

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

565 22 August 2021 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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\$2 bn secret debt trial starts Monday in Maputo

One of Mozambique's biggest trials begins Monday (23 Aug), of 19 people accused of involvement in the \$2.2 bn secret debt scandal. They include Ndambi Guebuza, the oldest son of former president Armando Guebuza; Gregorio Leao, the head of the Security and Intelligence Service (SISE) under Guebuza; Antonio do Rosario, the SISE officer who became chairperson of all three fraudulent companies; Guebuza's political adviser, Renato Matusse; and Guebuza's private secretary, Ines Moiane.

The trial will run at least until 6 October and will be broadcast live on Mozambican television. The trial is being held in a huge tent on the grounds of the Maputo top security prison.

The corrupt 2013 loans came from Credit Suisse and VTB banks. The prosecution has outlined the thread of bribes and links. Fixer Teofilo Nhangumele, contacted his old friend Bruno Langa, a SISE officer, to ask how to unblock matters; each received \$8.5 mn. Langa turned to his friend and business partner, Ndambi Guebuza, the oldest son of the then President, Armando Guebuza. Ndambi agreed, provided he received adequate "thanks". He took the project to his father, who gave the green light. The largest bribe was \$33 mn, paid to Ndambi Guebuza, the prosecution says.

The first two defendants, to be heard on Monday, are Nhangumele and Cipriano Mutota. The former director of the Studies and Projects Office of SISE, Mutota received the proposal from Nhangumele and also received bribes of \$980,000, the prosecution says.

Former president Armando Guebuza has been called as a witness on 6 October. The court rejected an attempt to call President Filipe Nyusi as a witness.

We are not going to provide full coverage of the trial.

Following the pattern of the daily flood reports, we will post daily press reports in English of the trial, on <https://bit.ly/Moz-secret-debt>. The AIM report today is a very good pre-trial summary.

The trial is being broadcast live on TV. For STV go to <https://play.stv.co.mz/> and down to the bottom of the home page and click **Assista aqui**. For TVM:

<http://online.tvm.co.mz/site/emdirecto/tvm1>

Zitamar compiles a [Hidden Debts Dossier](#). (Paywall)

Ex-Finance Minister Manuel Change will be sent back to Maputo, and not to the US, [reports the Daily Maverick](#) (21 Aug) Chang is charged in both the US and in Mozambique (not as part of the current case). Chang was arrested on a US extradition warrant in December 2018 in transit through Johannesburg's OR Tambo International Airport and has been held in jail since then. In order to stop him being sent to the US where they were afraid he would incriminate senior Frelimo figures, Mozambique also issued an extradition request. Chang has remained in jail in Johannesburg while the ANC leadership dithered, trying to decide if it wants to protect the reputation of Filipe Nyusi and other Frelimo leaders. Having just sent troops to Mozambique to support the government, it appears the ANC leadership also decided to return Chang.

[Cabo Delgado Comment](#)

First: do no harm

Part 2 of: Will rebuilding lay the foundations of the next war?

Rushing in to rebuild after a war and creating the conditions for the war to restart is not a new problem. Because so many civil wars restart, in part propelled by poorly thought out interventions, the UK government's Global Conflict Prevention Fund commissioned the UK Open University to work with the UK Land Warfare Centre to produce an MSc course "War, Intervention and Development" which was given 2005-2014. The course was aimed at NGO, diplomatic, and aid workers as well as military and was given for a decade, 2005-2014. Our textbook [Civil War, Civil Peace was so successful it is still in print](#) (sadly no e-book). And it is relevant to [building recaptured district capitals](#), as discussed in the previous issue of this newsletter.

We started with two slogans, one is the classic doctor's slogan **First, do no harm**. That is not easy, because, as the book and course stressed, every civil war is different. Aid workers arriving in Cabo Delgado cannot assume this war is like the previous ones they worked on. So we took a slogan from a 1994 UNDP war zone manual, **Don't just do something. Stand there!** The old slogan, "don't just stand there, do something!" is wrong because in order to do no harm, it is essential to stop, think and discuss the impact of what is being done.

On arrival, the traditional emergency aid worker hires the most skilled and most qualified people available, in order to get started quickly. But in many cases, hiring on merit, experience, or skills can exacerbate the grievances. This is true in many civil wars, including Cabo Delgado, because the grievance is precisely that one side in the war has monopolised education, training and jobs. In Cabo Delgado, hiring on merit, experience and skills means that most of those hired will be from Maputo, or, if from Cabo Delgado, will be Makonde. Precisely this happened when the gas companies said they would do local hiring, and the backlash triggered the war.

Throughout *Civil War, Civil Peace* we provide "intervention implications". One is:

Civil War, Civil Peace

Edited by Helen Yanacopoulos and Joseph Hanlon



The joint Rwandan-Mozambican force encountered 80 to 100 insurgents near the Mbau base "and battled them fiercely. The insurgents lost 11 fighters and lots of arms and ammunition before taking flight once again," *New Times* reports. As they fled, the insurgents cut huge trees and used them to block the main roads so as to delay the joint forces' advance.

New Times (18 Aug) also reports that [Rwanda expects to continue to be involved](#) in Cabo Delgado over the long term.

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To cite for academic purposes, treat as a blog or a newspaper. Normal citation format would be: "Mozambique News Reports & Clippings, number XXX", DATE, bit.ly/Mozamb, accessed XXX.

Important external links

\$2bn secret debt trial (Aug-Oct 2021) press reports <https://bit.ly/Moz-secret-debt>

Covid-19 daily updated data <https://www.facebook.com/miguel.de.brito1> and <https://covid19.ins.gov.mz/documentos-em-pdf/boletins-diarios/>

Daily flood and monthly dry season reports - <http://bit.ly/Moz-flood21>

Cyclone trackers, <https://www.cyclocane.com/> and <https://www.metoc.navy.mil/jtwc/jtwc.html>

Cabo Ligado weekly report on civil war <https://www.caboligado.com/>

Previous editions of this newsletter: <http://bit.ly/MozNews2021> and bit.ly/MozNews2020

Downloadable books: <http://bit.ly/Hanlon-books> Election data: <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>

My Mozambique archive: <http://bit.ly/Mozamb>

Cabo Delgado

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>

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

Gás_para_desenvolvimento_ou_apenas_dinheiro?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasPt

Background reading

Special reports

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

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

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

\$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

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

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>

Nine 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) is on <https://bit.ly/Chickens-Beer>
Há Mais Bicicletas – mas há desenvolvimento? (2008)
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)
Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991)
Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (1984)
Apartheid's 2nd Front (1986) <available shortly>

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)
Beggars Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa (1986)

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
O País: 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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