

# MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

619 9 March 2023 Editor: Joseph Hanlon ( [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk) )

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## In this issue

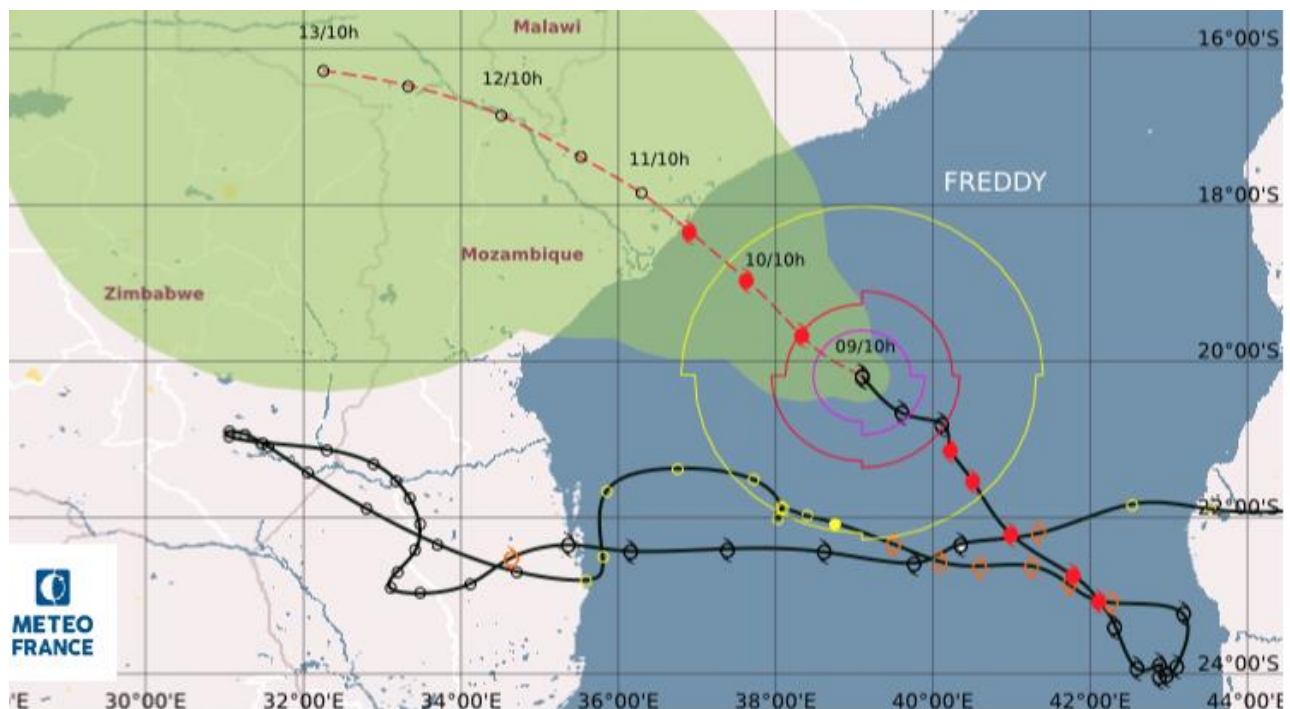
+ Cyclone Freddy returns

+ Displaced people return to 'Totaland'

+ Will TotalEnergies return to a security zone?

## Cyclone Freddy coming back Friday

Cyclone Freddy is coming back for a second time and is predicted to hit Quelimane tomorrow (Friday 10 Mar) much harder than it hit Vilankulos two weeks ago (24 Feb). Winds of 140 km/h and gusts up to 170 km/h, and rainfall between 100mm and 200 mm, are expected in Quelimane on Friday. Freddy will move to Tete and Malawi on Saturday.



This pattern of going inland and then returning to the Mozambique channel is uncommon but has occurred, for example Cyclone Delfina, New Year's eve 31 December 2002 and Cyclone Gombe on 12 February 2021.

What is unique for Cyclone Freddy and Cyclone Idai is that both turned around a second time and hit Mozambique again, harder the second time than the first. Idai (below) was just a tropical storm when it hit Angoche on 4 March 2019 and moved in Malawi and then back to the Mozambique

Channel on 9 March, hitting Beira on 15 March as the deadliest and costliest cyclone to ever hit Mozambique.



Cyclone Idai 2019

For both Idai and now Freddy, the extra week over the Mozambique channel means the cyclone was sucking up more warm water and energy for the sea, causing stronger winds and more rain.

Two unique cyclones in four years which turn around on land, go back into the Mozambique Channel, and turn around again to come back to hit Mozambique harder, raise questions about the role of the climate emergency. There is no clear answer, but the increasing temperature of the Mozambique Channel must have a role, giving the cyclones extra energy.

Freddy is also now the longest lived cyclone recorded. It reached wind levels high enough to be a cyclone and be named on 6 February, 32 days ago. It started north-west of Australia and travelled west across the Indian Ocean and across Madagascar

## **In the absence of the state, war-displaced people return to 'Totaland'**

More than 150,000 people have returned to Palma and Mocimboa da Praia districts. But they have been met by an almost total absence of the state, reports João Feijó, of the Rural Observatory (OMR, Observatório do Meio Rural, 6 March). Instead the two districts are largely run by TotalEnergies is what he calls "Totaland", in a return to a colonial era more than a century ago when Cabo Delgado and Niassa were run by the private Niassa company.

"State functions have been complemented, sometimes even replaced, by humanitarian agents and TotalEnergies." The company replaces the State in humanitarian support, economic recovery, rehabilitation of roads, reconstruction of schools and sanitary facilities, and even in the justice sector (by providing identity card equipment). "In contrast to the State, this private company has a budget allocation, capacity to attract national and international experts, means of transport and escort by the armed forces of Mozambique."

Other economic activities are being supported - with TotalEnergies money - by two Mozambican civil society organisations, MASC and VAMOZ. Palma market is thriving because the company supported more than 100 economic operators to return.

Many civil servants, including health workers, teachers, and even administrative post heads who fled a year or more ago have not returned. Health services are provided by MSF (Médecins Sans

Frontières) and Unicef. A major problem is that even where health facilities have been repaired or rebuilt, often no beds, tables, medicines, or other equipment have been supplied.

In addition, Feijó warns: "Support for economic activities remains mainly concentrated on agriculture - particularly benefiting the people of the interior, mostly Makondes, Christians and supporters of the ruling party - to the detriment of fishing, neglecting the populations of the coast, mostly Mwanis, Islamists and supporters of opposition parties. Although the Mwanis represent the majority of the population of the municipality of Mocímboa da Praia, civil servants are almost all Makonde, Makua or from outside the province. In the State offices, the local population is not served in their mother tongue, reproducing feelings of unprotection and invasion, easily capitalized by populist and violent groups. The persistence of this asymmetry of access to State resources (jobs, subsidies and economic support) illustrates the political difficulty of recognising the origins of the conflict and devising a holistic response to a complex problem."

And even with Agriculture there are problems. President Nyusi and Agriculture Minister Celso Correia were in Diaca on 14 November to announce a project for 213 hectares under the Sustenta programme. In the end only 10 hectares have been prepared, and there is a lack of fuel for tractors and extensionists after TotalEnergies stopped supplying funding for fuel in January.

Feijó adds: "Despite some improvements, the State maintains a posture that is too centralized, slow and politicized, to respond to real challenges."

**Return of the populations and reconstruction of the northeast of Cabo Delgado - from the weakening of the state to the emergence of a 'Totaland'**, by João Feijó, OMR Destaque Rural 211, 6 March 2023. (in English) <https://omrmz.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/DR-211-Return-of-the-populations-and-reconstruction-of-the-Northeast-of-Cabo-Delgado.pdf>

The report also contains an up-to-date access map:

**Map 1: Transitability and safety in the districts of Palma and Mocímboa da Praia (Feb/2023)**



OMR Destaque Rural 211

## Push for return of TotalEnergies

TotalEnergies CEO Patrick Pouyanné has repeatedly said work on the gas project would only restart once normal life had resumed in the area. And this decision depends in part on a report from the French humanitarian and diplomat Jean-Christophe Rufin, who has been in Mozambique for two months to evaluate the situation and should have reported by now.

The Rwandan military contingent guarantees the security zone around Mocímboa da Praia, the Rwandan Force Commander, Eugene Nkubito, told the media, *Carta de Moçambique* reported today (9 March). Major General Eugene Nkubito made these statements at a time when there are reports of circulation of insurgents in villages in Mocimboa da Praia district, including an attack on 4 March in which two people were killed. But Nkubito said the insurgents would never be allowed to control the district again.

Indications are growing the Pouyanné will accept a Totaland security zone in the two districts. Two large contracts were announced on 28 February. Italian company Saipem agreed to a restart of its \$3.7bn contract for onshore development to produce liquefied natural gas (LNG) and I predicting a start in July.

South African builder WBHO said it had been "awarded a contract for the advance site infrastructure works related to the large-scale gas infrastructure for Total in northern Mozambique". This "may be a precursor to the resumption of the main works later in the year". When work was suspended in 2021, WBHO's civil engineering division was building a 9,500 man camp for the Mozambique LNG project. It was also working on a security perimeter, two military barracks, and construction of a new quay.

Rwandan President Paul Kagame has confirmed that a Rwandan private security company is operating in Cabo Delgado and that it has been hired to do a job that the Rwandan and Mozambican army and police "are not going to do." "I don't know who hired them; they could be hired by government, or they could be hired or invited by private entities in Mozambique," he told a press conference in Kigali. (TVM 2 March).

The World Bank yesterday gave explicit backing to TotalEnergies return. On a visit to Cabo Delgado yesterday (8 March) the World Bank's vice president for Eastern and Southern Africa, Victoria Kwakwa, gave a positive assessment of the return of life to the streets of Palma and Mocímboa da Praia. "I am happy with what I have seen: it is encouraging to see vibrant economic activity in the markets, it is nice to see youth training, construction and agriculture," she said. She added that "the World Bank is helping residents to access essential basic living conditions and services" and try that they may even be "better off than they were before." In her visit to Mozambique, Kwakwa will focus on the government's reform plan, the causes of the country's weaknesses and increasing Mozambique's resilience. (Lusa 8 March)

**South Africa will cut troops in Cabo Delgado next year** it was announced in the 2023 budget review on 22 February. The government has allocated R850 mn (\$45mn) for 2023/24 but that will be sharply cut for 2024/25 and cut again for 2025/26.

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## Elections

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

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## Important external links

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

**Flood, cyclone and weather:** weather <https://www.inam.gov.mz/>

rainfall [https://www.inam.gov.mz/images/DAPT\\_Previsoes/Manha/Previsao\\_Manha.pdf](https://www.inam.gov.mz/images/DAPT_Previsoes/Manha/Previsao_Manha.pdf)

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

**Cyclone trackers**, <https://bit.ly/Reunion-cyclone>, <https://www.metoc.navy.mil/jtwc/jtwc.html>

(which uses z time which is UCT - Coordinated Universal Time) and <https://www.cyclocane.com/>

**Two LSE working papers - World Bank questions its Mozambique 'success'** where oligarchs 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>

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

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>

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## Cabo Delgado

**Cabo Ligado** weekly report on civil war <https://www.cabolidado.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>

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## 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 Bicletas – 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)

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

O País: [www.opais.co.mz](http://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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