

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

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This is a personal project by Dr Joseph Hanlon, with no outside funding.

Link error in the previous bulletin. These are correct:

"How the IMF and World Bank caused a resource curse and civil war in Mozambique"

<https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-209>

"World Bank questions its Mozambique 'success' - 'remarkable growth' and oligarchs have brought high inequality, poverty and corruption" <https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-208c>

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10-12 years in prison for 11 convicted in \$2 bn hidden debt scandal, including Guebuza son

Eleven of the 19 defendants in the \$2 bn hidden debts were today (7 Dec) convicted and sentenced to 10-12 years in jail by Judge Efigenio Baptista in the Maputo city court.

Sentenced to 12 years in prison were:

Ndambi Guebuza, son of former Mozambican President Armando Guebuza.

Gregório Leão, former director general of intelligence service SISE.

António Carlos do Rosário, former director of economic intelligence at SISE.

Bruno Langa, friend of Ndambi Guebuza.

Teófilo Nhangumele, project consultant.

Sentenced to 11 years in prison were:

Renato Matusse, former political advisor to President Guebuza.

Angela Buque Leão, wife of Gregorio Leão.

Fabião Mabunda, Leão family contractor

Maria Inês Moiane Dove, former secretary to President Guebuza.

Sergio Namburete, friend of Ines Moiane.

Sentenced to 10 years in prison was

Cipriano Mutota, former director of projects and studies of SISE. Sentence reduced by one year for confession and surrender of assets bought with the proceeds of crime.

Most of the group convicted have already served three years waiting for trial, which will be subtracted from their sentence. Some could be out in two to three years if their sentences are cut

in half for good behaviour. But most were convicted of money laundering and must serve at least 75% of their sentence, which means at least five more years in prison.

Baptista ordered the main conspirators Ndambi Guebuza, Gregorio Leao and Antonio Carlos do Rosario to pay \$2.9 bn, the cost to the state of the secret debt. Teofilo Nhangumele, Bruno Langa, Angela Leao, Fabio Mabunda, Renato Matusse, Ines Moiane and Sergio Namburete are to pay the Mozambican state all the money they had taken as bribes from Privinvest.

Baptista acquitted eight other accused. These were minor players in the scandal, who, he said, were used to launder money coming from Privinvest without knowledge of what was actually happening. They are Elias Moiane, nephew of Inês Moiane; Mbanda Henning, sister of Angela Leao; Khessaujee Pulchand, Naíma José and Simione Mahumane, workers of the exchange house Casa de Câmbios; Sidónio Siteo and Crimildo Manjate, contractors linked to Angela Leao; and Zulficar Ahmad, a real estate agent linked to Antonio Carlos do Rosario.

The judge complained that the sentences were too lenient, but that the 2019 revision of the penal code halved the relevant maximum sentences from 24 to 12 years.

Daily clippings in English of the trial and reading of the verdict, including details of the convictions, are on <https://bit.ly/Moz-Debt-Map-Trial>.

Judge links Armando Guebuza

Although not on trial, former president Armando Guebuza was directly linked to the scandal by Judge Efigenio Baptista. Yesterday (6 Dec) on the 6th day of reading the verdict, Baptista noted that Guebuza's son Ndambi was paid the largest bribe, \$33 mn, because he was regarded as the channel to his father.

The project for a coastal protection scheme, which was the cover for the loan, was initially in the hands of the Mozambican security service (SISE). For three months, Privinvest's attempts to sell the scheme to Mozambique stagnated. Then the promoter of the scheme, Nhangumele, persuaded Langa to contact his friend Ndambi, and everything changed. Baptista noted that, within three weeks of Ndambi speaking to his father, the Mozambican side was won over, and the Privinvest scheme was described as in Mozambique's national interest.

Religion & Cabo Delgado

3 missionaries arrested, accused of terrorism

Three Christian missionaries were arrested on 4 November and are still being held. They are accused of terrorism, apparently of planning to take supplies to the insurgents in Cabo Delgado. They are Ryan Koher, 32, a Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF) pilot, and two South Africans, 77-year-old W. J. du Plessis and 69-year-old Eric Dry.

They were arrested in Inhambane where du Plessis and Dry were preparing to load vitamins, over-the-counter medications, food preservative supplies and other goods Koher was to fly to church-run orphanages in Balama and Montepuez, Cabo Delgado. They say this handover has been done before and MAF has flown goods to the orphanages annually since 2014. But the war has only recently expanded into those two districts, so the flight may have attracted attention.

MAF was set up by Christian World War II pilots and is now the world's largest humanitarian air operator. Caught in the Cold War, Mozambique was subject of a disastrous war of destabilisation 1981-92. In 1984 Mozambique agreed to allow in dozens of NGOs and aid agencies, many of which tried to work independently of government. MAF came in 1985 and set up AirServ especially

for the new donors. In the 2000 Limpopo flood, AirServ had the largest non-military fleet, with 8 aircraft and 4 helicopters.

MAF began flying in the north in 1999, setting up Ambassador Aviation (AAL). In 2021, AAL evacuated over 800 people from Afungi following insurgent attacks on Palma. They ferried 24 tonnes of food, medicine, and relief supplies to the area, as well 29 aid workers, primarily from VAMOZ, and 32 medical workers, most from the Mozambican Ministry of Health. In addition, there were medical evacuation flights. (Zitamar 12 Nov & 5 Dec, *Christianity Today* 2 Dec, *Mozambique: Who calls the shots* p98, *Mozambique & the great flood of 2000* p46)

Arco Iris mixes evangelism with aid for displaced

Arco Iris, probably the largest evangelical Christian group in Cabo Delgado, released a new film in November showing how it mixes evangelism with support for internally displaced people. In the film "Nifento" they call it "distributing spiritual and physical food". As well as providing food and clothing, they hand out bibles in print and as audio books, in local languages, and hold prayer and religious song meetings. The film stresses the importance bringing the "gospel" and Jesus to displaced people. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yPdKJQgBP4k>

The 1990 constitution included the clause "All citizens shall have the freedom to practice or not to practice a religion". This opened the door to missionaries, and fundamentalist Islamic and Christian missionaries went to Cabo Delgado.

Islamic missionaries preached a return to the Quran and carried out good works including job creation. They are now accused of causing splits which fuelled the current war.

Arco Iris was established by US evangelists Rolland and Heidi Baker in Maputo in 1995. It moved to Cabo Delgado in 2002 because there were fewer missionaries there, and it has now become a global organisation. In Cabo Delgado it appeared to gain influential Frelimo patrons.

But it became controversial. An investigation by Estácio Valoi of Investigative Journalism Centre in 2019 found that Arco Iris had acquired land on the coast and farms and other businesses, and was bringing in tourists in the guise of missionaries who had paid large fees. Valoi accused Arco Iris of gaining "millions of dollar from illicit tourism, tax avoidance and evasion, [and] illegal business activities." <https://cijmoz.org/news/en/in-gods-name-to-tax-heaven-we-are-not-nurses-or-priests-we-are-here-for-tourism/>

Comment

Disquiet over mixing religion and aid

Going back to the colonial era, the Catholic Church had a formal concordat with the fascist state. But some Protestant missionaries (e.g. Swiss Mission) and even a few Catholic priests (e.g. White Fathers) backed the independence movement. So, historically, religion has been political in Mozambique.

In the current Cabo Delgado war, religion and fundamentalism are already playing a part. The religious divisions are currently within Islam. And those divisions point to differences in how to respond to poverty, inequality and the state. Fundamentalist preachers are sometimes blamed for the war.

But Islamic State (IS) is increasingly trying to portray this as a war against Christians - which, so far, it is not. Now Christian fundamentalists are evangelising war-displaced people, some of whom are Muslim, and portraying this in a YouTube film.

So it is not surprising that Christian evangelists and Muslim fundamentalists are sometimes being challenged. *Jh*

Other news

New investigation shows illegal precious wood trade to China continues

Four linked companies shipped 5,400 tonnes of illegal wood in China in 2019-21, and this is just a small part of the ongoing trade, an investigation by *Zitamar* (5 Dec) and the US investigation agency [C4ADS](#). Chinese import records show that one quarter of all of their shipments include a commodity code corresponding to “wood in the rough,” meaning unprocessed logs. Yet Mozambican forestry legislation “prohibits the export of wood in log or beam form of all native species.” The full investigation is on <https://zitamar.com/chinese-businessmen-sofala-export-thousands-tonnes-illegal-logs-data-shows/>

The four companies are owned by two Chinese nationals in Sofala, Jiye Zhuo and Zhizhen Hu, and they make 8.7% of all timber shipments from Mozambique to China. *Zitamar* notes that this isn't their "first brush with illegal timber harvesting activities. In September of 2021, Mozambique's National Agency for Environmental Quality Control (AQUA) and National Inspectorate of Economic Activities (INAE) jointly dismantled one of their timber yards for possession of illegally harvested native hardwoods in log form." A linked company was fined \$50,000. The same company had timber seized and auctioned off last year, "despite the best efforts of Gigante Panda Segurança (owned by Jiye Zhuo), whose agent shot at the tyres of a vehicle which had come to collect the wood."

The illegal timber trade has been repeatedly exposed by international agencies, but continues. The export of 1000s of containers of illegal logs can only continue with the protection of the Frelimo oligarchs, with the power to bypass customs procedures in exchange for large commissions.

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Elections

CIP Election Bulletin. Mozambique Elections Bulletin now published by Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP <https://www.cipmoz.org>; cip@cipmoz.org). To subscribe or unsubscribe: <https://bit.ly/MozBul-sub>
Past election newsletters are on <http://bit.ly/2H066Kg>

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>

Important external links

Minimum wage & exchange rate charts, tables 1996-2022 <https://bit.ly/MozMinWage2022>

TSU_Tabela-Salarial-Unica - law, decrees, points system (2 Mb) <https://bit.ly/Moz-TSU>

Daily debt trial press clippings in English: <https://bit.ly/Moz-Debt-Map-Trial>.

Trial hearings over, judgement started on 30 November 2022.

Covid-19 daily <https://covid19.ins.gov.mz/documentos-em-pdf/boletins-diarios/>

Daily flood and monthly dry season reports - <https://bit.ly/Moz-Flood-2023>

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

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

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

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>
Cabo-Delgado-Free-for-all. 20 Apr 2022. <https://bit.ly/Moz-593>

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>

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) <https://bit.ly/Peace-wo-Profit>
Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991) <https://bit.ly/Shots-Moz>
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).

To subscribe to all CDD publications: <http://eepurl.com/qO9l6v> (English or Portuguese).

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