

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

465 19 December 2019 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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Editor's note: After a 3 month gap, this newsletter returns with a special issue on recent events in Cabo Delgado. I edit both this newsletter and the election newsletter. Elections took priority, and most subscribers receive both newsletters. This newsletter, *News Reports and Clippings*, is done on a voluntary basis when I have time, thus its irregular publication. We will try to catch up in January, including with a more detailed report on the civil war in Cabo Delgado. *Joseph Hanlon*

Also in this issue:

Civil war - 35 dead in 3 weeks
Eric Prince pulls out

Heroin smugglers caught off Cabo Delgado

In the first raid on heroin smugglers in more than 20 years, a boat was with more than a tonne of heroin was caught 50 km off the coast of Cabo Delgado on Saturday (14 Dec). The Iranian crew set the wooden dhow on fire; 12 men were saved and three drowned. The raid was a joint action of the National Criminal Investigation Service (SERNIC) and the navy, SERNIC confirmed Wednesday.



We published a detailed report on the heroin trade in Mozambique in 2018, on bit.ly/Moz-heroin (bit.ly/Moz-heroina in Portuguese) pointing out that the trade has been going on for at least two decades, regulated at high level in Frelimo. The trade is entirely transit, by boat to Cabo Delgado, road to Johannesburg, then sea to Europe. We estimated that at least 40 tonnes of heroin per year passes through Mozambique, worth perhaps \$1 bn, of which at least \$100 mn stays in Mozambique - an important contribution to the local economy.

Heroin comes from Afghanistan and is taken to the Makran coast of Iran and Pakistan, where it is loaded on motorized wooden 15-metre Jelbut dhows and taken around the coast to Cabo Delgado. The Mozambique Defence Force picture (above) of the burning boat looks like a round stern Jelbut.

(<http://bit.ly/DhowID>) SERNIC estimated the cargo (destroyed by the fire) at 1.5 tonnes, while we estimated that the typical cargo was 1 tonne of heroin. The boat was caught 50 km off the coast, which is the point at which the cargo is broken up into smaller units and put on small boats to take to beaches south of Pemba. This system is also used for other contraband. Heroin is picked up from the beach and taken to warehouses in Nacala and Nampula. From there it is taken by drivers by road to Johannesburg, where it is hidden in containers at the Johannesburg City Deep dry port. The coordination is increasingly done by secure messaging such as WhatsApp - for example fishing boat owners are given a time and a location 50 km at sea to do the pickup and a beach location for the drop, and they may not know which illegal cargo they are transporting. Drivers are similarly assigned to do the pickup. This is the Uberization of the heroin trade.

Comment: This has been known by the international community for two decades, but there was a consensus to allow it to continue. But there has been growing international pressure to cut what is called the southern route for heroin to Europe. Crackdowns in Kenya and Tanzania have moved more of the trade to Mozambique. However, for senior people in Frelimo profits from secret debt and minerals may now be more important and they may have bent to international pressure and conducted a first raid, at least for show.

However, the trade has diversified and it is no longer totally controlled by Frelimo. Uberization and widespread corruption, for example at police checkpoints, mean political protection is no longer essential. Thus a possibility is that this was an attack on a trade network not controlled by the party.

Or perhaps both. Under international pressure, it might have been decided to go after a trader not part of the controlled network. *jh*

[In the Cabo Delgado civil war](#)

Police admit car captured; 35 dead in 3 weeks

A Police car and police uniforms were captured by insurgents, police commander Bernadino Rafael admitted Wednesday (18 Dec). A photo circulating on social media shows an insurgent in a Mozambican police uniform with an Islamic State flag standing on the bonnet of what is obviously a Mozambican police car. This picture and photos of another captured car and captured weapons appear on a French Twitter account of journalist Wassim Nasr of France 24, posted 8 Dec: <https://twitter.com/SimNasr/status/1203681268434685954?s=20>



At least 35 people have been killed in a series of attacks so far this month.

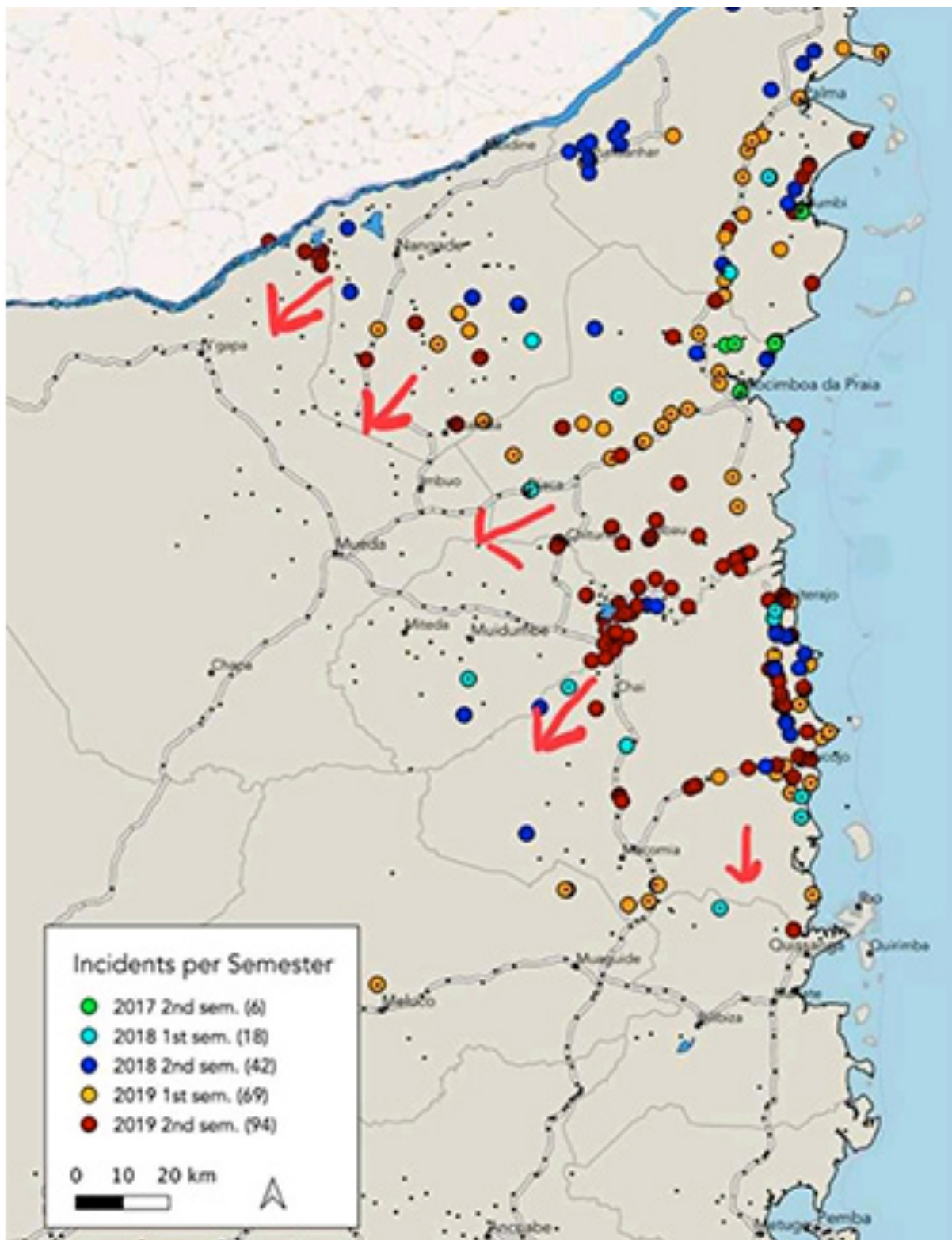
- On 30 November Nacutuco, Maomia was attacked again, and four local people killed (one beheaded, one burnt alive, two shot). Security forces had opened a base there but later retreated to Mucojo,
- On 1 and 2 December in fighting in Olumbi, Palma district, 12 insurgents were killed and 4 captured. One civilian and one soldier were also killed.
- On 4 December three vehicles on the road from Mocimboa da Praia to Palma were attacked 25 km south of Palma. Two people were killed and several injured, including a British citizen working for private security company G4S.

- On 5 December four fishermen in Itala, Maomia, were shot in the legs by assailants in government uniforms, but not killed.
- The captured car appears to have been taken during a raid on Marare, Mbau, Mocímboa da Praia district on Friday 6 December. The Twitter post refers to the village as Malali. In the raid, apparently 10 soldiers and police were killed and weapons were taken.
- On 12 December there were attacks on Litapata and Malangonha villages in Muidumbe, with three dead and goods and houses burned. (AIM, Carta da Moçambique, O Pais 5, 9, 17, 19 December).
- Further unconfirmed reports of attacks on 14 and 18 December.

There is a good map of attacks in the three months September-November posted on Twitter by Jasmine Opperman, director Africa at the Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium:

<https://twitter.com/Jasminechic00/status/1206565125064462336/photo/1>

Her map of more than 220 attacks up from the start of the insurgency to end of November 2019 is



above and on <http://bit.ly/36PdxkM> and <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/growing-terrorism-in-mozambique-with-suspected-links-to-isis-wreaking-havoc-with-no-end-in-sight-20191219>

Comment: The photographs are the first to be published from the insurgents, and confirm they are using Islamic State (IS) as a channel for international publicity. This, in turn, is being used by IS itself, the Mozambican government, and some of the international community to argue that IS is the hidden hand behind the insurgency. But all the evidence is that this is a local uprising fuelled by growing poverty and inequality - most of the land has been taken for mining so there is no free farmland, and inequality is increasing.

Jasmine Opperman's maps show a concentration of attacks along the northern coast of Macomia district, and on the border between Macomia and Muidumbe district on the only road from Pemba to Palma. These are economically important areas for growing food and for legal and illegal commerce, and not of great religious significance, which suggests that the insurgents are trying to build an economic base there, and perhaps to tax traffic passing by boat or road.

Just south of Muidumbe is Chai, where Alberto Chipande fired the first shot of the independence war in 25 September 1964. Chipande and his comrades fought an effective guerrilla struggle which the Portuguese conventional military force could not beat. Fifty-five years later, Chipande remains the most powerful man in Cabo Delgado and important in Frelimo. However, he may have forgotten the lessons of his youth. The Mozambican government is fighting the same war in the same place as 55 years ago, but this time it is fighting as the Portuguese did, and the insurgents are fighting the guerrilla war. And as the Portuguese did, the government is blaming the hidden hand of foreign forces, rather than talking to people on the ground. *jh*

Soldiers expelled by local people

Local people in Chitunda and Namacande villages in Muidumbe on 15 December expelled soldiers on the grounds that they had done nothing to protect the neighbouring villages of Litapata and Malangonha, attacked on 12 December. Three videos are circulating on social media showing people yelling "get out" and "you are Al Shabab" - that is, the insurgents. The next day Chitunda was attacked, supposedly by insurgents, but local people saw it as retaliation by the army. (Carta da Moçambique, 17 Dec)

Excellent new study: Islamic Radicalization in Northern Mozambique

The best study so far on the background of the Cabo Delgado civil war is the just published *Islamic Radicalization in Northern Mozambique. The Case of Mocímboa da Praia* by Salvador Forquilha, João Pereira and Saíde Habibe. It is published by IESE (Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos) in their Cadernos series (17) and available free on http://www.iese.ac.mz/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/cadernos_17eng.pdf in English and in Portuguese on http://www.iese.ac.mz/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/cadernos_17.pdf

Eric Prince pulls out

Erik Prince and his Frontier Services Group (FSG) has withdraw from the joint venture with Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos (ENH), intended to supply logistics and security for Cabo Delgado gas projects. Omar Mithá, ENH president, said Wednesday (18 Dec) that the majority Chinese shareholders had made the decision. ENH has not been informed officially, but "the partnership is finished, and it was their choice." (Bloomberg 17 Dec; Carta da Moçambique, 18 Dec)

Two years ago Prince signed a joint venture agreement with Ematum, the tuna fishing company set up as part of the \$2 bn secret debt, but which has never caught any fish. Prince said he would have the company fishing this year, but no more has been heard of the joint venture. Ematum also

administers the high speed patrol boats bought as part of the secret debt, and which have never been used (and are inappropriate for the Mozambique Channel).

Prince set up the private security company Blackwater which sent contract security workers to Iraq and Afghanistan, and he has been trying for years to gain a foothold in the Cabo Delgado gas sector. He has been involved fighting the insurgency in Cabo Delgado and had brought helicopters to Mozambique, in the expectation of being given a big role. But in August President Nyusi and Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a military agreement to send 200 mercenaries from the Russian Wagner Group with helicopters and drones. However they proved unable to fight effectively in tropical conditions. Ten Russians were killed and in late November Wagner pulled back to Nacala, for retraining and rethinking.

Meanwhile it has become public that Lucílio (Tchenguela) Matsinha, son of the revolutionary war veteran and former security minister Marianao Matsinha, is involved with Prince's FSG. In June this year he set up FSG Mozambique Segurança, 51% owned by Tchenguela and 49% by FSG Mozambique.

Other Cabo Delgado news

Claim gas companies 'want us to be left with nothing'

Oil and gas companies operating Mozambique's LNG projects tried to sabotage the Pemba Logistics Base because they wanted it to be run by a US, rather than a local, company, Omar Mithá, ENH chair, told a press conference on Friday 13 December. LNG operators wanted "companies from California to invest here and for us to be left with nothing," he said. (Zitamar 19 Dec)

In 2015 the government of Armando Guebuza decided that equipment for the multi-billion dollar gas liquification project in Palma should pass through a new Pemba Logistics Base, ENHILS, owned 51% by the state hydrocarbons company ENH, and 49% owned by Orlean Invest, which is owned by Italian/Nigerian billionaire Gabriele Volpi. Anadarko said that questionable dealings by Orlean in Italy and Nigeria meant that under US law it could not deal with Orlean. It also said that Orlean overcharged in Nigeria and Angola. (See also this newsletter 304, 25 Nov 2015)

The Pemba Logistics Base is now ready to receive ships and support gas megaprojects in the Rovuma Basin, Amad Valy, executive director of Portos de Cabo Delgado (PCD) said last month. PCD is a joint venture between ENH and CFM, the state rail and port company, that awarded the ENHILS the concession to manage the port in 2014 without a public tender. PCD has still not secured any contracts for the use of logistics base, but is in negotiations with Area 4 operators Exxon and ENI, Valy said.

Gemfields sells \$72 mn rubies

Gemfields announced that it sold \$71.5 mn in rubies in Singapore at the latest auction. The rubies come from its mine in Montepuez. Gemfields holds 75% of Mozambique Ruby Mining (MRM); the remaining 25% is with Mwiriti, controlled by Raimundo Pachinuapa, a member of the Frelimo Political Commission. His son Raime is director of corporate affairs. Chair of MRM is Samora Machel Jr.

Gemfields agreed on 29 January 2019 to pay \$8.3 mn to settle 273 claims of killings, severe beatings and house burnings related to the Montepuez ruby mines. Importantly, it has agreed an independent grievance panel which can award compensation for any future claims. Statements by the two parties are on bit.ly/Ruby-LD2 and bit.ly/Ruby-Gem (see this newsletter 436, 29 Jan)

The case was brought in the London High Court in April 2018 by human rights lawyers Leigh Day claiming "serious human rights abuses at or around Montepuez Ruby Mining's (MRM's)" mine.

(bit.ly/Ruby-LD) The 273 claims included 18 people said to have been killed by mine security forces and Mozambican police, including shooting, beating to death, and burying alive.

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

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Background reading

Special reports

Mozambique heroin transit trade

English - LSE - <http://bit.ly/Moz-heroin>

Portuguese - Pt - CIP - <http://bit.ly/Moz-heroina>

Gas for development?

Gas_for_development_or_just_for_money?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasEng

Gás_para_desenvolvimento_ou_apenas_dinheiro?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasPt

Social protection report - 2017 Mozambique - <http://bit.ly/MozSocPro>

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

2018 Constitution - <http://bit.ly/2KF588T>

Minimum wage and exchange rates 1996-2018 -- <http://bit.ly/MinWage18>

\$2bn secret debt - in English

Kroll - Full report on \$2bn debt - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-Moz-full>

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

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 newsletters are on <http://bit.ly/2H066Kg>

Eight books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <http://bit.ly/Hanlon-books>

Bangladesh confronts climate change (2016)

Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique (2014)

Há Mais Bicycletas – mas há desenvolvimento? (2008)

Moçambique e as grandes cheias de 2000 (2001)

Paz Sem Benefício: Como o FMI Bloqueia a Reconstrução (1997)

Peace Without Profit: How the IMF Blocks Rebuilding (1996)

Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991)

Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (1984)

Two more will be available shortly to download:

Apartheid's 2nd Front (1986)

Mozambique and the Great Flood of 2000

These are still available for sale:

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento (2014) (free in English)

Zimbabwe takes back its land (2013)

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, Portuguese:

Notícias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O País: www.opais.co.mz

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

Carlos Serra Diário de um sociologo: <http://oficinasociologia.blogspot.com>

Mozambique media websites, English:

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

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

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

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

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