

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

265 13 July 2014

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

To subscribe: tinyurl.com/sub-moz

To unsubscribe: tinyurl.com/unsub-moz

Previous newsletters, more detailed press reports in English and Portuguese, and other

Mozambique material are posted on tinyurl.com/mozamb

This newsletter can be cited as "Mozambique News Reports & Clippings"

Book launch 30 July in Maputo

Galinhas e cerveja:

uma receita para o crescimento

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon

(The book is in Portuguese only.)

Wednesday 30 July, 17h30

Natural History Museum, Museu de História Natural, Maputo

Renamo:

Attacks stop

Dhlakama submits signatures

Spokesman arrested

There have been no reported Renamo attacks on traffic on the N1 north-south road in nearly two weeks. The last reported incidents were two attacks on convoys on Monday 30 June. Although attacks on civilians have stopped, fighting between the Renamo guerrillas and government soldiers has been reported in Sofala province; this includes fighting near the railway on Tuesday 1 July in Condue, Mwanza.

Renamo submitted Afonso Dhlakama's presidential candidate nomination papers, including 20,000 signatures - double the amount required - to the Constitutional Council Friday. The documents did not include the certificate of no criminal record.

Meanwhile, government moved against Renamo by arresting the messenger for a second time. On Friday 4 July President Armando Guebuza called an urgent meeting of the advisory Council of State for the following Monday, 7 July. The Council has 18 members include present and former speakers of parliament, ex-President Joaquim Chissano, the ombud, the head of the constitutional council, and three representatives of Renamo: party president Afonso Dhlakama, Renamo spokesperson Antonio Muchanga, and Sofala provincial head Manuel Lole.

Dhlakama will not leave the security of his mountain camp in Gorongosa and could not have attended on such short notice, but Muchanga and Lole attended. The Council was presented with two documents, a report on the war and a request to lift Muchanga's immunity as a Council member. He was arrested as he left the meeting at the Presidency in Maputo. The detention was confirmed by the Maputo City Court on Wednesday and he is charged with "inciting violence". He is detained in the Machava maximum security prison, colloquially known as the "BO".

This is the second time that the government has arrested a Renamo spokesman. In June 2013 brigadier Jerónimo Malagueta was arrested after he announced Renamo plans to attack the N1 road. He was released in March of this year.

Speaking by telephone to a press conference Thursday, Dhlakama called the arrest unconstitutional, but said Renamo "will not retaliate militarily". He claimed that in the fighting so far, the government has suffered 5000 casualties.

Thursday through Saturday President Guebuza conducted one of his Open Presidency tours, in areas close to the conflict zone. He visited Buzi, Marromeu, and Caia. The attacks on the N1 are severely disrupting commerce. *O Pais* (11 July) reports that 2000 people with HIV/AIDS cannot get their anti-retrovirals because roads and health posts are closed.

Comment

The arrest of Muchanga will be read by Renamo as a strong message that if Dhlakama leaves Gorongosa and tries to campaign for president, he could be arrested. He told the Thursday press conference that Muchanga had been arrested "because he speaks and represents the interests of the party and its leader", so Dhlakama was sure that, on the day he set foot in Maputo, he too would be arrested. "Guebuza has invited me to Maputo only to arrest or kill me." The heavy military presence around Gorongosa and on-going fighting in the area clearly reinforces the view that it is not safe for Dhlakama to leave.

On its side, government thought it had an informal understanding that by giving the opposition all it asked on the electoral law and then allowing Dhlakama to register, that Renamo would halt its military action. This did not happen, and attacks escalated. So one message from the government is that waging war and an electoral campaign at the same time is unacceptable.

But the gaps, misunderstandings and mistrust between the two sides are huge. The interminable on-going negotiations have reached 63 rounds. Dhlakama argues that he called two ceasefires, which were enforced, but that the government failed to respond and continued its military actions around Gorongosa, making it impossible for Dhlakama to leave and campaign. He claims attacks on the N1 are only to stop government sending more troops to Gorongosa.

On the other hand, after winning huge concessions on the electoral law, Renamo tabled new demands including a complete restructuring of the military and police. It is notable that government only agreed to amend the electoral laws after Renamo started military action, and Dhlakama may have felt that new attacks on the N1 would provoke other concessions.

Government chief negotiator Jose Pacheco told a Chatham House meeting in London on 29 May that government insists on unconditional disarmament before there can be any talks between Guebuza and Dhlakama, while Renamo will not disarm but only joint a totally restructured military with a chief of staff appointed by Renamo. (<http://www.chathamhouse.org/event/division-dialogue-perspectives-political-negotiations-mozambique>)

Renamo's complaint that its former fighters were marginalised in the post-1992 merged military is correct. Frelimo clearly wanted a small, weak and loyal military that could not stage a coup. The price of that choice is that the army and riot police are not proving very effective against Renamo guerrillas. But it also means that the electoral law is very different from the army - government was prepared to make sweeping changes on elections, but will not allow a restructuring of the military that gives key roles to current Renamo fighters. That, in turn, means that Renamo, government, and the mediators will have to be creative and find some other way to meet the demands of Renamo's military.

Finally, hidden in Renamo's demands on the military is an implicit assumption that Renamo knows it will lose the next election - despite have been given all the electoral law changes it wanted. If Renamo were to win the 15 October election, it could make all the changes it wants to the military, and would not need to negotiate with Frelimo.

Resolving the present stalemate requires a real cease fire - with both government and Renamo forces restricted to bases. It requires giving real status to Dhlakama, as Mario Raffaelli stressed two

weeks ago - which would be personally very difficult for President Armando Guebuza. But Dhlakama will need to accept that he will be unable to restructure the military. Thus a way needs to be found to give significant compensation and recognition to a demobilised Renamo military.

This will require creative lateral thinking. The Joaquim Chissano Foundation could be one model. There could be an Afonso Dhlakama Peace and Democracy Foundation, created with an initial government grant of perhaps \$100 million. It could have businesses which would create posts for Renamo generals. It might have a private security company which would allow it to keep some armed men. As head of the foundation, Dhlakama might be invited to some African Union and SADC meetings. Government media would be encouraged to do the anodyne interviews with Dhlakama that they do with the Frelimo leadership.

There must be many creative alternative ways to resolve the crisis, if the two sides are prepared to be flexible. But at the moment, both sides are making impossible demands and the arrest of Muchanga appears to reflect a growing intransigence. *jh*

Paulino replaced as Attorney-General

Augusto Paulino, perhaps best known as the judge in the trial of the murderers of Carlos Cardoso, has been relieved of his post as Attorney General (*producrador-geral*) Wednesday, and replaced by one of his deputies, Beatriz Buchili, the first woman to hold the post. Paulino had requested his retirement on health grounds, but he was also known to be tired of political interference in the prosecutor's office and was believed to have been opposed to the detention of Muchanga.

2nd Cardoso killer killed

Ayoob Satar, convicted of killing journalist Carlos Cardoso on 22 November 2000, was himself gunned-down in front of a bank in Karachi, Pakistan, on 2 July. He was jailed for 23 years and released in March 2013 after serving 12 years. He is the second of the Cardoso killers to be shot down; Vicente Ramaya was murdered in February this year in Maputo. Ramaya had been convicted both of killing Cardoso and of a \$14 million bank fraud.

Mig-21s rebuilt

The Romanian company Aerostar has completed the overhaul and upgrade of eight Mozambique Air Force MiG-21 fighters, some of which had not flown operationally for more than 20 years. The package also included the overhaul of an L-39 jet trainer and six single-seat and two double-seat trainer aircraft, as well as a full training programme for ground staff and pilots. Six MiG-21s are now back in Mozambique with the final two aircraft shipped from Romania in early July.

Poor score on hunger index

Mozambique ranks 25th of 45 countries in a new Hunger and Nutrition Commitment Index, and is said to have a "low commitment to tackling hunger and undernutrition". Neighbour Malawi ranks 3rd and Tanzania 7th, and both are said to have "high commitment". Mozambique is criticised for low spending on health and agriculture, limited access to water and sanitation, and low registration of children. The index is created by the Institute of Development Studies, backed by British and Irish aid. <http://www.hancindex.org/>

Transport

The 287 km road from Beira to the Zimbabwe border at Machipanda will be completely rebuilt with a \$410 million loan from the Exim Bank of China. The road will become a toll road.

Five other roads are to be privatised and become toll roads: Matola-Boane and Marracuene-

Lindela in the south, Vanduzi-Changara in the centre, and Nampula-Nacala and Monapo-Ihla de Moçambique in the north.

The location of the port at the end of the planned new railway from Moatize to north of Quelimane has still not been decided. The head of the Zambeze Integrated Development Corridor (Codiza), Abdul Carimo, said they wanted the port as close to Quelimane as possible. The plan is for an offshore floating coal terminal, which had originally been planned for Macuse, Namacurra district, 50 km northeast of Quelimane, but there is now a suggestion of Supinho, near Zalala beach, 25 km northeast of Quelimane.

Family business

Portus Indico has acquired 70% of Navique, leaving 20% owned by the government (through IGEPE) and 10% by **Focus 21, a Guebuza family company** chaired by Valentina Guebuza, daughter of President Armando Guebuza. Navique owns 51% of the 300 metre long Coastal Shipping Terminal (TCM) in Maputo port; the other 49% is held by the state ports and railway company, CFM. This brings the terminal under the management of the Maputo Port Development Company (MPDC), which holds the lease on most of Maputo port. Portus Indico already owns 51% of MPDC and CFM has 49%. Portus Indico itself is a consortium formed by DP World of Dubai (48.5%), Grindrod of South Africa (48.5%) and the Mozambican company Mocambique Gestores (3%). Portus Indico says that, through this acquisition, it intends to promote the coastal shipping service in Mozambique.

Funding has been secured for a \$200 million gas fired power station near the South African Border, which will supply the Mozambican grid. The company Gigawatt Moçambique is owned 42% by the South African company Gigajoule Power, 32% by a Seychelles-registered Mozambican company Eagle Holding, and 26% by **Intelec, a company controlled by President Armando Guebuza.**

Finance Minister Manuel Chang in a statement to parliament claimed he had been misinterpreted when he told the press that the creation of EMATUM had been debated by parliament. He admitted that the tuna fishing company, part owned by **SISE, the state security service**, had not been discussed in parliament.

Exporters and importers are again calling for a reduction in fees for the electronic scanning of containers. The Mozambican Business Associations (CTA) says that most other countries do not charge a fee, because they already earn more money by detecting smuggled goods. The scanner is run by a company called Kudumba, which is 35% owned by **SPI, a holding company controlled by Frelimo.**

Savanna Tobacco of Zimbabwe plans to invest at least \$2 million in a tobacco processing factory in Mozambique, according to the company's chief executive Adam Molai, who is married to a **niece of Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe.**

=====

The next book

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon will be launched 30 July in Maputo.

Zimbabwe takes back its land

by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publishers https://www.riener.com/title/Zimbabwe_Takes_Back_Its_Land also as an e-book and <http://www.jacana.co.za/book-categories/current-affairs-a-history/zimbabwe-takes-back-its-land-detail>

Now in paper at a reasonable price

Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique?

by Joseph Hanlon & Teresa Smart

is now available in **paperback**, for £17.99 (+ p&p)

from the publisher <http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=13503>

Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South

by Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme

Most of this book can now be **read on the web**

tinyurl.com/justgivemoney

=====
This newsletter can be cited as "Mozambique News Reports & Clippings"

Also on the web: Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on

tinyurl.com/mozamb

=====
NOTE OF EXPLANATION:

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

=====

Mozambique media websites:

Noticias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O Pais: www.opais.co.mz

On Facebook:

@Verdade: <https://www.facebook.com/JornalVerdade>

CanalMoz: <https://www.facebook.com/CanalMoz>

Macauhub English: www.macauhub.com.mo/en/

AIM Reports: www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news

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

Good daily newsletters:

English: Mozambique Investor. Send e-mail to theinvestor@clubofmozambique.com

Portuguese: Mozambique Hoje. <http://mail.clubofmozambique.com/mailman/listinfo/mhoje>

=====
This mailing is the personal responsibility of Joseph Hanlon, and does not necessarily represent the views of the Open University.