

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

472 17 March 2020 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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Corrections have been made to issue 471, 10 March 2020. In the Embraer article, a sentence is corrected to read "The \$800,000 was to be paid to a São Tomé account of Zimba, who then ordered payments." And in the heroin article the correct link for the Portuguese heroin paper is

<http://bit.ly/HeroinaPT> The revised issue 471 is on <http://bit.ly/Mozam471>

Also in this issue:

Covid-19, kidnaps

War intensifying near Mocimboa da Praia and Bilibiza

It appears that insurgents are trying to maintain control over the corridor and road through Bilibiza, Cabo Delgado, which was attacked and heavily damaged 29-30 January.. On 9 March there was an attack on the road from Bilibiza toward Quissanga on the coast. And Moz24h (10 Mar) says the insurgents have closed the road going inland from Bilibiza, blocking the road with trees and have put headless bodies on the road. Moz24h says local people report heavy fighting, with ambushes of government armoured cars. (The map on the next page shows the roads in the area.) Bilibiza is 50 km north west of Pemba as the crow flies or 120 km by road, and is the farthest south the war has spread

The other focus of the war is very close to Mocimboa da Praia. On 8 March at 05.00, gunmen ambushed a heavy truck belonging to Bangladeshi traders who have been working in Mocimboa da Praia district for the past four years. At about 14.00, a pick-up sent to fetch the owners of the truck and assess the damage was fired on. In the two ambushes four people were injured. (AIM 10 Mar)

The villages of Ulo and Anga, close to Mocimboa da Praia town, were attacked and burned on 12 March. On 5 March Naikidunga was attacked and on 6 March Nabage. Local people report a number of villages in the area have been recently attacked and local people report many dead, some kidnapped, and houses burned. (Moz24h 13, 6 Mar)

Elsewhere, on 4 March insurgents killed four people and burnt down 30 houses in an attack against the village of Nkonda, Nangade district. (AIM 10 Mar) Insurgents attacked soldiers in Chomba, 30 km northwest of Mueda town, but the date is not known.

The World Food Programme has produced a good set of district maps for Cabo Delgado, on <https://logcluster.org/countries/MOZ>

910 dead in Cabo Delgado civil war

The death toll in the Cabo Delgado war has reached 910, according to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED). And the toll is rising. from 188 in 2018 to 583 in 2019 and 106 up to 5 March this year.



ACLD keeps a very detailed data base, on <https://www.acleddata.com>. I have taken just the Cabo Delgado data, and posted it in an Excel spreadsheet on <http://bit.ly/ACLED-CD-Mar19>

Several other groups are reporting lower levels of fatalities, ranging from 300 to 700.

Comment: Can this be called a "war"? In the book *Civil War, Civil Peace* (Helen Yanacopulos and Joseph Hanlon, 2006) we defined "Civil war is collective killing for some collective purpose, mainly within one country, and where the fighting is primarily between people of that country." Some research groups add a body count, often 100 people per year or a total of 1000 dead. Deaths are likely to exceed 1000 in Cabo Delgado within a few months. Thus we feel confident in calling the fighting in Cabo Delgado a "civil war".

Information curbs

In an attempt to stop them passing information to the media and the public at large about what attacks are happening in Cabo Delgado, the military and police are carrying out raids on citizens, in particular NGO workers. In one case, last week, members of one NGO were stopped in their vehicle by members of the security forces and forced to hand over their mobile phones, and codes to unlock them. They were questioned for four hours, while their phones were checked to see what messages or videos they were sending on WhatsApp, Twitter, and Facebook, and to whom. Such investigations are also happening within the security forces, whose members are also suspected of being a source of leaks. A security force member told *Carta de Moçambique* (12 Mar) that the objective was to stop the press and public knowing what is happening in the war.

Other Cabo Delgado war news

Russian military aid: Another Russian Antonov plane landed in Nacala on 23 February, Africa Intelligence reports — bringing a cargo of military hardware probably including another military helicopter to join one that was flown in from Russia last September. The Antonov An-124 flew from Ulan-Ude's Baikal International Airport in Siberia, close to the Ulan-Ude Aviation Plant that assembles Mi-17 helicopters. The flight was operated by Russian state military aircraft operator 224 Flight Unit, which also delivered an Mi-17 helicopter to be used for surveillance operations last September. (*Africa Intelligence* 9 Mar)

New agency: The government Thursday announced an economic development agency for the country's three northern provinces, hoping it will combat the Cabo Delgado insurgency. The Northern Integrated Development Agency (Agência de Desenvolvimento Integrado do Norte, ADIN) "will drive the integrated, balanced and harmonious development of the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula," government spokesman Filimão Suaze told the press following an extraordinary session of Council of Ministers on Thursday (12 Mar). The agency will provide employment opportunities for young people, who may otherwise be recruited by the insurgents, and inspire faith that their country has more to offer than the insurgency, Suaze said. But *@Verdade* (15 Mar) is not impressed, seeing as just another agency that will drain money into the pockets of Frelimo. It points to the Development Agency of the Zambeze Valley (Agência de Desenvolvimento do Vale do Zambeze) which the Administrative Tribunal found that in 2017 spent \$1.4 mn without appropriate paperwork and \$350,000 on spending with no contracts at all.

War contracts: An alleged contract between the gas companies and the military has been published by *Canal de Moçambique* (11 Mar). The 28 February 2019 contract is between the gas companies Anadarko and ENI and the ministries of defence and interior, in which the gas companies pay for military and police protection. What is unusual is that the money goes not to the ministries, but to a special account with four signatories: then defence minister Atanásio Mtumuke, then vice minister Patrício José, permanent secretary Fernando Campire, and Casimiro Mueio. They are supposed to make the extra payments, which range from 315 Meticaís (\$5) per day for senior officers down to 150 Meticaís (\$2.50) for basic police guards. But Canal says that the soldiers and police are not receiving their money, and the people guarding the gas installations say

the money has gone to the big men. Canal argues that the replacement of Mtumuke and former Interior Minister Basilio Monteiro was because the failure to pay the money to the people doing the guarding was causing discontent.

No maintenance and overweight truck caused bridge collapse

Over many years the Montepuez River eroded the soil around the pillars of the bridge on the N380 road over the river. Built more than 50 years ago, the bridge has not been maintained or rehabilitated - or even inspected. And when an overweight truck crossed the bridge on 27 December, it collapsed. The government set up an inquiry commission headed by Tiago Filipe, who said lack of maintenance left the bridge in a precarious state. The N380 is the only paved road from Pemba north to Mocimboa da Praia and the gas fields at Palma. (See map on page 2.) (STV 8 Mar, O Pais 9 Mar)

The Montepuez River bridge is south of Macomia. Another bridge on the N380 over the Messalo River, north of Macomia, has also collapsed, probably due to lack of maintenance. Temporary bypasses have been built. The road from Pemba to Bilibiza and on to Macomia is closed because the bridge over the Montepuez river on the road is also down.

There are only two routes open from Pemba north to Mocimboa da Praia, and both are precarious and limited to 10 tonne vehicles. They are the N380 with its several bypasses, or the road via Montepuez and Mueda which is largely dirt.

Two other bridges on the main N1 road, over the Lúrio and Save rivers, are currently bypassed as the highway authority tries to catch up with decades of lack of maintenance.

Attacks resume near Gorongosa

Renamo dissidents have resumed attacks on the main north-south N1 road, with three attacks in five days in the section between Inchope (the junction with the N6 Beira-Chimoio road) and Gorongosa. Yesterday morning (Monday 16 March) a lorry was fired on, seriously injuring one person. There is a military convoy going through this section, and the convoy was fired at on Friday (13 Mar), injuring four people. On Thursday a bus was machine gunned, injuring three people. Since attacks started in August, 20 people have been killed. (Lusa 16 Mar)

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Covid-19: restrictions but no cases yet

All events attended by over 300 people are suspended, President Filipe Nyusi said on Saturday night, adding that events that do go ahead should not be held in closed spaces with inadequate ventilation. The Mozambican Football Federation (FMF) chair, Feizal Sidat, told reporters that provincial football championships will continue, but the number of people allowed to enter the stadiums will be limited to 300. Games scheduled for closed environments, such as five-a-side football, are cancelled, he said. The pandemic is also affecting religious ceremonies. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Maputo cancelled Sunday's "Via Sacra" (Stations of the Cross) which would have attracted more than 300 people.

Frelimo has stopped the 20-22 March meeting of the Central Committee, which has 189 members, but once support staff (including caterers and cleaners), journalists and guests are included the number would exceed 300. But parliament has decided its session starting 25 March will take place, even though it has 250 members and with staff total attendance will be more than 300.

The Health Ministry announced on Thursday compulsory quarantine for any traveller arriving in Mozambique from China, Italy, South Korea, Iran, Germany or France. These are all countries that recorded over 1,000 cases of Covid-19, with more than 100 daily infections, and others will be

added to the list. The United States and Spain have since been added. (AIM 13, 15, 16 Mar)
Government has suspended all state travel outside the country.

The IMF and World Bank had already postponed missions due to arrive this month.

So far, Mozambique has reported no cases, but 37 gas workers are under quarantine in Cabo Delgado, and Chinese workers are under quarantine elsewhere. All arrived recently from countries with high levels of Covid-19. But neighbouring South Africa has confirmed 61 cases and declared a national "state of disaster", closing schools and prohibiting gatherings of more than 100 people. In a statement Sunday President Cyril Ramaphosa announced a travel ban on foreign nationals from high-risk countries including Italy, Iran, South Korea, Spain, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and China as from 18 March 2020. South Africa has closed three of its four land border crossings with Mozambique; only Lebombo/Ressano Garcia remains open.

A detailed assessment of Covid-19 in Mozambique has been released by risk consultants Intelyse, and is on: <http://bit.ly/3b3C1Jl>

The economy has already been hit, particularly tourism and imports from China. Falling oil prices (and thus LNG prices) mean bankers are less willing to fund billion dollar LNG loans, which may delay the start of the Cabo Delgado LNG projects, said Carlos Zacarias, president of the National Petroleum Institute. The Bank of Mozambique cut the amount that banks must deposit with the central bank to release money for lending. Reserves are cut from 13% to 11.5% for local currency and from 36% to 34.5% per cent for foreign currency.

Little money for cyclone recovery

At the donors conference in Beira in May 2019, \$1.4 bn was pledged for reconstruction from cyclones Idai and Kenneth - both record breaking cyclones made worse by global heating. But of that money, only \$193 mn will be available this year, said Minister of Public Works Joao Machatine after the 10 March Council of Ministers meeting. Based on the pledges, contracts have been signed for \$706 mn of works, but the money is not there, he said.

One of the projects being deferred again is the rebuilding of ten kilometres of coastal protection which separates the city of Beira from the Indian Ocean. Of the \$193 mn available, \$138 mn will be for infrastructure and \$55 mn for economic recovery, including support for private companies damaged by the cyclones, and for institutional support. (AIM 11 Mar)

Informal traders win again

Faced with poverty, an estimated 4000 people sell goods on the streets and pavements of Maputo, particularly in the downtown "baixa", where they sometimes block the pavement completely. Each new mayoral administration tries to force the traders into formal markets. This happened again on Friday (13 Mar). After a long campaign saying the informal trading would be banned after 12 March, police attacked the traders on Friday. The traders responded with force, throwing up barricades, burning tyres, and attacking some baixa shops and buses. Police dogs were used, and tear gas and pepper gas were fired indiscriminately. By Monday, the informal traders had returned to business as usual. (AIM 13, 16 Mar) Matthew Hill of Bloomberg posted videos of the protests and response: <https://twitter.com/mattstephenhill/status/1238394066087395328>

Credit Suisse is liable for the \$2 bn secret debt.

US prosecutors believe they have evidence of the Swiss lender's culpability for the \$2bn secret debt after three former bankers pleaded guilty last year, according to Reuters (16 March). "Prosecutors believe Credit Suisse can be held criminally liable for its employees' crimes if they were committed in the scope of their role and at least partly benefited the bank, said one of the

sources who is a US law enforcement official. They believe a plea deal and testimonies from two former bankers at a subsequent trial give them evidence of the bank's culpability," Reuters said.

Meanwhile, the first payment of \$22.5 mn on the new Ematum bonds was due on yesterday, 16 March.

The *Mail and Guardian* (21 Feb) accused prominent South African estate agent Pam Golding of handling some of the money, which was used to buy property as a form of money laundering. US court transcripts show Prinvest, the company behind the secret \$2 bn loans, sent Rand 50 mn (\$3 mn) to buy properties in Cape Town for Armando Guebuza's children Armando and Valentina.

Kidnapping and gangs return

Kidnapping and gangs linked to the police have returned to Maputo.

The 12 year old child of proprietor of electrical shop Armazéns África was kidnapped on 11 March near the shop on Avenida Josina Machel. A security camera showed the kidnapping: <https://www.facebook.com/issuf.mahomed/videos/10220304040564098/?t=0> From 30 seconds into the video watch the man in the white t-shirt grab the child and bundle him into a white car which has just arrived. This is the fourth kidnapping this year involving businessmen or families. (Club of Mozambique 11 Mar)

Maputo businessman Moniz Carsane, known as Manish Cantilal, was kidnapped by unknown men on 18 February, and has not been released. A security camera video shows hooded men abducting Cantilal in the garage of his house in central Maputo. Cantilal and Dino Foi are the owners of the new El Patron restaurant on Avenida Julius Nyerere in the capital. Ironically, in 2014 Manish was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the wave of kidnappings of businessmen in Maputo City and Matola, but was later cleared. The phenomenon of kidnappings now appears to be back. CanalMoz notes today that the police continue to allow the kidnappers to operate with impunity, while *Savana* says the criminals have high level protection in the Ministry of Interior. (CanalMoz, Zitamar 19 Feb; *Savana* 13 March)

On 29 February Guita Samji was found dead in South Africa, after having been kidnaped four months before. She ran a small tobacconists which also changed money on Av Julius Nyerere in Maputo. On 2 February the cousin of business man Juneid Lalgy was released after a large sum of money was paid. (*Savana* 13 March)

Gunmen killed a policeman as he drove away from the headquarters of the National Criminal Investigation Service (SERNIC) in Maputo. The car stopped at the junction with Av 24 de Julho. Another car drew up alongside, and peppered the victim's Toyota with bullets. Just to make sure, some of the gunmen got out of the vehicles, opened the door of the victim's car, and shot him several times in the head. The assassins then escaped. (AIM 12 Mar) Two other people were killed in a car on the same day; one is apparently a policeman and the other had been expelled from the police for renting out guns. (*Savana* 13 March)

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Background reading

Special reports

Mozambique heroin transit trade

English - LSE - <http://bit.ly/Moz-heroin>

Portuguese - Pt - CIP - <http://bit.ly/HeroinaPT>

Gas for development?

Gas_for_development_or_just_for_money?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasEng
Gás_para_desenvolvimento_ou_apenas_dinheiro?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasPt
Social protection report - 2017 Mozambique - <http://bit.ly/MozSocPro>
Special report on four poverty surveys: bit.ly/MozPoverty
2018 Constitution - <http://bit.ly/2KF588T>
Minimum wage and exchange rates 1996-2018 -- <http://bit.ly/MinWage18>

\$2bn secret debt - in English

Kroll - Full report on \$2bn debt - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-Moz-full>
Kroll report summary - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-sum>
Key points of Mozambique parliament report - Nov 2016 - <http://bit.ly/MozAR-debt-En>
Following the donor-designed path to Mozambique's \$2.2 bn debt - <http://bit.ly/3WQ-hanlon>

In Portuguese:

Parliamentary Report on the Secret Debt (complete) bit.ly/MozAR-debt

Election study collaboration: We have detailed election data from 1999 through 2014 and are inviting scholars to use this data collaboratively. <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>
Election newsletters are on <http://bit.ly/2H066Kg>

Eight books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <http://bit.ly/Hanlon-books>

Bangladesh confronts climate change (2016)
Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique (2014)
Há Mais Bicicletas – mas há desenvolvimento? (2008)
Moçambique e as grandes cheias de 2000 (2001)
Paz Sem Benefício: Como o FMI Bloqueia a Reconstrução (1997)
Peace Without Profit: How the IMF Blocks Rebuilding (1996)
Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991)
Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (1984)

Two more will be available shortly to download:

Apartheid's 2nd Front (1986)
Mozambique and the Great Flood of 2000

These are still available for sale:

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento (2014) (free in English)
Zimbabwe takes back its land (2013)
Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South (2010)
Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique? (2008) (free in Portuguese)
Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa (1986)

Mozambique media websites, Portuguese:

Notícias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz
O País: www.opais.co.mz
@Verdade: <http://www.verdade.co.mz>
Carlos Serra Diário de um sociólogo: <http://oficinasociologia.blogspot.com>

Mozambique media websites, English:

Club of Mozambique: <http://clubofmozambique.com/>
Zitamar: <http://zitamar.com/>
Macauhub English: <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/>
AIM Reports: www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news

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