

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

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Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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Cabo Delgado

Lack of jobs leads youth to join terrorists, says Gen. Hama Thay

The lack of alternatives for survival, together with different treatment for different groups that were resettled, is part of the reason Mozambicans have joined the extremists, warned António Hama Thay. Investing companies have not created a framework for the integration of local youth in their projects, instead bringing labour from other regions of the country, even for jobs considered basic such as carpentry, electricity, plumbing and cooking. (*O Pais* 3 Sep)

Hama Thay has standing and can afford to speak out. A commander in the independence war, he became Air Force Commander and then Chief of Staff. He then changed career, gaining a PhD and since 2013 has been in the faculty of economics at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM). He is still a general in the military reserve, and a Frelimo nominated member of the National Defence and Security Council (CNDS). He was giving a speech at UEM on 2 September.

It is fundamental to create additional programmes directed to the youth of Cabo Delgado, with emphasis on the affected districts, he said. He suggested mining with markets for artisanal minerals at competitive prices, as well as creating more mines with the participation of youth.

(Mozambique's inconsistent name spelling means he is variously listed as Thai, Tai, or Thay)

Comment: Hama Thay was careful not to highlight the oligarchs, who are his former comrades in the independence war. But by highlighting to artisanal mining, he was pointing directly at them. Small scale mining can create many jobs, but five years ago the government made artisanal mining practically illegal, to instead channel profits to the big mining companies, notably the ruby mine part-owned by Raimundo Pachinupa, also an independence war leader.

Many countries do just the opposite, giving special support to small scale mining. Central to this is a guaranteed market which gives a good price for gold or gemstones - more than ambulatory traders will pay. The state still profits, but on a smaller margin, and most miners sell to the state. As part of the package, the government provides health and safety advice and support, and points the miners to less environmental damaging mining, of gold in particular. Mozambique will not do this, because it wants the mining profits to go to big Frelimo-linked companies. *jh*

Governor tells displaced not to go home

Displaced victims of the insurgency should not to return to their areas of origin, before the definitive re-establishment of security in the region and the resumption of basic services, said Cabo Delgado governor Valige Tauabo on a September 4 visit to Meluco district. (Noticias de Defesa, 6 Sep, based on Rádio Moçambique)

Although subject to attacks, Meluco is one of the less affected districts. But it has potentially important gemstone and mineral reserves.

The governor's comment underlines a growing split in advice to the more than 700,000 war-displaced people. Residents are being encouraged to return to district towns, notably Palma, Macomia and Quitanga, but returns to rural zones are being discouraged. This leaves more than a million hectares empty.

Resettlement has proved to be one of the biggest blocks to large scale private investment, because it is hard to find enough alternative land for people to not just live, but also earn their living. This land is now clear because people fled the war, and more than a million hectares is "empty". Some senior people in Frelimo appear to hope to attract foreign mining and farming investment. Several Middle Eastern countries are now looking to obtain land in Africa to grow food, and invest for when they can no longer sell oil.

But there are significant pressures pushing people to attempt to return soon, notes *Cabo Ligado* (7 Sep). With the international community not receiving enough money to feed 700,000 displaced people, many people realise they need to grow their own food. In order for crops to be harvested in March, seeds must be in the ground before the rainy season begins in November. Indeed, people are already moving back to prepare their fields for planting.

Mueda mayor admits businesses and residents fled

Mueda Mayor Manuel Pitalavalave admits businesses and residents fled during the past year. Mueda was the next insurgent target and many feared Mueda would fall. And insurgents came close, even though the town itself was never attacked. Damage to the Awasse transformer in an attack 13 months ago cut electricity to Mueda and the continued occupation of Awasse meant it could not be repaired. In Mueda, banks closed and some businesspeople could not keep buying diesel for generators, and left.

Rwandan troops recaptured the key Awasse junction on 26 July. Soon after, technicians of the state electricity company EDM arrived. Since then the destroyed substation has been bypassed and Mueda linked to the Macomia substation. Electricity was restored on 3 September.

BCI and Millennium bim banks reopened this week, while Absa remains closed. "Power is here to stay; those who had left for other places now know that we already have electricity. We ask those who are far away to come back and celebrate together the re-establishment of power", he said. (Rádio Moçambique 3 Sep, AIM Pt 4 Sep, MediaFax 6, 8 Sep, Carta de Moçambique 6 Sep) Power was restored to Mueda first, but destroying the key Awasse transformer cut power to Mocimboa da Praia, Palma and Nangade as well, and they will regain electricity as soon as lines are repaired. (Awasse has a range of spellings, including Ouasse.)

"Professional as Rwanda's forces may be, [Mozambique will have to ask itself why it took the RDF barely a month](#) to see off an insurgency that had held the country hostage for the best part of four years." (New Times, Rwanda, comment 30 Aug)

Nyusi: Rwandans winning war, so will not talk to insurgents

The intensity of military action "is suffocating the enemy," said President Filipe Nyusi at 7 September Victory Day celebrations in Nampula. "At this moment, we have recovered almost all the spaces that had been occupied by the terrorists. Cleansing operations and combat continues at the same time as the re-establishment of energy, water, mobile telephone infrastructures, stalls, roads, bridges, health centres, among others," Filipe Nyusi said.

And the President stressed that government would not "talk to terrorists" with "foreign leaders" with unknown agendas. This has a certain irony, because 7 September is also called "Accords of Lusaka day", marking the end of negotiations with the Portuguese colonial power on 7 September 1974 in Lusaka, Zambia, granting Mozambican independence. But, then, Frelimo was the insurgents which the government had previously called terrorists with a foreign communist agenda, and which it had refused to talk to.

Nyusi said that no member of the group had never stated demands. "The leaders of this criminal group have never come forward. The Mozambican people still don't know them", he said.

MediaFax (8 Sep) points out that negotiations are increasingly being called for by academics and experts in the area of conflict resolution, and even former President Joaquim Chissano, who negotiated successfully with Renamo to end a war. *MediaFax* notes that local researchers have made clear that "in the event of an opening, it is possible to identify the leaders, at least internal ones, and sit down at the same table with them."

But on social media, Nyusi's praise singers have been attacking Chissano and others who call for negotiation.

Military force alone won't solve the insurgency

Tackling the root causes behind Mozambique's insurgency is the only way to provide a lasting solution, experts said at the Sovereign Security Africa 2021 conference held in late August, and sponsored by defenceWeb, a military website.

Eeben Barlow, founder of the mercenary company Executive Outcomes, cautioned that the military can win a conflict but the politicians have to win the peace. Liesl Louw-Vaudran, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Security Studies Africa, said the insurgency is primarily a governance challenge: "this is an insurgency rooted in local grievances, marginalisation."

Accord political analyst Welile Nhlapo said high unemployment, low literacy, poverty and few services are the main reasons for the insurgency breaking out, with major unemployment combining with a history of economic marginalisation.

Borges Nhamirre, researcher at the Centre for Public Integrity, said: "It is important to understand that the people of Mozambique are not radical at all, including the people of Cabo Delgado. The insurgency started because of a government failure to address the grievances of the people. As soon as the government of Mozambique can employ the people of Cabo Delgado, train them, give them jobs...Mozambique will not need military operations then."

<https://www.defenceweb.co.za/land/land-land/military-force-alone-wont-solve-mozambiques-insurgency/?referrer=newsletter>

Selling food aid for sex and money

In Muaja, Ancuabe, Cabo Delgado there is a food aid trade by relief workers, which involves the World Food Programme (WFP), according to one of Mozambique's best investigative journalists. Estacio Valoi. Hundreds of displaced people not on the official lists pay \$23 for a 25 kg bag of rice, 25 kg of flour, and five litres of cooking oil. For a displaced person who has often fled with nothing, \$23 is a lot of money. If women do not have money, relief workers demand sex.

One displaced person said she saw the WFP logo on the food bags and on the car that delivered the food. Displaced people say food for registered people is diverted for sale, and that officials refuse to register them so they have to buy food.

Valoi says there are syndicates selling WFP food, which include field officers, community leaders and chiefs, and Frelimo party officials and village secretaries.

Valoi's article is in the *Standard* (Harare 5 Sept) on <https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2021/09/05/in-cabo-delgado-displaced-villagers-report-food-aid-traded-for-money-sex/> and on the Centro de Jornalismo Investigativo website (in English) <https://cjimoz.org/news/>. WFP was asked for a comment but did not reply.

UNICEF is ready to go into Mocimboa and Palma, when it is allowed, said Lúcio Melandri, UNICEF Cabo Delgado representative. (Lusa 2 Sep) Although Melandri only cites security issues, the big problem for humanitarian agencies is that the government and especially the military wants to control aid distribution and has been restricting the actions of the humanitarian agencies.

Follow up

Military support for Mozambique is funded entirely by Rwanda's own resources, president Paul Kagame said 5 September. "Thus far, we have been using our own means. We have decent resources and we are happy to share. There is no one financing us". (Rwanda Broadcasting Agency, 5 Sep <https://twitter.com/i/status/1434479874874433543>)

It is a strong denial that Rwandan troops are being financed by France or TotalEnergies. Then Kagame added: "But I think the outcomes and the cause are much much bigger than the money we have spent." This appears to confirm the Zitamar assessment that Kagame expects future gains from his involvement in Mozambique (reported here 2 Sept as "Fungibility and future gains are behind Rwanda's involvement.")

Kagame also justified the involvement with the presence of Rwandans among the "terrorists" in Cabo Delgado - but without further details.

Meanwhile, Zitamar (6 Sep) reports "highly placed sources in Maputo have contradicted Kagame, telling Zitamar that 'France' is indeed funding Rwanda's military contingent in Mozambique." As noted earlier, this could be through other aid, such as the recent Covid-19 grant. Zitamar's original article is now available free: <https://bit.ly/3jNjyb8>

Corruption only in the lower ranks? "I don't want corrupt or lazy platoon commanders", President Filipe Nyusi told the closing ceremony of a course for sergeants and platoon commanders at the Oswaldo Tazama Sergeants' School, in Nhamatanda, Sofala. (TVM 3 Sep)

Corrections and comments from our readers

+ The article "Suddenly, colonial boundaries matter" in the previous issue (567, 2 Sep) turned Africa on its head. It should have read: "The idea of creating a Makonde nation from northern

Mozambique and southern Tanzania was important in the 1960s." (The problem with a one-person operation is that sometimes, no matter how many times you proofread, obvious errors slip through. *jh*)

7,427 bottles of wine being sent to the Presidência on a chartered plane from France always seemed odd, yet that was the message sent by Prinvest's Boustani on 13 March 2013. A bottle of wine weighs 1.2 kg, so this is 8 tonnes. Possible but not likely. A reader and colleague points out that many Boustani messages use code words. Probably a "bottle of wine" is \$1000, and the shipment is \$7,427,000 in cash. And it is possible. \$1 mn in \$100 bills weighs 10 kg and is a stack about 1.2 m high, and if packed carefully, fits in a large briefcase. Thus \$7.4 mn in \$100 bills would weigh 74 kg and could be easily carried in three suitcases. And a private plane arriving and being met by the President's son could easily avoid customs inspection. **So did Prinvest fly \$7.4 mn in cash to President Guebuza or his son?**

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\$2bn secret debt trial: Daily press clippings in English (and a few in Portuguese) on <https://bit.ly/Moz-secret-debt>. The trial is being broadcast live on TV; STV <https://play.stv.co.mz/> (click **Assista aqui**) and TVM <http://online.tvm.co.mz/site/emdirecto/tvm1>

Important external links

\$2bn secret debt trial (Aug-Oct 2021) press reports <https://bit.ly/Moz-secret-debt>
Exchange rates 2006-21 & minimum wages 1996-2021 <https://bit.ly/Moz-Exch-wage-2021>
Covid-19 daily updated data <https://www.facebook.com/miguel.de.brito1> and <https://covid19.ins.gov.mz/documentos-em-pdf/boletins-diarios/>
Daily flood and monthly dry season reports - <http://bit.ly/Moz-flood21>
Cyclone trackers, <https://www.cyclocane.com/> and <https://www.metoc.navy.mil/jtwc/jtwc.html>
Cabo Ligado weekly report on civil war <https://www.caboligado.com/>
Previous editions of this newsletter: <http://bit.ly/MozNews2021> and bit.ly/MozNews2020
Downloadable books: <http://bit.ly/Hanlon-books> Election data: <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>
My Mozambique archive: <http://bit.ly/Mozamb>

Cabo Delgado

Archive with reports, detailed maps, and census data <https://bit.ly/Moz-CDg>

Special reports on the war

Evolution of the war: global vs local. 27 Feb 2020 <http://bit.ly/CDelgadoOrigins>
Religion is shaping Cabo Delgado civil war. 30 April 2020 <https://bit.ly/CDelgadoReligion>
Intensifying argument over roots of war. 28 June 2020 <https://bit.ly/Moz-492>
Are the drums of war silencing any hope of peace? 26 July 2020 <http://bit.ly/Moz-496>
A history of violence presages the insurgency. 13 August 2020 <http://bit.ly/Moz-498>
Military & economic intervention. 3 Sept 2020 <https://bit.ly/CDelgadoIntervene>

Mozambique heroin transit trade

English - LSE - 2018 - <http://bit.ly/Moz-heroin>
Portuguese - CIP- 2018 - <http://bit.ly/HeroinaPT>
2001 first article- *Metical* - English and Portuguese <https://bit.ly/MozHeroin2001>

Gas for development?

Gas_for_development_or_just_for_money?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasEng
Gás_para_desenvolvimento_ou_apenas_dinheiro?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasPt

Background reading

Special reports

Social protection report - 2017 Mozambique - <http://bit.ly/MozSocPro>

Special report on four poverty surveys: bit.ly/MozPoverty

\$2bn secret debt - in English

Secret debt trial (Aug-Oct 2021) press reports <https://bit.ly/Moz-secret-debt>

Kroll - Full report on \$2bn debt - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-Moz>

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

2018 Constitution - <http://bit.ly/2KF588T>

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>

Nine 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) is on <https://bit.ly/Chickens-Beer>

Há Mais Bicicletas – mas há desenvolvimento? (2008)

Moçambique e as grandes cheias de 2000 (2001)

Mozambique and the Great Flood of 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)

Apartheid's 2nd Front (1986) <available shortly>

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, English:

Club of Mozambique (free): <http://clubofmozambique.com/>

Zitamar (paywall): <http://zitamar.com/>

Mozambique media websites, Portuguese (all with partial paywall):

Notícias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O País: www.opais.co.mz

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

Carta de Moçambique <https://cartamz.com>

Mozambique think tanks and pressure groups, Portuguese:

Centro de Integridade Pública: CIP <https://cipmoz.org/>

Observatório do Meio Rural: OMR <https://omrmz.org/>

Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos: IESE <https://www.iese.ac.mz/>

Centro Para Democracia e Desenvolvimento CDD <https://cddmoz.org/> (some CDD in English)

Also CDD now controls Fórum de Monitoria do Orçamento - FMO (main debt group) <http://www.fmo.org.mz>
and RMDDH - Rede Moçambicana dos Defensores dos Direitos Humanos (a human rights group).

To subscribe to all CDD publications: <http://eepurl.com/gO9l6v> (English or Portuguese).

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