

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

413 29 May 2018 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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Islamic attacks: marginalised youth with wide networks

Marginalised and uneducated youth with surprising links to national and international networks - of contraband, military training, religious leaders, and financial support - are at the core of Islamic attacks around Mocimboa da Praia, according to a study presented last week.

Over more than a two decades the northeastern corner of Cabo Delgado has become a central point in three networks - legal and illegal trade and business; smuggling and export of timber, ivory and other goods; and large movements of people from Somalia and the Great Lakes region through Tanzania toward South Africa which has made the area a people smuggling centre.

The study shows how in 2015 a group of unemployed and uneducated youth objecting to poverty and social exclusion formed themselves into fundamentalist cells, in part as a way of challenging the state, and tapped into these existing networks to gain support and training.

The study is based on a month of fieldwork of Islamic cleric Sheik Saide Habibe, IESE director Salvador Forquilha, and João Pereira, Assistant Professor at Eduardo Mondlane University and director of MASC. IESE is the Social and Economic Research Institute and MASC is the Civil Society Support Mechanism. Preliminary results were presented on 22 May at the Universidade Pedagógica in Maputo.

The researchers found that the original group was young men with limited education and no formal employment who felt socially marginalised. Many were informal traders in markets. Sheik Habibe explained that most were from the small coastal Mwani ethnic group, who have been historically discriminated against by the dominant Maconde, and thus have supported Renamo rather than Frelimo. They were joined by other young men who had come from Tanzania and further north looking for work. Another factor was that after the 2012 killing in Kenya of Muslim cleric Aboud Rogo (accused of supporting al-Shabaab in Somalia) his followers moved south, building a presence in Kibiti, Tanzania, just north of the Mozambique border, and had crossed the Ruvuma River into Cabo Delgado by 2015.

Sheik Habibe stresses that these young men know little of the Islamic religion and the Koran, so formed only a vague programme of opposing any contact with the state, including state schools, and with established mosques. They also wanted to control women's clothing. They did see it as a way of challenging authority and of promoting a new social and political order, as well as becoming members of a new family that gave them social value.

João Pereira explained that they formed into very loosely linked cells or groups of 10 to 20 men; estimates of total numbers range from 350 to 1500. Local people called them al-Shabaab, not for

the Somalia connection, but because it means youth in Arabic. They moved into illegal trade to fund themselves and their training, and appear to have earned substantial income from ivory, timber and rubies. This paid to send young men to Tanzania, Kenya and Somalia for military and Islamic training, and to bring radical clerics to Mozambique. Sheik Habibe said that in some cases, young men thought they were being sent abroad to study only to arrive and find it was military training. Within Mozambique an expelled policeman and two expelled border guards were paid to provide military training.

Pereira said that the group did not have an objective of creating an Islamic state in the north and was more aimed at creating instability and recruitment opportunities. But this has led to support from informal elites involved in illicit trade because it creates more space for their business, he said.

The first attack was the occupation of Mocimboa da Praia on 5 October 2017, and the most recent on the coastal village of Ilala in Macomia district on 16 May and on a bus going to Mocimboa da Praia on 20 May.

A detailed Powerpoint presentation of the research is on <http://bit.ly/2kk14Rr> and a good detailed article was in @Verdade (23 May) on <http://bit.ly/2J7P3v3>. (Other reports: AIM En 22 May, O Pais 23 May)

Military deal may be close

The formula for an agreement on military questions was identified unconditionally during his final meeting with the late Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, at his base in Gorongosa, President Filipe Nyusi told a rally in Nacala Friday (25 May). "We had already overcome the differences with the late Renamo leader and we had defined the real priorities of the Renamo soldiers, because we were aware that it was a question of ending a process, not of beginning a new one". (AIM En 27 May, O Pais 28 May)

"We are encouraged and expect to reach a good agreement soon," Alfredo Magumisse, a member of the Renamo Political Commission, confirmed to a press conference after the approval of the constitutional amendment on decentralisation Thursday (24 May). "We continue our dialogue with the government, especially with the President." He stressed that "we are not talking about demilitarization." Instead it is the integration of the Renamo military into the armed forces and security service (SISE), with any not selected being reintegrated into civilian life. (CanalMoz 25 May; O Pais 28 May) Dhlakama had been demanding a system similar to that used in the elections technical election secretariat (STAE) where for each government appointed official there is a Renamo named deputy. It is not known if this changed at that last meeting.

But Nyusi in Nacala made clear the two issues are linked: "it isn't only the decentralization package the guarantees peace in Mozambique" and the demobilisation and reintegration of Renamo armed men is essential.

Dhlakama announced a truce in Renamo's low level insurgency at the end of 2016 and the government stopped its attacks on Dhlakama's base. The truce has held with no significant violations.

New Ombud part of 4-way horse trading

Immediately after the approval of the decentralisation constitutional amendment, parliament named Justice Minister Isaque Chande as ombudsman (provedor de justiça). The appointment required a two-thirds vote in parliament, so required Renamo agreement.

President Nyusi and the late Afonso Dhlakama were not just negotiating with each other, but with the hard line groups within their own parties, which has led to complex horse-trading. *Savana* (25 May) says that there was agreement between Nyusi and Dhlakama on district administrators before the Renamo leader died, but Frelimo in parliament refused to allow any concession to Renamo on districts. Finally Nyusi had to put heavy pressure on the parliamentary party. He told a rally in Chemba, Sofala, Monday last week (21 May) that he had phoned the parliamentary bench and had received guarantees that Frelimo would do its best to pass the amendments. The parliamentary bench only agreed overnight Monday (21-22 May). The appointment of Chande was Renamo's concession as part of the deal, and was voted on only after the amendments were approved. (*CanalMoz* 25 May)

Despite the habitual Frelimo party unity inside parliament, dissent continues outside. A Facebook post from Alexandre Chivale, lawyer to former President Armando Guebuza and a member of the G-40 group of commentators the defended him when he was president, called the amendment a "crass error" giving Renamo a "blank cheque". He asks how Margarida Talapa, Edson Macuacua, Lucas Chomera Jeremias will explain to their grandchildren "how they divided the country and continued the war and put Frelimo into opposition."

There appear to have been two informal agreements. One was Renamo support for Chande. The other relates to the constitutional amendment which says that the governor will be "consulted" but the Minister of State Administration will appoint the district administrator. But *Savana* (25 May) says there is an informal agreement that district administrators would actually be agreed between the Minister and governor.

Meanwhile, at party level *Savana* (25 May) says that before his death Dhlakama was negotiating with Daviz Simango, head of the Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) and mayor of Beira, for Renamo coalitions standing in municipal elections in some cities. Documents were written and waiting to be signed which included a joint list in Maputo city with MDM MP Venancio Mondlane as head of the list. *Zitamar* (28 May) comments that "Venancio started his campaign early and is a good candidate who already has Frelimo somewhat on the run in the capital."

Comment: 'Cistac amendment'?

In 2014 when Afonso Dhlakama first proposed that the municipal structure be applied to provinces, there was an orchestrated campaign by the then government of Armando Guebuza to say this was impossible and unconstitutional. The noise was so loud that it was hard for any alternative voice to be heard. The prominent constitutional lawyer Gilles Cistac was the loudest and most respected voice to say that the proposal was sensible and constitutional. On the morning of 3 March 2015, Cistac was gunned down outside a central Maputo café. No killer has ever been identified. The decentralization constitutional amendment approved last week in parliament applies the municipal model to districts and provinces. Cistac and Dhlakama were right. Should we honour Gilles Cistac by referring to the decentralisation amendment as the "Cistac amendment"? *jh*

Special parliament session in June

There will be a special session of parliament (AR, Assembleia da República) in June, speaker Veronica Macamo announced at the closing of the regular session on Friday 25 May. (*O Pais* 28 May). The session will deal with law changes required by the constitutional changes. No details were given, but at the very least the municipal election law must be amended to remove the direct election of mayors, and perhaps slightly change the calendar.

Significant changes and some new laws must be agreed before national elections in October next year. These include changing the structure of provincial assembly elections (because there is no single list with a head to become governor - lists are by district), a new law for Maputo (which is both a municipality and province, which must be clarified under the amendments), finding a way to

appoint a new governor or mayor if the sitting one dies (and which seems never to have been considered in the discussions of the head of list system), and, perhaps most difficult, a financial decentralisation law for provinces and districts. It is also possible there will be a military agreement to discuss.

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"Mozambique News Reports & Clippings, number XXX", DATE, bit.ly/mozamb, accessed XXX.

Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on bit.ly/mozamb

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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/MozElecData>

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Other books and reports by Joseph Hanlon

Special report on four poverty surveys: bit.ly/MozPoverty

Comment: something will turn up: <http://bit.ly/28SN7QP>

Oxfam blog on Bill Gates & chickens:

<http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/will-bill-gates-chickens-end-african-poverty/>

Bangladesh confronts climate change: Keeping our heads above water

by Manoj Roy, Joseph Hanlon and David Hulme

Published by Anthem Press

<http://www.anthempress.com/bangladesh-confronts-climate-change-pb>

Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique by Teresa Smart and Joseph Hanlon

In pdf format, 6 Mb file, free on <http://bit.ly/chickens-beer>

E-book for Kindle and iPad, <http://www.amazon.com/dp/B00NRZXXKE>

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento

by Teresa Smart & Joseph Hanlon.

Copies are in Maputo bookshops (Karibu at airport, Livaria UEM, Bazar Pariso, Mivany) or from

KAPICUA, which recently moved to Av de Maguiguana (nr Lenine), Maputo; Tel: +258 21 413 201.

Telm.: +258 823 219 950 E-mail: kapicudir@tdm.co.mz / kapicuacom@tdm.co.mz

Recent reports

Special report on social protection <http://bit.ly/MozSocPro>

Mozambique corruption articles 2016-7 <http://bit.ly/2upF8XI>

Secret debt documents and report:

Kroll full report (80 Mb!) <http://bit.ly/Kroll-Moz-full>

Kroll audit Executive Summary <http://bit.ly/Kroll-sum>

Parliamentary Report on the Secret Debt (complete, in Portuguese) bit.ly/MozAR-debt

Key points from the Parliamentary Report on the Secret Debt <http://bit.ly/MozAR-debt-En>

Mozambique should not pay the hidden debt <http://bit.ly/Moz-do-not-pay>

Following the donor-designed path to the \$2.2 billion secret debt <http://bit.ly/3WQ-hanlon>

Other books and reports:

Government's detailed flood reports: <http://bit.ly/flood-17>

Local media monitoring of Mozambique elections (background of election newsletters)
<http://bit.ly/LSE-newsletter>

Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique book by Teresa Smart and Joseph Hanlon, **free** English download <http://bit.ly/chickens-beer>

Há mais bicicletas - mas há desenvolvimento? book by Joseph Hanlon and Teresa Smart, **free** Portuguese download <http://bit.ly/Mais-bicicletas>

Gas for development or just for money? <http://bit.ly/MozGasEn>

Minimum wages & exchange rates 1996-2018 <http://bit.ly/MinWage18>

Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on bit.ly/mozamb

Outside Mozambique, we have a few copies we can send from London. Please e-mail j.hanlon@open.ac.uk.

Zimbabwe takes back its land

by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publishers

https://www.rienner.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-it-s-land-detail>

Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique? by Joseph Hanlon & Teresa Smart

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

Há mais bicicletas - mas há desenvolvimento? free download of Portuguese edition (5 Mb)

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 be **read on the web** tinyurl.com/justgivemoney

NOTE OF EXPLANATION:

One 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, Portuguese:

Notícias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O País: www.opais.co.mz

@Verdade: <http://www.verdade.co.mz>

Diário de Moçambique (Beira): <http://www.diariodemocambique.co.mz>

Carlos Serra Diário de um sociólogo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

Mozambique media websites, English:

Club of Mozambique: <http://clubofmozambique.com/>

Rhula weekly newsletter: <http://www.rhula.net/news-announcements.html>

Zitamar: <http://zitamar.com/>

Macauhub English: <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/>

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

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