

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

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A public slap on wrist of German ambassador

Nyusi tells diplomats not to criticise government

Corruption is holding back Mozambique's development, Germany's ambassador Lothar Freischlader said in a long interview with *Canal de Moçambique* (1 February). And he suggested that countries do better with alternations in government.

President Filipe Nyusi very publicly slapped down Freischlader and issued a reminder to foreign diplomats at a meeting two days later (3 Feb) where he demanded "respect for the country's sovereignty." He continued: "My ambassadors accredited to your countries are instructed and directed to observe that respect [and] that there is no interference in internal affairs. My ambassadors are fully instructed not to meddle in the affairs of the countries where they are; not to go where they should not go, not to say what they should not say," he said. (VOA 3 Feb)

Donor power in Mozambique had reached its peak in 2016 when the \$2.2bn secret debt became public, and donors and the IMF cut all direct aid to government, including "budget support". This was also a period in which foreign ambassadors gave long and critical interviews to the independent local press.

Aid dropped dramatically, from \$2.1bn in 2014 to \$1.5bn in 2018. But Frelimo succeeded in toughing it out, beating the "donor strike" without major concessions to the donors. In part this was due to the gas moving ahead, and countries wanting contracts for their businesses, and in part to a general donor move away from the "good governance" agenda. And the government of President Nyusi began briefing new ambassadors that critical interviews in the independent press were not permitted.

By 2020 aid had jumped to \$2.6bn and donors were docile. In 2022, even the IMF came back with its tail between its legs. The biggest confrontation came in October 2021 when the World Bank, EU, other donors tabled a proposed development strategy for the North (ERDIN) with promises of \$2.5bn attached. The proposal put substantial emphasis on local grievances - poverty, inequality, marginalisation, and no gains from local resources. The government refused to even submit the ERDIN to the Council of Ministers, leading to a eight-month stand-off. Even \$2.5bn was not enough to force the Nyusi government to concede on roots of war, and in August 2022 it was the donors who caved in. EU and World Bank officials were coming under pressure from Washington and Brussels to spend budgeted money; in a \$2.5bn poker game, the donors blinked first.

Freischlader broke the silence code and said, in Nyusi's words, what he should not say. Donors have been reminded to remain docile - give money, get contracts and do not get involved in local issues like corruption.

Donors still exert some small power. Government had expected donors to fund the elections, but after the large levels of dishonesty in the 2019 elections, donors quietly shifted their aid to other projects. But after two decades 1995-2015 when donors were all-powerful, Nyusi was reminding the donors who is in control now.

Government wants to use money laundering laws to control civil society with a bill due to be debated in the next session of parliament starting 22 February, reports Human Rights Watch (10 Feb, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/02/10/mozambique-draft-law-threatens-civil-society-groups>). Under money laundering regulations, NGOs would be required to submit detailed accounts of how their money was used, and the Justice Ministry, not a court, would have the right to close NGOs.

TotalEnergies is “not in a hurry” to restart LNG

CEO Patrick Pouyanné told an investors' conference on 8 February that TotalEnergies is “not in a hurry” to restart operations in Mozambique, and he added a new condition. “One key condition to restart will be to maintain the costs that we had. If I see the costs going up and up, we'll wait. We have waited. We can continue to wait. And the contractors will wait as well,” he said. And he stressed that any restart is also dependent on the human rights report from Jean-Christophe Rufin. (*LNG Prime* 9 Feb)

The \$14.9bn financing for the project was signed in 2020, and included loans from eight export credit agencies, 19 commercial bank facilities, and a loan from the African Development Bank (AfDB). Costs have gone up substantially and it is not clear the contractors will be willing to continue at the old price. (*Zitamar* 10 Feb)

This may be a negotiating tactic to try to force Mozambique and donors as well as the contractors to cover some of the higher costs of security and construction. And it is looking increasingly likely that Mozambique will gain much less than expected from the project.

But Pouyanné is also making clear the he has a wide range of options and may not need Mozambique LNG. TotalEnergies is already active in South Africa, Uganda and elsewhere and there are networks of pipelines being developed. The Cabo Delgado gas field is less than 100 km south of a gas pipeline in Tanzania and well could be linked to that with LNG production done in Tanzania.

The market for LNG is hugely debated. At the global heating limit of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, there is no long term market for Mozambique gas. But the fossil fuel industry and many countries have abandoned 1.5°C and are now assuming 2°C. That would have a major impact on Mozambique, both creating a market for the gas and causing worse cyclones, drought, and rainfall which will have a disastrous impact.

Pouyanné's humanitarian rep has written about Maputo. As well as his humanitarian and diplomatic experience, Jean-Christophe Rufin is a well-known novelist, and his 2019 book *Les trois femmes du consul* (The three women of the consul) is set in Maputo.

Over 90% of rainforest carbon offsets are worthless. "The forest carbon offsets approved by the world's leading certifier and used by Disney, Shell, Gucci and other big corporations are largely worthless and could make global heating worse, according to a new investigation. The research into Verra, the world's leading carbon standard for the rapidly growing \$2bn voluntary offsets market, has found that, based on analysis of a significant percentage of the projects, more than 90% of their rainforest offset credits – among the most commonly used by companies – are

likely to be 'phantom credits' and do not represent genuine carbon reductions." Carbon credits issued for 94.9mn metric tonnes of CO2 equivalent will only reduce real emissions by 5.5 mn tonnes. (*Guardian* 18 Jan)

TotalEnergies, ExxonMobil and other Cabo Delgado gas companies all expect to make their gas "carbon free" thought these carbon credits, storing the carbon underground or in trees, and there are already several controversial carbon storage forest projects in Mozambique. If carbon storage continues to be seen as fake, this will also change the market picture for natural gas and LNG.

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2023/jan/18/revealed-forest-carbon-offsets-biggest-provider-worthless-verra-aoe> and

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2023/jan/18/greenwashing-or-net-zero-necessity-climate-scientists-on-carbon-offsetting-aoe> and

<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/1/29/greening-ourselves-to-extinction>

Flooding in Boane, Matola and Maputo

Two days of torrential rains in southern Mozambique caused major flooding in Boane and Matola, Maputo province, and in some neighbourhoods of Maputo city. The national disaster institute (INGD, Instituto Nacional de Gestão de Risco de Desastres) this afternoon (12 Feb) said that 7300 residences were flooded and it had to rescue 15,000 people, including by using 13 boats; 10 accommodation centres have been opened. Rivers in the south remain high and dams are open.

Rain was heaviest in areas bordering South Africa and Eswatini, and the water is pouring into rivers passing through Mozambique. On the Mozambique side of the border, in Maputo province in the 24 hours of 9-10 February, Goba recorded 108mm of rain, Calichane saw 263mm and the Pequenos Limbombos dam measured 140mm of rain. (Boletim Hidrológico Nacional 10 Feb <https://bit.ly/Moz-Flood-2023>) Boane is on the Umbeluzi River just downstream from dam which was already over full and releasing water, which began flooding Boane.

The floods in part reflect the climate emergency, which is leading to more intense weather of all sorts, including more intense and concentrated rainfall, like the rains last week. The National Roads Administration (Administração Nacional de Estradas, ANE) says that 76 bridges have been damaged of which 10 were destroyed by flood and cyclone across the country in the past four years. Design standards are no longer appropriate for the more severe weather of the climate emergency, said Chaca Mafuiane of the ANE. (*O Pais* 11 Feb)

The more severe weather is occurring when global temperatures are now at just 1.2°C about the pre-industrial era. The global target has been 1.5°C, but it is clear that the gas industry expects 2°C - which will create much more serious flooding than in Boane in the past few days.

Meanwhile, the World Bank late last year cut off funding of INGD because of corruption, saying \$500,000 has been misappropriated. Half was spent on vehicles and half on civil works not allowed by the Bank, reported *Carta de Moçambique* (30 Nov 2022). *Carta* editor Marcelo Mosse on his Facebook page (11 Feb) claims that "the INGD steals systematically. Every year they ask for the same items: tents, rubber boats with motors, torches, radios etc. The following year everything is gone."

[Other news and further reading](#)

Rubies from Montepuez were auctioned for \$167mn last year, compared to \$147mn in 2021, Gemfields announced. (Dow Jones 31 Jan) Insurgent attacks reached within 12 km of the mine, and work was suspended for a week last year. The mine is part owned by General Raimundo Pachinuapa, an independence war leader and until last year member of the Frelimo Political Commission. In 2019 Gemfields agreed to pay \$8.3mn to settle torture & murder claims

relating to farmers and artisanal miners pushed off the ruby mine area - less than three weeks income.

Road transport heads were arrested for contract fraud and mismanagement of public funds on 8 February, reports the Public Integrity Centre (CIP) in a report by Borges Nhamirre (12 Feb). They are charged with corruption in buying air tickets from travel agency Dana and corruption in the contract with Brithol Michcoma to supply drivers' licences. The arrests follow a two year attempt to clean up the Instituto Nacional dos Transportes Terrestre (INATTER, surface transport institute), now renamed Instituto Nacional dos Transportes Rodoviários (INATRO, road transport institute). CIP reports that those arrested include Paula Simões, director of INATTER 2015-21, then finance director Ana Rita Monjane, the man who bought air tickets, Fausto Naene, and a staff member of travel agency Dana. <https://www.cipmoz.org/pt/2023/02/12/detencao-de-quadros-seniores-do-inatro-e-devido-a-corrupcao-na-contratacao-publica/> (Portuguese only)

Audit court is selling good audits for cash or political favours claim staff of the Tribunal Administrativo (TA, Audit Court), reports CDD. "Corruption in the administrative court" by Emídio Beúla, CDD (12 Feb) <https://cddmoz.org/corruption-in-the-administrative-court-an-old-problem-that-nobody-wants-to-solve-2/>

The Portuguese magazine *Visão História* has had a set of special issues on the colonial wars, as well as fascism in Portugal and involvement in the cold war. The December 2022 issue is on the Wiriamu (Tete) massacre 50 years ago, plus some context and opposition in Portugal to the colonial wars. <https://visao.sapo.pt/visaohistoria/2022-12-14-o-massacre-de-wiriamu-e-a-vigilia-da-capela-do-rato-na-visao-historia/> (And thanks to Kathleen Sheldon, who runs the very useful mixed English-Portuguese academic list H-Luso-Africa <https://networks.h-net.org/h-luso-africa>)

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To subscribe or unsubscribe: <https://bit.ly/MozBul-sub> Past election newsletters are on <https://bit.ly/CIP-EI>

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 data: <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>

Important external links

Books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <https://bit.ly/HanlonBooks>

Minimum wage & exchange rate charts, tables 1996-2022 <https://bit.ly/MozMinWage2022>

Debt trial press clippings in English: <https://bit.ly/Moz-Debt-Map-Trial>.

Daily flood and monthly dry season reports - <https://bit.ly/Moz-Flood-2023>

Cyclone trackers, <https://www.cyclocane.com/> and <https://www.metoc.navy.mil/jtwc/jtwc.html>

Two LSE working papers - **World Bank questions its Mozambique 'success'** while oligarchs have brought high inequality, poverty and corruption - <https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-208c> and **How the IMF and World Bank caused a resource curse and civil war in Mozambique** - <https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-209>

Previous editions of this newsletter: <https://bit.ly/MozNews2023> and <https://bit.ly/MozNews2022>

My Mozambique archive: <http://bit.ly/Mozamb>

TSU_Tabela-Salarial-Unica - law, decrees, points system (2 Mb) <https://bit.ly/Moz-TSU>

Cabo Delgado

Cabo Ligado weekly report on civil war <https://www.caboligado.com/>

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>
Cabo-Delgado-Free-for-all. 20 Apr 2022. <https://bit.ly/Moz-593>

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>

Eleven books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <https://bit.ly/HanlonBooks>

Zimbabwe takes back its land (2013) <https://bit.ly/Zim-takes-land>
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)
Civil War Civil Peace (2006): <https://bit.ly/Civil-War-Civil-Peace>
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) <https://bit.ly/Peace-wo-Profit>
Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991) <https://bit.ly/Shots-Moz>
Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (1984)

These are still available for sale:

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento (2014) (free in English)
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).
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