

# MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

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## ***Graça Machel speaks out***

# 'Make those who oppress us feel fear'

"We must dismantle this fear and we must make those few who oppress the citizen, who oppress the people, feel fear. They are the ones who have to be afraid of us and not us afraid of them" declared Graça Machel, speaking at a meeting organized by the ombudsperson on Tuesday (11 April). "When the President of the Republic [Filipe Nyusi] took office during his first mandate, he said: 'My boss is the people'. Do you remember that? So we have to remind those who are oppressing us. I am saying to some who are there, who are oppressing us, to those who are replacing what the State should be - the servant state. We remind you that we are the boss"

Machel was reacting to a question posed by the audience on the attacks by police on young people at the funeral and memorials for the rapper Azagaia 14 and 18 March, in processions authorised by municipal authorities. Machel also talked of a "culture of fear" - which visitors to Mozambique now notice in civil society. For example, the police have, for more than a year, unofficially and illegally imposed a total ban on any procession or demonstration not organised by Frelimo.

Mozambicans must get organised so that the civic space can be liberated and citizenship can be exercised without fear. "We have to unite the vibrant forces in our neighbourhoods and schools. "

The current Frelimo leadership has been trying to marginalise Machel and others of the independence generation who do not agree with the direction Frelimo is taking, both the failure to reduce poverty and create jobs, and the growing repression of media and civil society.

"Mama Graça" retains huge respect and at a time when the top of Frelimo wants to push her aside, it is important the ombudsperson invited her to speak and that [STV broadcast her very strong and angry statement](#). (English and Portuguese texts: [Lusa 11 Apr](#); [Media Fax and Carta de Moçambique 12 Apr](#).)

## **Marcelo Mosse: 'The imposition of fear is a way of reproducing power.'**

"Graça Machel prefers to say oppress. Yes! Within the State there are leaders who oppress citizens. This is nothing new! The problem is that, instead of deepening democracy, Mozambique is heading towards authoritarianism, where the imposition of fear is a way of reproducing power," wrote *Carta de Moçambique* editor Marcelo Mosse today. (12 Apr)

"Graça Machel's words should be seen in this context. She spoke in defence of citizenship and pluralism. In her speech I saw powerful marks against authoritarianism; the defence of active citizenship; of republican ethics; of accountability. These are, in fact, the key words of her speech.

"Dismantle fear. My boss is the people, said Nyusi. People of power, sang Azagaia. ... Azagaia spent his life dismantling fears. It is therefore necessary that this process continues! So that a vigorous democracy may prevail in Mozambique!"

## **Shadow of Ukraine**

### **BRICS growing as an alternative to the US**

With most of Africa, including Mozambique and South Africa, refusing to take sides in the Ukraine war, the BRICS economic group is gaining in importance because it does not include the United States. The group of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa consists of more than a quarter of the world's GDP and about 40% of the global population. Several other countries have shown interest in joining, including Argentina, Iran and Turkey. China's renminbi has become the third global currency, just behind the Euro. South Africa hosted a joint naval exercise with China and Russia off Durban in February.

South Africa is the 2023 BRICS chair and the 15th BRICS Summit 22-24 August will be in Durban; South Africa has invited Russian President Vladimir Putin. But the following month, South Africa will host the summit of the US's African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). And a visit by a Putin indicted by the International Criminal Court to South Africa would bring repercussions from the US.

In 2022 South Africa exported nearly \$3 bn in goods to the United States under AGOA. Of South Africa's exports, 22% go to the EU and 9% go to the US, while 17% go to BRICS countries, mostly China.

On 23 February, the day South Africa most recently abstained on a UN vote on Ukraine, when the issue of AGOA and South Africa was raised in the US Congress, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken admitted the importance of historic links with Russia and the former Soviet Union. He regretted Washington's "sympathetic" stand towards the apartheid government while Moscow had trained and supported anti-apartheid activists during the Cold War.

## **Personal view**

### **Looking at Ukraine, Mozambique remembers 1 million dead in its 'proxy war'**

The 1980s war in Mozambique was what is called a "proxy war" - it was an East-West war between the USSR and the US, being fought on what football would call a "neutral ground". More than a million Mozambicans were killed, and the Mozambicans economy was devastated, at very little cost to the Russians or the US. It was fighting a war by proxy in someone else's country.

Many Africans saw wars in Afghanistan, Syria and Libya as more recent proxy wars and look at Ukraine as another proxy war of the US (and Nato) against Russia, with Ukraine being destroyed and Ukrainians killed. And this lies at the root of Mozambique and other African countries

abstaining in the UN - wanting a negotiated settlement and refusing to be forced to take sides in a proxy war.

Perhaps the clearest explanation of this view comes from Jeffrey Sachs, Director of the Center for Sustainable Development at Columbia University and President of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network. He worked in Mozambique as an advisor to the government from 1998 and pointedly told Frelimo in 2011 that the Mozambican government should renegotiate for a better sharing of the benefits from the country's mega-projects.

In a 10 March talk in the EU country Slovenia at the Alma Mater Europea he set out very well the proxy war understanding. It was broadcast on TV Slovenia 1 (in English with Slovenian subtitles) at 1.25 minutes in on

<https://365.rtvsllo.si/arhiv/odmevi/174942033?fbclid=IwAR045aZPpFsJIAAiJTylLJqLqGNhT5Va0UI76kXUg1FmAOqPiaeAkK4yM7Q>

In the interview, Sachs says that what he told Ukraine leaders several years ago:

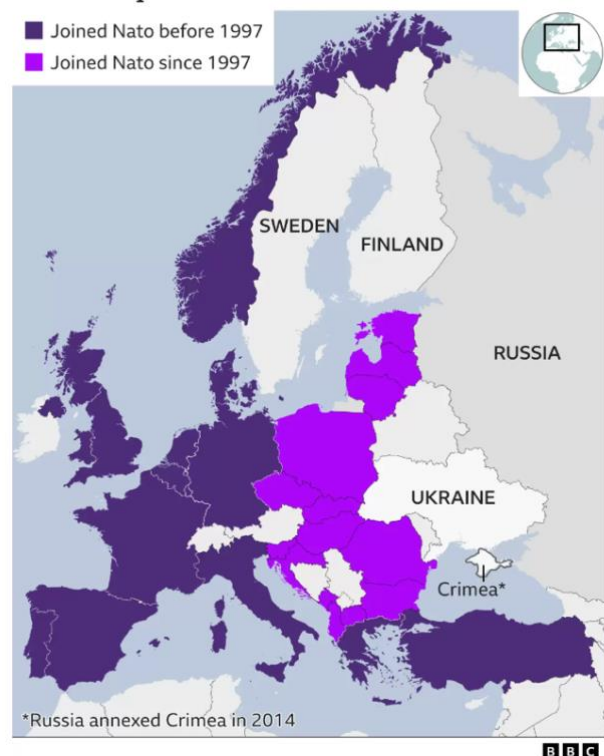


## History matters: we have been here before

In the late 1950s, the United States and NATO were putting nuclear missiles closer to the Soviet Union. In 1961 the US government put Jupiter nuclear missiles in Turkey, aimed at Moscow. In response, Soviet First Secretary, Nikita Khrushchev, agreed with the Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, to place nuclear missiles on Cuba. That triggered the October-November 1962 Cuban missile crisis. The confrontation is often considered the closest the Cold War came to escalating into a full-scale nuclear war. The crisis ended when the United States secretly agreed with the Soviets that it would dismantle all of the Jupiter nuclear missiles which had been deployed to Turkey.

Since 1997 NATO has been expanding into Eastern Europe. Russia saw this as a threat. As in 1961, the US pushed Russia until it responded. In 1961 the response was missiles in Cuba, while in 2022 the response was the invasion of Ukraine which has evolved into a proxy war.

Nato's expansion since 1997



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## **Elections**

**CIP Mozambique Elections Bulletin** is published by Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP

<https://www.cipmoz.org>; <https://cipeleicoes.org/eng/cip@cipmoz.org>).

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>

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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.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](http://bit.ly/MozGasEng)

Gás\_para\_desenvolvimento\_ou\_apenas\_dinheiro?\_2015 [bit.ly/MozGasPt](http://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](http://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](http://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)

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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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