

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

589 13 March 2022 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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In this extra issue

+ **Cyclone Gombe hits Nampula**

+ **Government reshuffle, new Prime Minister**

+ **Police kill 2 demonstrators**

This Newsletter

This is an extra issue. We are not publishing in March and only irregularly in April and May. This is a one person operation done in the spare time of the editor. I will be travelling and also devoting more time to academic writing in coming months. I will continue to post the daily flood bulletin <https://bit.ly/Moz-Flood-2022> and debt trial news <https://bit.ly/Moz-Debt-Map-Trial>, but not as promptly. *jh*

Cyclone Gombe hits with major damage

Cyclone Gombe hit Nampula province Friday morning (11 March), with winds of 120 to 160 km/h and rain of 200 mm. The cyclone made landfall in Mongicual district, between Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche. It continued west into Malawi.

The heavy winds have caused extensive damage to buildings, with more than 3000 homes destroyed, and many trees are down. Of 23 districts in Nampula province, 16 have no electricity according to EDM, the state electricity company. At least 12 people are known dead, according to INGD, the disaster management institute. Many zones are still inaccessible.

Nampula districts most affected by the cyclone are Monapo, Nacala-Porto, Mussuril, Moma, Meconta, Ilha de Moçambique, Mogincual, and Liupo. The heavy rain is expected to bring flooding in Nampula and Zambézia provinces, particularly the rivers Licungo, Ligonha, Meluli and Monapo, warns the water authority ARA. At least one bridge is down in Zambézia.

Climate change is having an impact, and Cyclone Ana hit the same area in January killing 38 and destroying 12,000 houses

Prime minister sacked and others promoted - 2-3 March

Carlos Agostinho do Rosário was dismissed as Prime Minister and Adriano Maleiane was promoted from Minister of Economy and Finance to Prime Minister in a 2-3 March reshuffle. Both had been in post since being named to President Filipe's Nyusi's first government, on 17 January 2015.

This triggered two other promotions. Maleiane's seat is taken by Max Tonela (formerly Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy and before that 2015-17 Minister of Industry and Trade). He, in turn, is replaced by Carlos Zacarias (formerly chair of the National Petroleum Institute). Both are respected technocrats.

Joao Machatine was dismissed as Minister of Public Works, Housing and Water Resources. He is replaced by Carlos Mesquita (formerly Minister of Industry and Trade, and in Nyusi's first 2015-19 government Minister of Transport and Communications. Before that he was head of Cornelder de Mocambique, the company that runs the port of Beira). Mesquita in turn is replaced at Industry and Trade by Silvino Moreno (formerly chair of Ecobank-Mozambique)

Max Tonela was head of Mozambique's petroleum and gas industry. He was appointed Minister of Mineral Resources in 2017, and had been Minister of Industry and Trade between 2015 and 2017. He was director of economy and finance in the publicly owned electricity company, EDM, between 1997 and 2007, and from 2007 to 2015 he was a member of the board of Hidroelectrica de Cahora Bassa, the company that operates the Cahora Bassa dam on the Zambezi River.

Two other dismissals. Augusta Maita was dismissed as Minister of the Sea, Inland Waters and Fisheries. She had only been appointed in 2020, having previously been head of the National Disaster Management Institute (INGC). She is replaced by a promoted Lidia Cardoso (formerly Deputy Minister of Health).

Carlos Siliya is dismissed as Minister of Veterans' Affairs, with no replacement. The veteran of the national liberation struggle had only been named in 2020.

New Ministers are:

Prime Minister, Adriano Maleiane
Economy and Finance, Max Tonela
Public Works, Carlos Mesquita
Mineral Resources and Energy, Carlos Zacarias
Sea, Inland Waters and Fisheries, Lidia Cardoso
Industry and Trade, Silvino Moreno

Holding the purse strings. As in many other countries that had shock therapy and neoliberalism imposed in the 1990s, Mozambique has become a patronage country. President Nyusi and ex-President Guebuza are fighting a bitter battle to control Frelimo and choose the next President. The battle will be about who has the most patronage within the party. Max Tonela, Carlos Zacarias and Carlos Mesquita are all very close to Nyusi and control money; key construction contracts; and contracts, land and licences in the gas and minerals sector. Going up to the party Congress in September and the choice of Presidential candidate next year, their control of patronage should give Nyusi a major advantage. But the three have shown themselves good enough technicians to not allow seriously harmful contracts.

Rosário and Maleiane had been picked from relative obscurity by Nyusi 2015 as people without alliances to the Frelimo party factions. Rosário held various posts in the Joaquim Chissano government and then from 2002 served first as ambassador to India and then to Indonesia, his post when he was named prime minister.

At 72 years old Adriano Maleiane is the oldest member of the government. He was a highly respected governor of the Bank of Mozambique (Banco de Moçambique, BdM) in the critical period 1991 to 2006. He then moved into the private sector from which he was planning his retirement when Nyusi pulled him back into government in 2015. He was reluctant and is said to have wanted to quit when he found that the treasury was empty because of the secret debt scandal.

He has a history of trying to clean up other people's corruption and messes - not always successfully. As Finance Minister he had to deal with the secret debt crisis.

Going back 30 years, soon after his appointment, Maleiane managed the division of BdM. Since independence, BdM had been both the central bank and the main commercial bank. In 1992 he split off the commercial part into a new bank, Banco Comercial de Moçambique (BCM). But by the late 1980s corruption was already becoming a problem. Maleiane's priority was transforming BdM

into an effective and honest central bank and he moved the corrupt, incompetent and lazy staff over to BCM, which was subsequently caught in a scandal. <https://bit.ly/Moz-Golden-Goose>

He unsuccessfully fought the corrupt privatizations of BCM and BPD demanded by the World Bank and IMF - which said aid would be cut off if privatisations were not done - and then Maleiane had to try to clean up the resulting scandals. He named chief of banking supervision António Siba Siba Macuacua as head of the bankrupt Banco Austral on 3 April 2001, and Siba Siba started publishing lists of bad and illegal debts and was moving toward senior people. Siba Siba was assassinated and thrown down the staircase of the bank on 11 August 2001. No one was ever prosecuted.

Police kill two demonstrators

Police shot and killed two demonstrators and seriously injured a third in Corromana, Molumbo district, Zambézia, Tuesday 8 March, reported Zambézia Police Commander Aquilasse Manda. Corromana is on the border with Malawi and for decades people along the border have used both Malawian Kwacha and Mozambican Meticaís, and trade has moved freely across the border.

Local authorities announced a ban on the use of the Kwacha. The ban generated a local protest which included building a barricade across the road and, according to *Diário de Zambézia* (8 Mar), vandalising the house of the head of Corromana administrative post, Caldo Ernesto, and his personal car.

The local police post could not control the demonstration and called for help from border guards and Milange police.

Although absolutely pointless and impossible, local administrators on the border sometimes try to show their power by trying to ban cross border grain trade or use of the Kwacha. In 2018 authorities in Angónia, Tete, tried to ban the Kwacha, but no one took any notice.

Mozambican police have informally, and illegally, banned all demonstrations.

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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.

\$2bn secret debt trial: Daily press clippings in English on <https://bit.ly/Moz-Debt-Map-Trial> .

Important external links

Exchange rates 2006-21 & minimum wages 1996-2021 <https://bit.ly/Moz-Exch-wage-2021>

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 - <https://bit.ly/Moz-Flood-2022>

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: <https://bit.ly/MozNews2022> and <http://bit.ly/MozNews2021>

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

\$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>

Ten 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)
Civil War Civil Peace (2006): <https://bit.ly/Civil-War-Civil-Peace>
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)
Beggar 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).

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