

MOZAMBIQUE 173

News reports & clippings

9 December 2010

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Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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US ambassador accused President and ministers of corruption

Four cables released by Wikileaks show that Todd Chapman, United States Charge d'Affaires (acting ambassador) in Maputo (until he was sent to Afghanistan in May), made a wide range of serious accusations against prominent Mozambican figures.

These include undocumented claims that:

- + President Armando Guebuza received a personal "commission of between \$35 and \$50 million" as part of the purchase of the Cahora Bassa dam from Portugal.
- + "Domingos Tivane, the Director of Customs, is directly involved in facilitating drug shipments. Tivane has amassed a personal fortune in excess of a million dollars, to include numerous investments around Mozambique".
- + Former Prime Minister Luisa Diogo "was heavily involved in taking bribes for Frelimo, of which she kept a percentage."
- + Planning and Development Minister Aiuba Cuereneia personally protects the business interests of Ahmed Gassan (owner of Home Center) who Todd accused of illegal imports.

The four cables were sent by Chapman in July and November 2009 and January 2010.

The cables deal in part with drug trading, and notably accusations of the involvement of Mohamed Bashir Suleman (MBS), who was on 1 June this year labelled a "drug kingpin" by the US government. (See *News reports and clippings 164*) Chapman notes the "close relationship" between MBS and both Guebuza and former president Joaquim Chissano. Several other businessmen are also named in the cables as having drug links. And Chapman says that "the main drug organizations are rumored to support extremist Islamist elements in Mozambique".

Chapman was particularly concerned about Celso Correia, head on Insitec, which he calls "a Guebuza front company". Chapman says that the ministries of interior and finance "back-pedaled on US efforts to engage and assist in narcotrafficking and money laundering". And he links this to the appointment of Correia's company to take over the management of Nacala port which is "infamous for allowing the flow of drug transhipments from southwest Asia."

COMMENT: Chapman gained a Masters degree in Strategic Intelligence in 2000 from the US National Defense Intelligence College, but his use of sources is sometimes loose. In a 1 July

2009 cable he cites an article by me (“Long time commentator on Mozambique Joseph Hanlon”) as being from May 2009, when it was actually a redistributed article first published by me in *Metical* in 2001. He also twice says that Mozambique is the “second largest drug transit country in Africa, after Guinea-Bissau”, but his source for that is an article in *Zambeze*, a Mozambican weekly not always noted for its statistical accuracy. Chapman also says that Guebuza is the “major shareholder” of Insitec, which we think is not true.

One thing that Wikileaks shows is how embassy cables are a jumble of accurate information and wrong statements and ill-informed opinion.

Mozambique is an important transshipment point for heroin, which comes from Pakistan and Afghanistan and is then sent on to Europe. The traffic is well regulated by senior figures in Frelimo, which receives significant funding from the trade. This has been widely known by at least US and British diplomats for a decade, and I published my article in 2001. But it does appear that Chapman was surprised and may have been the first ambassador to make an issue of it.

jh

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Wikileaks: To look at cables from the US embassy in Maputo, the simplest thing is to open one cable, such as <http://wikileaks.as50620.net/cable/2010/01/10MAPUTO80.html> then on the upper right under origin, just click on “Embassy Maputo” and it will give the list of available cables. There are currently four, on drugs and corruption.

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Two working papers on the web

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LSE Crisis States Research Centre Working Paper No. 74 (series 2)

Benedito Cunguara and Joseph Hanlon, June 2010 t

<http://www.crisisstates.com/download/wp/wpSeries2/WP74.2.pdf>

Tambem em Portugues:

<http://www.crisisstates.com/download/wp/wpSeries2/WP74.2portuguese.pdf>

Mozambique's Elite – Finding its Way in a Globalized World and Returning to Old Development Models

Joseph Hanlon and Marcelo Mosse September 2010

WP/105 UNU-WIDER: The Role of Elites in Economic Development project

http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/2010/en_GB/wp2010-105/

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Also on the web: Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on tinyurl.com/mozamb

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NOTE OF EXPLANATION:

This 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

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Mozambique media websites:

Noticias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O Pais: www.opais.co.mz

Savana: www.savana.co.mz

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