telephone to STV (4 Oct) and *O Pais* (6 Oct). Dhlakama says the gunmen were government soldiers and riot police out of uniform, and he claims that "hundreds" of them were killed. The police say 19 Renamo were killed and none on the other side. The Council of Ministers spokesperson put the death toll at 23, and the army says 25 Renamo men were killed. Both the police and Dhlakama say the shooting resumed in the late afternoon of 25 September, but this seems unlikely.

Dhlakama told STV that he was in the bush in Gondola district because it is no longer safe to travel, but his exact location was not specified. It is also not clear if he left the scene of the attack by car or on foot.

On 29 September the police announced that they had begun legal proceedings against Dhlakama and other Renamo members involved in the 25 September attack, who they accuse of shooting the minibus driver, even though this is denied by the bus passengers.

The other confrontations have been:

+ On 12 September shots were also fired at the Dhlakama convoy, again on the main east-west road, but this time west of Chimoio. There were no injuries.

+ On 2 October there was shooting between police and Renamo near the village of Mussatua, Gondola district. The police unit was on its way to Chibata, near the site of the first attack, where it was believed Dhlakama was staying.

+ Also on 2 October there was a clash between Renamo and police at Ndande, Moatize district. Tete.

+ *O Pais* (30 September) reports a "massive" presence of Renamo fighters who have set up a base in Raposo, Morrumbala district, Zambezia, with riot police based nearby. Civilians have largely left the area and schools and markets are empty. So far there has been no shooting between the two sides.

## Negotiations?

"I am not here in the bush to plan a war," Dhlakama told STV. "I have escaped death twice in 30 days [but] I have no intention to take revenge for these attacks." He said that the head of his office in Maputo, Mateus Augusto, and others are in contact with the government and with the mediators group, to try to restart talks. In his STV interview, Dhlakama stressed that there must "must be a dialogue about concrete points, and not a dialogue like that at the Joaquim Chissano" conference centre. The harder line was underlined by a Renamo statement dated 4 October and published in *O Pais* 7 October which says "we are available to negotiate concrete things to solve everything that affects the lives of the Mozambican people, like alternation of governments and power sharing."

Dhlakama and Renamo have long complained that the 1992 peace accord was not carried out, particularly in terms of incorporation of Renamo soldiers into the government armed forces. Olimpio Cambona, deputy head of general staff and the highest ranking former Renamo officer, was quoted by *O Pais* (6 Oct): "Colleagues from Renamo were sent for training but when they returned, their places had been filled and up to now they have never been assigned." *O Pais* also quotes the respected journalist Tomas Vieira Mario to say that the peace accord ended the war, but it did not bring about reconciliation or inclusion.

## Lourenço do Rosário: military gaining power on both sides

Lourenço do Rosário, rector of the Universidade Politécnica and one of the key mediators between Renamo and government, warns that following collapse of the talks, "there are people on both sides who think the best solution is military". In an interview with *Savana* (2 Oct) he suggests the military on both sides is becoming more important.

Indeed in a speech 2 October he said it was conflicts between the political and military within both Renamo and Frelimo that killed the Monday talks at the Chissano conference centre. (*O Pais* 6 Oct)

do Rosário told *Savana* that there are those on the government side who support a "Savimbi

solution" - killing Dhlakama and using military force to push Renamo generals to join the government army.

"The question remains above all military. Disarmament of Renamo has been a crucial issue, because if Renamo was not a militarized party, the political discussion would be done in another way." do Rosário continues: "The question is: can the residual forces of Renamo be co-opted to negotiate their integration" into the government armed forces. And that requires "winning over the Renamo generals", which in turn requires that the government military "does its homework first".

He notes that it was the demands of its own military that pushed Renamo to demand parity between Renamo and Frelimo in the military. Perhaps surprisingly, he suggests this could be managed and is not unconstitutional. "Renamo's demand to nominate governors in provinces where it won is actually harder from a constitutional standpoint than requiring that the president appoint members of Renamo for military leadership positions."

In the *Savana* interview he asks if it is possible to demilitarise Renamo and reshape it politically in exchange for "Frelimo moderating its authoritarian positions."

In the 2 October speech do Rosário was also highly critical of the Guebuza government, in part for ignoring the recommendations of the 2003 report *Agenda 2025* and the 2009 Mozambican report to the African Union peer review mechanism (both of which he chaired). Ignoring those recommendations led to the worsening of the political climate and has led Mozambique to follow the worst case scenario of *Agenda 2025*. In particular, he blamed Armando Guebuza after his 2009 re-election as President for following "the one route that would aggravate the conflict" by saying, in effect, "dialogue is no longer important." Thus "it was not by accident that the Renamo leader left Maputo for Nampula."

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## **Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique**

by Teresa Smart and Joseph Hanlon

E-book for Kindle and iPad, for \$9.32 from US Amazon -  
<http://www.amazon.com/dp/B00NRZXXKE> - £5.14 from UK Amazon.

In pdf format, 6 Mb file, free on <http://bit.ly/chickens-beer>

## **Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento**

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon. Copies are in Maputo bookshops or from  
**KAPICUA**, Rua Fernão Veloso 12, Maputo; Tel.: +258 21 413 201 or +258 21 415 451  
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Outside Mozambique, we have a few copies we can send from London.  
Please email [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk).

## **Zimbabwe takes back its land**

by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publishers  
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## Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South

by Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme

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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](http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz)

O Pais: [www.opais.co.mz](http://www.opais.co.mz)

@Verdade: <http://www.verdade.co.mz>

Diario de Moçambique (Beira): <http://www.diariodemocambique.co.mz>

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

Macauhub English: [www.macauhub.com.mo/en/](http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/)

AIM Reports: [www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news](http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news)

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

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