

# MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

202 1 October 2012 Editor: Joseph Hanlon ( [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk) )

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## *In this issue:* **10<sup>th</sup> Frelimo Congress**

**Congress rejects leading presidential hopefuls**

**New Political Commission**

**Comment:** Possible presidents  
Groups in Frelimo  
Dual power

**Central Committee elections**

**Other Congress Notes**

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More detailed press reports, in English and Portuguese, and Central Committee candidates lists, are posted on [tinyurl.com/mozamb](http://tinyurl.com/mozamb)

## **Congress rejects leading presidential hopefuls**

The two most prominent people vying to be Frelimo Presidential candidate in 2014 elections were both knocked off the Political Commission at the Central Committee meeting following the Frelimo 10<sup>th</sup> Congress in Pemba.

Prime Minister Aires Ali was seen as President Armando Guebuza's choice as a relatively weak President he could control, and his defeat shows the limit of Guebuza's power. Former Prime Minister Luisa Diogo was the anyone-but-Ali candidate. The defeat of both shows that interests and power with the party are dispersed, and some compromises and negotiation will be needed before the Presidential candidate is selected next year by the Central Committee. The candidate does not have to be a member of the Political Commission, but it would be hard to select someone who did not have enough support within the Central Committee to have been elected to the Political Commission.

The Frelimo 10<sup>th</sup> Congress in Pemba 23-28 September 2012 elected the president of the party - re-electing Armando Guebuza unopposed - and elected one-third of the Central Committee. (The remainder had already been elected at provincial level.) The new Central Committee met on 27-28 September to elect the Secretary-General and Secretary of the Verification (discipline) Committee and the rest of the Political Commission.

The party president, Secretary-General, and Secretary of the Verification Committee are all full members of the Political Commission. (If not already elected members, the national President, Prime Minister, Speaker of parliament, and head of the Frelimo bench in parliament are non-voting members.)

All Frelimo bodies have quotas – for women (35%) and for new members (40%) for both the Political Commission and Central Committee, and also for war veterans (10%), young people

(under 35, 20%) and business people for the Central Committee. This leads to 4 ballot papers for Political Commission and 10 ballot papers for Central Committee, in which voters tick up to the number of people who can be elected in that category.

The Central Committee only meets two or three times a year, but does select the Presidential candidate and the Political Commission. The Political Commission meets every week and is the most powerful Frelimo body, with a large influence over a Frelimo government.

## New Political Commission

The Central Committee re-elected Filipe Paunde as Secretary-General and elected José Pacheco as Secretary of the Verification Committee; both were unopposed. Pacheco is Agriculture Minister and was an elected member of the previous Political Commission.

The Political Commission's 17 members are (by category):

### Automatically members:

- + Armando Guebuza
- + Filipe Paunde
- + José Pacheco

By ballot paper and in order from the most voted, the remaining members of the Political Commission are:

### Re-elected men:

- + Alberto Chipande (fired first shot of liberation war; former Defence Minister)
- + Eneas Comiche (MP & chair of Plan & Budget Committee; former Finance Minister, Bank of Mozambique Governor, and Maputo mayor)
- + Eduardo Mulémbwè (former Speaker of Parliament; outgoing Secretary of Verification Committee)
- + Raimundo Pachinuapa (guerrilla commander in liberation war; MP and businessman)

### Re-elected women:

- + Margarida Talapa (Head of the Frelimo parliamentary bench)
- + Verónica Macamo (Speaker of Parliament)
- + Conceita Sortane (MP; former Frelimo training secretary)
- + Alcinda Abreu (Environment Minister)

### New men:

- + Alberto Vaquina (133 votes, 72%; Governor of Tete)
- + Sérgio Pantie (61%; outgoing Central Committee secretary for organization, and Frelimo election agent for recent municipal by-elections)
- + Carvalho Muária (60%; Governor of Sofala)
- + Cadmiel Muthemba (52%; Public Works Minister)

### New women:

- + Esperança Bias (133 votes, 72%; Minerals Minister)
- + Lucília Hama (70%; Governor of Maputo City)

Candidates defeated for re-election included Prime Minister Aires Ali, former prime minister Luisa Diogo, Planning and Development Minister Aiuba Cuereneia, and former general secretary of the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) Paulina Mateus. Two members did not stand for re-election, Manuel Tome (deputy head of the Frelimo parliamentary group) and Teodoro Waty (head of the parliamentary Constitutional and Legal Affairs Commission). Waty could not stand because he was not re-elected to the Central Committee. Candidates not elected for new posts were: Edson Macuácuá (34%; Frelimo Secretary for Mobilisation and Propaganda), Hermenegildo Infante (49%;

First Secretary, Maputo City), Damião José (22%; spokesperson for Frelimo parliamentary group) and Antonia Charre (42%; Sofala MP). Percentages were only released for the new candidates.

Note that there are inconsistencies in official spellings of names. It is Aires Ali on the Council of Ministers list but Aires Aly on Frelimo party lists. Mulémbwè sometimes appears as Mulémbuè.

The new Central Committee secretariat, all elected unopposed, is: Sérgio Pantie, Edson Macuácuá, Damião José, Aida Libombo (former Deputy Health Minister), Moreira Vasco (MP), Carmelita Namashalua (Minister of State Administration), and José Tomo Psico (director of INATUR, National Institute of Tourism).

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***Comment and analysis by Joseph Hanlon***  
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## Possible presidents?

The surprise rejection by the Congress of both Aires Ali and Luisa Diogo throws the presidential race wide open. Armando Guebuza could still push for Aires Ali, but this seems less likely now. Four members of the new Political Commission must be seen as possible candidates. All were born in the mid-1950s, which means they were educated in the colonial era but were given new opportunities post-independence and took an active role in that exciting transition period.

- + **Filipe Paunde** (born Manica, Frelimo Secretary-General; former Nampula governor)
- + **José Pacheco** (born Sofala, 1958, Frelimo Verification Secretary; agronomist, Agriculture Minister, former Interior Minister and Cabo Delgado governor)
- + **Eduardo Mulémbwè** (born Niassa, 1954, Frelimo Verification Secretary 1991-2012, Speaker of Parliament 1994-2009; lawyer and former judge and attorney-general)
- + **Verónica Macamo** (born Gaza, 1957, Speaker of parliament; lawyer)

Our views on the profiles of these four:

Filipe Paunde seems the least "presidential" of the group with no international or ministerial experience. But he is a Guebuza protégé and appears popular within the party and Central Committee. He could be Guebuza's choice for a weak national President who could be controlled by Guebuza as party President.

José Pacheco is senior in the party and is now effectively security head. He has been used by Frelimo to respond to difficult situations and is a former Interior Minister. Not seen as allied to the various factions within Frelimo, he knows the country well and has international experience.

Eduardo Mulémbwè is powerful within Frelimo and is the only person in this group to be open about wanting to be President. He could be seen to represent the "big man" side of Frelimo, which stresses party patronage and that "chiefs" should display their status, which offends some within the party.

Verónica Macamo as Speaker of Parliament has standing in the party and a public profile. She is a senior member of the Pan-African Parliament and has business, administrative and international experience. She has links to women's organisations, including as a founding member of the women's lawyers association in 1995. Being from the south (Gaza) works against her.

Three others are possible, but less likely, as presidential candidates.

+ **Margarida Talapa** (born Nampula, 1962, head of Frelimo parliamentary bench; teacher). Younger than Macamo and with less international experience, but from the north and earning higher votes from the party.

+ **Aires Ali** (born Niassa, 1955, Prime Minister and former Education Minister and former governor of Niassa and Inhambane). Had been Armando Guebuza's choice as a weaker President. His defeat in the Political Commission elections indicates a level of un-popularity of this choice, but as Prime Minister he remains a non-voting member of the Political Commission, which would allow Guebuza to continue to promote him if he wished.

+ **Luisa Diogo** (born Tete, 1958, former Prime Minister and Finance Minister; economist.) Having

worked with the World Bank and negotiated with donors, she is popular with the international community. She is popular with women in the party, but has never been liked by Guebuza, and was being promoted as the alternative to Aires Ali by some not aligned to Guebuza. Not being re-elected to the Political Commission suggests she does not have enough support in the Central Committee to be elected against the opposition of Guebuza. On the other hand, a group from Tete on the new Central Committee delayed the Political Commission voting process for several hours in protest to her exclusion from the Political Commission – showing she is still a political force to be reckoned with. *jh*

## Many groups in the party

Central Committee and Political Commission elections showed that Frelimo members vote for individuals. The elections and the debates show clear divisions over region, age, the role of the party, the extent to which people should be using the party for self-advancement, and President Armando Guebuza's attempts to concentrate power.

This is shown by the results of two of Guebuza's closest allies. Public Works Minister Cadmiel Muthemba was elected to the Political Commission. But António Sumbaba, Minister for the Presidency ("casa civil"), described by *O Pais* as Guebuza's "right hand man", was not even re-elected to the Central Committee. And, as noted above, Guebuza ally Aires Ali was not re-elected to the Political Commission.

Daughter Valentina Guebuza was elected to the Central Committee - somewhat oddly from the category of women veterans and children of veterans of the liberation war (where there were only four candidates for two posts) - and business ally Celso Coreia (head of Insitec) was elected in the new category of men in economic and social areas.

But fourth and fifth highest in the men re-elected to the Central Committee were Pascoal Mocumbi and Eneas Comiche (who was also re-elected to the Political Commission). Former Prime Minister Mocumbi has been largely outside the country working with international health organisations, and is seen as one of the few people who refused to be minister under Guebuza. Comiche as mayor of Maputo a widely respected both for his integrity and for improving the administration of the city in areas such as rubbish collection, yet Frelimo refused to re-select him to stand for the post in 2003, allegedly because he refused to give land and other preferences to local party officials. Thus the high vote for these two must be seen as a message to Guebuza and the party leadership. A similar message was sent by high votes to re-elect as Central Committee members Marcelino dos Santos, Graça Machel, and Samora Machel Junior ("Samito"). Teodato Hunguana, a former member of the Constitutional Council and a respected independent voice, was elected to the Central Committee.

Yet Jorge Rebelo, one of the most critical voices at the Congress and also highly respected, was not re-elected to the Central Committee.

So Armando Guebuza remains powerful, but that power is not unchecked, and he did not have the Congress entirely his own way. Although the Congress ratified the present leadership, it also sent a clear message about the limits of power and patronage. The Political Commission tries to work by consensus so there will be some difficult negotiations ahead. *jh*

## Dual power

Armando Guebuza's Presidency has been characterised by a centralisation of power in the Presidency and also by increasing the power of the party. Ministries and district administrations have "permanent secretaries" who are party appointees who serve as advisors to ministers and administrators. It creates two channels of communication and two sources of power, party and state.

This is underlined by the election of Lucília Hama, Governor of Maputo City, to the Political Commission. Maputo has an elected mayor, and "governor" of the city was a post created by Guebuza. What is the role of an appointed "governor" who has a higher party status than the mayor?

Two different things appear to have happened. Ministers, governors and district administrators have huge personal power in the Mozambican system. The new permanent secretaries seem to be serving as a useful check on that power and also as a reminder that in a democratic system Frelimo needs to be re-elected and thus decisions need to take account of key voting groups.

But it does appear to have increased the patronage systems. Frelimo membership has become more important for obtaining land, licences, contracts, and money from the district development fund. The rapidly increasing use of mobile phones mean that ministers, administrators, and permanent secretaries can be contacted day or night with instructions from higher levels in the party, particularly to give land or some other benefit to an important person.

Guebuza's attempt to remain as party president with a weaker national President such as Ali or Paunde continues this trend. But will the Political Commission and Central Committee support this process? *jh*

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**Central Committee**  
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The Central Committee now has 190 members – 62 elected at the Congress, 125 elected at provincial level, and the heads of 3 organisations (veterans, women, and youth). National figures could choose to stand at either provincial or Congress level, but if rejected at provincial level could not stand again at the Congress. (Surprisingly, there is confusion on the actual number elected at provincial level; reports of the full size of the Central Committee even by official sources range from 180 to 195.) The report below is based on AIM and Radio Moçambique.

In voting on the morning of 27 September, 1,858 delegates voted, with 24 invalid and 25 blank ballots, leaving 1,809 valid votes. There were 10 categories. The list of those elected is in order of number of votes. Percentages were only given for some parts of the election.

**Re-elected ("continuidade" - continuity) men**, 36 candidates for 23 places. Elected:

- + Filipe Paude (1,438 votes, 77%; Frelimo Secretary-General)
- + Alberto Chipande (77%; fired 1<sup>st</sup> shots of liberation war)
- + Marcelino dos Santos (73%; oldest Congress delegate, Frelimo founder)
- + Pacoal Mocumbi (63%; former Prime Minister)
- + Eneas Comiche (63%; former Maputo mayor)
- + Aires Ali (61%; Prime Minister)
- + Edson Macuácuá (61%; head of the Frelimo mobilization and propaganda department)
- + Samora Machel Júnior (61%; "Samito", son of Samora Machel)
- + Raimundo Pachinuapa (60%; liberation war commander)
- + José Pacheco (59%; Agriculture Minister)
- + Aiuba Cuereineia
- + Sérgio Pantie
- + Eduardo Mulémbwè
- + Manuel Tomé
- + Tobias Dai
- + Cadmiel Muthemba
- + Feliciano Gundana
- + Mateus Katupha
- + Lucas Chomera

- + Zeca Morgado
- + Eduardo Nihia
- + Mariano Matsinha
- + Tomaz Salomão

**Re-elected women**, 21 candidates for 13 places:

- + Verónica Macamo (87%; Speaker of parliament)
- + Margarida Talapa (86%; head of Frelimo parliamentary bench)
- + Graça Machel (76%)
- + Carmelita Namachulua (71%; Minister of State Administration)
- + Marina Pachinuapa (66%; founder member of the Frelimo Women's Detachment during the liberation war)
- + Alcinda Abreu (66%; Environment Minister)
- + Nyeleti Mondlane (66%; daughter of Eduardo Mondlane)
- + Luísa Diogo (64%; former Prime Minister)
- + Deolinda Guezimane (59%; liberation war member of Women's Detachment)
- + Conceita Sortane (58%; outgoing Central Committee secretariat)
- + Paulina Mateus
- + Esperança Bias
- + Teresa Tembo

**New ("renovação" – renewal) men**, 11 candidates for 4 places

- + Odelmiro Balói (67%; Foreign Minister)
- + Manuel Chang (59%; Finance Minister)
- + Filipe Nyusi (54%; Defence Minister)
- + Mateus Khida (51%; Minister for Veterans' Affairs)

**New women**, 9 candidates for 3 places:

- + Adelaide Amurane (60%; Minister in the Presidency for Parliamentary and Municipal Affairs)
- + Iolanda Cintura (53%; Minister for Women's Affairs and Social Welfare)
- + Francisca Domingo

**Young men** (under 35), 6 candidates for 5 posts:

- + Alberto Nkutumula (78%; government spokesperson and Deputy Justice Minister)
- + Henriques Mandava
- + António Niquice
- + Oswaldo Petersburgo
- + Cachimo Raul

**Young women**, 4 candidates for 3 posts:

- + Dulce Eugénio
- + Catarina Mário
- + Suzete Mbanze

**Veterans, men**, 7 candidates for 3 posts:

- + João Facitela Pelembe
- + Morais Mobjeca
- + João Mfumo

**Veterans, women**, 4 candidates for 2 posts:

- + Valentina Guebuza (72%, daughter of Armando Geubuza)
- + Águeda Tadeu

**Social and Economic Areas, men**, 8 candidates for 4 posts:

- + Teodato Hunguana (74%; chair of the cell phone company M-Cel, former Information Minister)
- + Rosário Mualeia (73%; chair of port and rail company, CFM)
- + Celso Coreia (59%, chair of Insitec group)
- + José Augusto

**Social and Economic Areas, women**, 5 candidates for 2 places:

- + Aida Libombo (80%; Deputy Health Minister)

+ Joana Manguera (36%, Executive Secretary of the National AIDS Council)

Pascoal Mocumbi, with 63%, had a remarkably good result for someone who has been working outside of Mozambique for much of the past decade, notes Paul Fauvet of AIM. Members of the government dominated the section of the ballot paper reserved for new blood, candidates who were not part of the outgoing Central Committee. The new section for "Economic and Social Areas" did not exist in previous Central Committee elections.

AIM adds that perhaps the greatest surprise was the election of businesswoman Valentina Guebuza, daughter of President Armando Guebuza, in the section reserved for veterans of the liberation struggle, even though she was born after the end of the independence war. Interviewed by the independent television station STV, Guebuza said she had been proposed by other veterans, using a clause in the statutes of the Association of Veterans of the Liberation Struggle, which grants the children of veterans the status of veterans.

The three most prominent figures who lost their seats on the Central Committee were Jorge Rebelo, once the head of the Frelimo Ideology Department, who was the most critical voice at the Congress, calling for more open debate within Frelimo; Teodoro Waty, a member of the outgoing Frelimo Political Commission and head of the parliamentary Constitutional and Legal Affairs Commission; and António Sumbana, Ministro na Presidência para Assuntos da Casa Civil (effectively, head of the President's office), and seen as very close to President Guebuza.

Among other candidates whose bids for re-election failed were Jacinto Veloso, Security Minister under Samora Machel; Antonio Hama Thai, former chief of staff of the armed forces; Ivo Garrido, former Health Minister; Isidora Faztudo, chair of the brewing company CDM; and two of Frelimo's main parliamentary orators, Alfredo Gamito and Edmundo Galiza-Matos Junior.

Two men from the Samora Machel era, former Prime Minister Mario Machungo and former Minister of State Administration, Oscar Monteiro, did not stand for re-election.

Most candidates lists are posted on [tinyurl.com/mozamb](http://tinyurl.com/mozamb)

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**Other Congress notes**  
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**Speakers cite wealth,  
lack of openness,  
'shameful conduct'**

The Congress had little time for debate on serious matters such as policies on mining, economy and development. Large amounts of time were taken up with singing and dancing, messages from fraternal parties and messages of praise. Debate was unstructured and interventions often limited to three minutes, meaning only a single point could be made. Nevertheless, there were some sharp statements.

Zacarias Kupela, former leader of the Frelimo youth organisation (OJM), pointed to the widening gap between rich and poor, and said that "If we don't narrow this gap, we may be sowing the winds, and future generations will reap the whirlwinds and cyclones". This view was backed by other speakers, according to *O País* (28 September 2012)

Graça Machel warned of the "shameful comportment" of some in Frelimo. A spokesman for liberation war veterans complained of "self-serving members of the party who use it as a trampoline to satisfy their egoistic, corrupt, ambitious, and opportunist interests." One delegate, João Afonso, claimed there had been vote buying in provincial elections.

Tomás Salomão, former Finance Minister and now Executive Secretary of SADC, said Frelimo needed to reflect on why it lost the by-election for mayor of Quelimane. Fewer people voted for the Frelimo candidate than Frelimo claims to have members in Quelimane. Why did they stay home?

Jorge Rebelo called for more openness and debate in the party, and went so far as to say the media was being intimidated. When party members disagree with official opinions, they are shut up or punished, he said. But Frelimo veterans Mario Machingo and Alberto Chipande told an STV interviewer that they did not agree with Rebelo, and he was not re-elected to the Central Committee.

Sergio Vieira called for more support for agriculture, including lower interest rates, and a law to require more mineral processing inside Mozambique. Vieira had stood for Central Committee in Tete and not been re-elected.

## The party of the state

More than half of the delegates to the Congress in Pemba work for the state or the party.

1,955 delegates had been elected, of whom 1,939 attended the Congress in Pemba, and 1,858 voted in the election of Armando Guebuza as party president.

Of the delegates, 1,607 gave their occupations. Of those, 924 (57%) work for the state or party: 108 teachers, 26 nurses, 468 other civil servants, and 322 Frelimo staff. Only 126 delegates (8%) are farmers: 96 peasant farmers, 25 from the National Peasants Union, and 5 commercial farmers. Only 7 delegates (0.4%) were industrial workers and 289 (18%) technicians, while 129 (8%) described themselves as business people or "proprietors".

Of the full group of 1,939 delegates, 33% were women; 21% were under 35 years old and 43% were over 50.

Of the three days of debate, the Sunday and Tuesday sessions were open to the press and broadcast live on TV, while the Monday session (which included the Rebelo speech) was not broadcast

On Tuesday afternoon, security guards confiscated the Monday issue of *O País* and the previous issue of the weekly *Savana* from delegates, even searching bags to remove copies. The cover story of the *O País* issue was an interview with Eduardo Mulémbwè saying he was willing to stand for President.

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## Two working papers on the web

### Poverty is not being reduced in Mozambique

LSE Crisis States Research Centre Working Paper No. 74 (series 2)

Benedito Cunguara and Joseph Hanlon, June 2010

Tambem em Portugues:

<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.a.spx>

### Mozambique's Elite – Finding its Way in a Globalized World and Returning to Old Development Models

Joseph Hanlon and Marcelo Mosse September 2010

WP/105 UNU-WIDER: The Role of Elites in Economic Development project

[http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/2010/en\\_GB/wp2010-105/](http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/2010/en_GB/wp2010-105/)

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This mailing list is used to distribute two publications, both edited by Joseph Hanlon. This is my own sporadic "News reports & clippings", which is entirely my own responsibility. This list is also used to distribute the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*, published by CIP and AWEPA, but those organisations are not linked to "News reports & clippings" Joseph Hanlon

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#### Mozambique media websites:

Noticias: [www.jornalnoticias.co.mz](http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz)

O Pais: [www.opais.co.mz](http://www.opais.co.mz)

Macauhub English: [www.macauhub.com.mo/en/](http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/)

Savana: [www.savana.co.mz](http://www.savana.co.mz)

Canal de Moçambique: [www.canalmoz.co.mz](http://www.canalmoz.co.mz)

AIM Reports: [www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news](http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news)

Carlos Serra Diario de um sociologo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

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