

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

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Renamo MP killed at Satunjira

A senior Renamo member of parliament was killed as a result of the attack Monday on Alfonso Dhlakama's base at Satunjira, Arnaldo Chalaua, Renamo's parliamentary press spokesperson, told the Portuguese press agency LUSA on Friday.

Armindo Milaco was a member of the parliamentary administrative committee and was national head of mobilisation for the party.

Defence Minister Filipe Nyusi, told the press Wednesday (23 Oct) at Satunjira that there had been no bloodshed in the taking of Satunjira and media saw no suggestion of injuries.

It appears that after some initial shelling, the army allowed time for Renamo to leave the base, and when the army arrived the base was empty. The whereabouts of Dhlakama is not officially known, although he has been in communication with the media by mobile telephone.

Chalaua give no further details, and said only that he had learned on Friday that Milaco had died of injuries received in the raid. CanalMoz reports that the head of the Renamo parliamentary bench, Maria Angelina Enoque, MP, said Saturday that Milaco was in Satunjira to take part in the commemorations of the anniversary of the death of André Matsangaisse, Renamo's first commander. Milaco was hit in the initial shelling, and died of his injuries, she said.

Renamo members of parliament have not withdrawn from parliament and continue to participate in the debates and voting.

A good map of the Satungira area published in O Pais Thursday. It is on

Maps and a timeline are included at the end of this newsletter.

1 dead in new attacks on north-south N1 road

A minibus going from Machanga north toward Muxungué was attacked Saturday morning at 7 am, apparently by Renamo. One person died and 10 were injured, including two children.

The attack occurred at the Rio Ripembe bridge, 60 km north of the Rio Save, near where attacks took place in June. The bus was not travelling in the normal military convoy.

A witness told @Verdade that 15 armed men were involved. The minibus (*chapa*) was then burned. Radio Moçambique and RTP report that two other civilian vehicles were also attacked, although it is not clear if it was the same incident.

5 kidnapping in Maputo in one week – & Mia Couto speaks out

Five kidnappings last week plus increasing number of threats are causing fear in Maputo. AIM and the independent daily “O Pais” report that:

- on Monday a businessman was abducted in Olof Palme Avenue, in the heart of the city.
- on Tuesday, a woman of Asian origin was seized at the entrance to the Maputo Portuguese School, where she had just dropped her four year old son.
- on Wednesday, at about 20.00, a boy attending 12th grade at the Portuguese School was kidnapped in front of his house in the central neighbourhood of Coop. He was with his father, a Muslim businessman who owns a bottle store.
- on Thursday a woman of Asian origin was abducted at about 15.00 in the neighbourhood of Malanga. The wife of a businessman who owns an ice-making business, she was seized outside her husband’s factory by five men, armed with AK-47 assault rifles. According to an eye-witness, “the victim was in the back seat of her car, when they arrived and fired a shot into the air, to intimidate her. But she refused to leave the car”. The gang then fired another warning shot, broke the car window, and dragged the woman out by force.
- An hour later, another woman, also the wife of a businessman, was kidnapped in the centre of the city, close to the well known “Cruz Azul” private clinic. Again the criminals were armed with AK-47s .

The kidnapping wave is also being used for other threats. People are telephoned and told they are on a kidnapping list and must pay to be taken off the list. And some are paying.

Author Mia Couto used his speech an STV prize ceremony Friday night to reveal that he had been subject to three days of death threats as part of an extortion attempt, and that many others have been as well.

"These crimes reinforce a sense of helplessness and lack of protection that we never had in the last twenty years of our history," he continued. "These kidnappings are surrounding us as if they were another civil war, a war that creates as much instability as a any other military action, any terrorist action."

"We cannot forget that our collective fate is decided today especially in the centre of the country - that border that separates dialog and warmongering. And we all want to defend that which is the

greatest gain after independence: Peace."

The award ceremony was for the "Best of Mozambique", but Mia Couto went on to say: "The best of Mozambique are working people who every day go through the city transported in vehicles under conditions that are an offense to life and dignity. The best of Mozambique are the peasants hastily packing their belongings to flee the bullets. The best of Mozambique are the ones who, despite not having money, pay bribes to avoid being bothered by the agents of law and order whose sole authority is born of arrogance. The best of Mozambique are the ones who build the Mozambican nation anonymously without taking advantage of being part of a party or a family, or having a uniform."

And he concludes by saying: "In parallel with this award that honours the best of Mozambique there is another reward, invisible but permanent, which rewards the worst of Mozambique. Every day, the worst of Mozambique is rewarded by impunity, complicity and silence."

The full text, in Portuguese, is below and on Facebook.

Portuguese coach expelled for public comment

Diamantino Miranda, coach of the Costa do Sol football club, was given 48 hours to leave the country on 11 October. The government threw him out after remarks to journalists that "Everybody here is a thief. You're all a bunch of thieves. You and other reporters can be bought with a bowl of soup. This country is not serious". Miranda later claimed that he did not know his remarks had been taped.

"The government reiterates that it does not allow Mozambicans to undergo such humiliation", said Labour Minister Helena Taipo on 23 October. "We have witnessed a growing abuse of Mozambican hospitality by some foreign citizens admitted for work", referring to "insults and racism" as well as crimes.

Personal comments about perceptions:

1) Fear: Thursday night in Maputo there was a power cut and also fireworks at a party. In the dark and with noises that might be gunfire and flashes, the result was a wave of fear - was Renamo attacking the capital? Memories of the 1981-92 war are fresh enough that the fight with Renamo is creating perhaps disproportionate worries about a return to war. In that sense, Dhlakama has had a huge success - a few attacks have turned Renamo back into major players.

The political impact of this should not be underestimated. Mia Couto's speech pulled together many of the local concerns - attacks, kidnappings, corruption and greed. This feeling is probably more extreme in Maputo, where ostentatious wealth, big cars, and expensive houses create a growing consciousness about the widening gap between rich and poor, and make better off people targets of kidnapping and extortion.

There is still a sense that money is at the root of the conflict with Renamo. And there is a feeling that even though it is Renamo that is shooting innocent citizens on the road, that the Frelimo elite could afford to buy off Renamo, as it did in 1992-94. Failure to do so is simply greed.

Renamo won't win any votes by its actions, but it does create fear, and that perception works against Frelimo. More people are asking: Why not give them enough to comfortably retire?

jh

2) Investors: O Pais (25 Oct) points out that many of the big mining and gas companies involved in Mozambique have seen falls in the value of their shares on major stock exchanges, following the growing instability in the centre of the country. Kidnappings are adding to the perception of insecurity.

Big foreign investors work in South Africa which has much higher levels of violence, and have dealt with kidnapping problems in Brazil. But a third element is also stirring insecurity – the very public expulsion of the Costa do Sol coach for comments on corruption. Of course, the main reason that Mozambique has attracted investment is that it has gas and minerals, and it does not matter if the country is investor friendly. But at another level, Mozambique attracted investment because it is a nice place to work and live, with a proud tradition of freedom of speech. If foreign workers are forced to always look over their shoulders - to ensure they don't say the wrong thing or don't get kidnapped, it changes the relationship in subtle ways. I have been struck by the people contacting me with rumours and claims of foreign workers thrown out for saying the "wrong" thing. The coach's expulsion was very public and I have no idea if other stories are true. But it is a mark of further discontent.

On the other hand, racism is a real problem. I have seen several big investment projects founder on racism - on a belief that white Europeans could do things that Mozambicans were not capable of doing - and millions of dollars have been lost. Companies and bosses that refuse to listen to Mozambicans and abuse them are, indeed, a real problem. Investors would be wise to worry about their own racism if they expect to succeed in Mozambique and not lose money through poor attitudes.

However, telling journalists they can be bought for a bowl of soup may be unfair and unwise, but is it worth expulsion rather than a public rebuke?

It is essential for Mozambicans to take control of their own economy - a subject of my next book. But if Mozambique wants to keep foreign investment flowing, it needs to worry not just about an investment climate, but also about maintaining a valuable intangible perception that you do not have to look over your shoulder for kidnappers, Renamo, or people who don't like what you say. *jh*

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Renamo Timeline

During the 2009 election campaign, Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama moved from Maputo to Nampula.

Late 2011. Dhlakama called on supporters and demobilised soldiers to assemble at his in Nampula house for planned anti-government demonstrations which never occurred, and after several months those camping in the house in poor conditions became disgruntled.

8 March 2012. Shoot-out between riot police and restless Renamo supporters. One police and one Renamo member killed.

October 2012: Dhlakama leaves Nampula and, perhaps under pressure from his own military, moves to a former guerrilla base at Satunjira, just north of the Gorongosa mountain.

29 March 2013. "There will not be elections. Renamo will not allow elections. Renamo will not accept any Mozambican moves to prepare the electoral process," Renamo Secretary-General Manuel Bissopo.

3 April 2013. Riot police (Força de Intervenção Rápida, FIR) raid on Renamo party headquarters in Muxúnguè and in Gondola, Manica province. There were large but apparently legal gatherings at both places, including 200-250 men in Muxunguè. Renamo says that the gatherings were to mobilise against elections.

4 April 2013. Renamo attacked Muxungué police station, killing four members of the riot police (FIR) and injuring at least nine; one Renamo attacker was also killed.

5 April 2013. Renamo attacked traffic on the main north-south N1 road about 30 km south of Muxungué, killing at least two people. This is an area of the N1 in which there were repeated attacks by Renamo on road traffic during the 1980-92 war,

24 May 2013. In Vanduzi, Gorongosa district near Dhlakama's headquarters, riot police and Renamo forces shot at each other. Some members of riot police injured .

June 2013. Government introduces military convoys along a 100 km stretch of road between the River Save and Muxungué. There were several further attacks, but none serious.

17 June 2013. Renamo attacks Mozambican military post and arms depot at Savane, Sofala. Five government soldiers killed and arms captured.

21 & 24 June 2013. 2 people killed in Renamo attacks on N1 near Rio Ripembe bridge south of Muxungué.

26 June 2013. Graça Chongo named head of general staff of the military (Chefe do Estado-Maior General das Forças de Defesa de Moçambique, FADM).

6 July 2013. 3 government soldiers dressed as Renamo attack traffic, stealing money and telephones. In a separate incident, army attack on empty Renamo base near Muxungué.

9 July 2013. Soldiers block roads near Satunjira, blocking food for base; later withdraw.

August 2013. No incidents.

12 October 2013. Renamo attack on a police post at Samacueza railway station, Muanza district, Sofala, not far from the Savane arms dump raided by Renamo in June.

16-19 October 2013. Riot police and army encircle the Satunjira base and cut off access. At least 3 contacts between Renamo presidential guard and army and riot police; at least 2 Renamo dead. Corresponds to ceremonies in Satunjira marking the death, on 17 October 1979 in Gorongosa, of the first Renamo commander, Andre Matsangaissa. Some arrive but cannot leave, others blocked from arriving at Saturnjira.

17 October 2013. Dhlakama said that he had ordered that there should be no more attacks on the N1 road, and that no Renamo soldier would defy his order.

21 October 2013. Satunjira base raided by army and riot police. Dhlakama, Bissopo and others flee. Renamo says Armindo Milaco killed.

22 October 2013. Renamo attack and occupation of Maringué, Renamo main base during 1982-92 war. Apparently local people fled after threat of attack and Renamo occupied, then Renamo fled after threat of government attack, but reports later in the week that both Renamo and government were in the small town.

24 October 2013. Dhlakama has lost control of his former guerrillas, said parliamentary spokesman Arnaldo Chalaua, interviewed by @Verdade. Previously they were controlled by Dhlakama, but now no one knows where either the President or the soldiers are, and no one is in command, creating more likelihood of instability.

26 October 2013. N1 attacked; 1 dead and 10 injured.



Above is a good map of the Satungira area published in O Pais Thursday. It is on <http://www.opais.co.mz/index.php/politica/63-politica/27579-onde-esta-dhlakama-.html>

Maringue is about 25 km north of Piro on the O Pais map. Gorongosa town is at the road junction at the bottom of the O Pais map.

The map on the next page shows the locations of the recent events. The dotted line on both maps is the Manica-Sofala border.

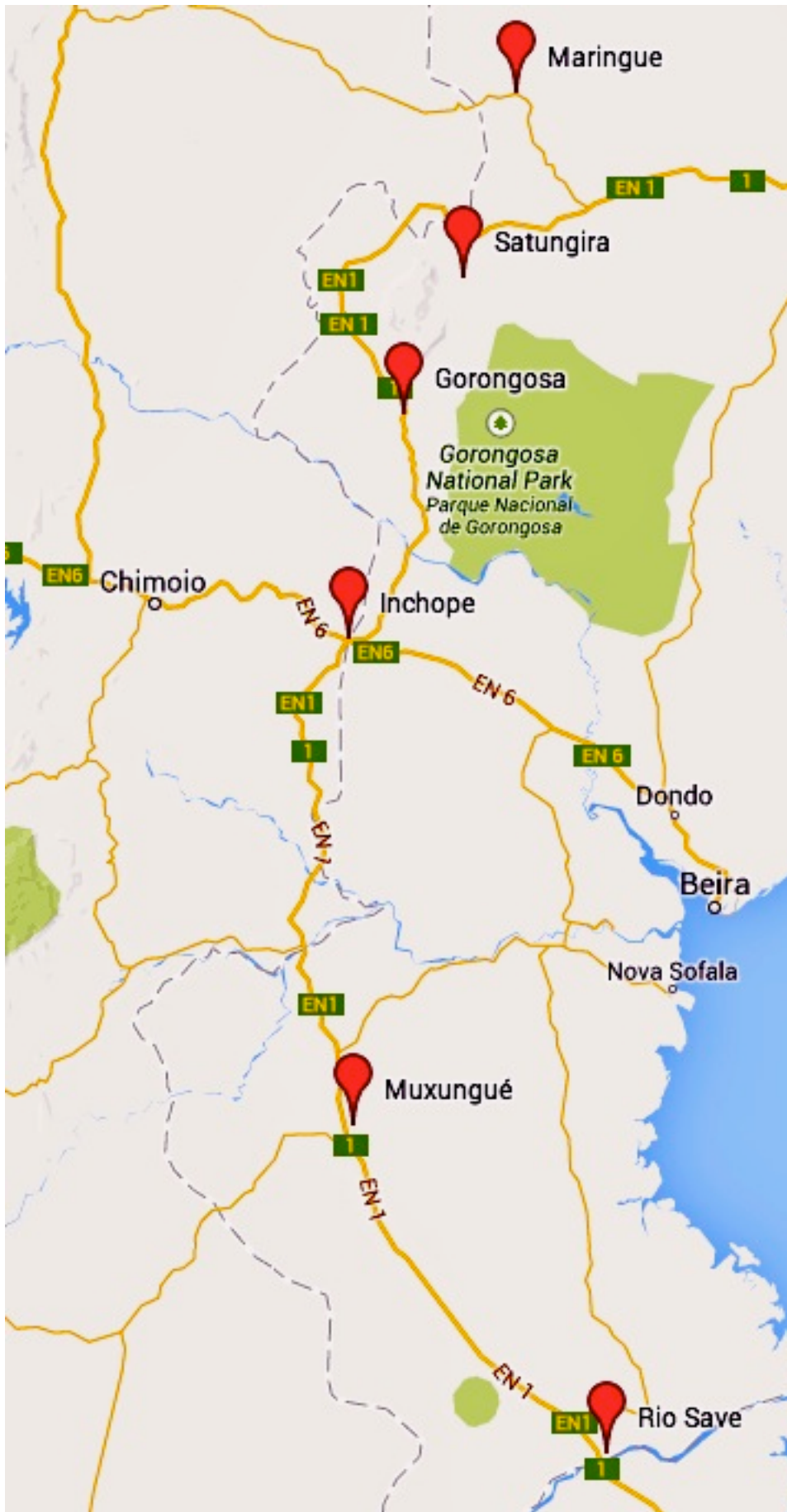
Road distances are approximately:

Maringué-Gorongosa 130km

Gorongosa-Inchope (Beira Chimoio road) 75 km on N1

Inchope-Muxange 140 km on N1

Muxangé-Rio Save 100 km (zone of military convoys on N1)



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Intervenção de Mia Couto na Gala da STV para a atribuição do galardão do “Melhor de Moçambique”

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Mia-Couto/298257536887970>

REPUBLICANDO

Discurso completo, no qual o escritor Mia Couto fala acerca da atual situação política de Moçambique, bem como da insegurança generalizada reinante no país.

Intervenção na Gala da STV para a atribuição do galardão do “Melhor de Moçambique”

Pensei bastante se estaria ou não presente nesta cerimónia. A razão para essa dúvida era a seguinte: há três dias a minha família foi alvo de várias e insistentes ameaças de morte. Essas ameaças persistiram e trouxeram para toda a nossa família um clima de medo e insegurança. A intenção foi-se revelando clara, depois de muitos telefonemas anónimos: a extorsão de dinheiro. A mesma criminosa ameaça, soubemos depois, já bateu à porta de muitos cidadãos de Maputo.

Poderíamos pensar que essas intimidações se reproduzem a tal escala que acabam por se desacreditar. Mas não é possível desvalorizar este fenómeno. Porque ele sucede num momento em que, na capital do país, pessoas são raptadas a um ritmo que não pára de crescer. Esses crimes reforçam um sentimento de desamparo e desprotecção como nunca tivemos nos últimos vinte anos da nossa história.

Esses que são raptados não são os outros, são moçambicanos como qualquer outro cidadão. De cada vez que um moçambicano é raptado, é Moçambique inteiro que é raptado. E de todas as vezes, há uma parte da nossa casa que deixa de ser nossa e vai ficando nas mãos do crime. Neste confronto com forças sem rosto nem nome, todos perdemos confiança em nós mesmos, e Moçambique perde a credibilidade dos outros.

Esses sequestros estão nos cercando por dentro como se houvesse uma outra guerra civil, uma guerra que cria tanta instabilidade como uma qualquer outra acção militar, qualquer outra acção terrorista.

Este é um fenómeno que atinge uma camada socialmente diferenciada do nosso país. Mas o mesmo sentimento de medo percorre hoje, sem excepção, todos os habitantes de Maputo, pobres e ricos, homens e mulheres, velhos e crianças que são vítimas quotidianas de crimes e assaltos.

Eu falo disto, aqui e agora, porque uma cerimónia destas nos poderia desviar do que é vital na nossa nação. Não podemos esquecer que o nosso destino colectivo se decide hoje sobretudo no centro do País, nessa fronteira que separa o diálogo do belicismo. E todos nós queremos defender essa que é a conquista maior depois da independência nacional: a Paz, a Paz em todo o país, a Paz no lar de cada moçambicano.

Se invoquei a situação que se vive hoje em Maputo é porque outras guerras, mais subtis e silenciosas, podem estar a agredir Moçambique e a roubar-nos a estabilidade e que tanto nos custou conquistar.

Caros amigos

Estamos celebrando nesta Gala algo que, certamente, possui a intenção positiva de valorizar o nosso país. Mas para usufruirmos o que aqui está a ser exaltado, as melhores praias, os melhores destinos turísticos, precisamos de saber o ver o que nos cerca. Na realidade, e em rigor, o melhor de Moçambique não pode ser seleccionado em concurso. O melhor de Moçambique são os moçambicanos de todas etnias, todas as raças, todas as opções políticas e religiosas. O melhor

de Moçambique é a gente trabalhadora anónima que, todos os dias, atravessa a cidade em viaturas transportados em condições que são uma ofensa à vida e à dignidade humanas.

O melhor de Moçambique são os camponeses que embalam à pressa os seus haveres para fugirem das balas. O melhor de Moçambique são os que, mesmo não tendo dinheiro, pagam subornos para não serem incomodados por agentes da ordem cuja única autoridade nasce da arrogância.

O melhor de Moçambique são os que anonimamente constroem a nação moçambicana sem tirar vantagem de serem de um partido, de uma família, de uma farda.

Os melhores de Moçambique não precisam sequer que os outros digam que são os melhores. Basta-lhe serem moçambicanos, inteiros e íntegros, basta-lhes não sujarem a sua honra com a pressa de se tornarem ricos e poderosos.

Os melhores de Moçambique não precisam de grandes discursos para acreditarem numa pátria onde se possa viver sem medo, sem guerra, sem mentira e sem ódio. Precisam, sim, de acções claras que eliminem o crime e a corrupção. Porque a par deste galardão que distingue o melhor de Moçambique há um outro galardão, invisível mas permanente, que premeia o pior de Moçambique. Todos os dias, o pior de Moçambique é premiado pela impunidade, pela cumplicidade e pelo silêncio.

Caros amigos,

Disse, no início, que hesitei em estar presente nesta gala. Mas pensei que me competia, junto com todos vocês, a obrigação de construir um evento que fosse para além das luzes e das mediáticas aparências. Nós queremos certamente que esta festa tenha uma intenção e produza uma diferença. E esta celebração só terá sentido se ela for um marco na luta pela afirmação de valores morais e princípios colectivos. Para que a nossa vida seja nossa e não do medo, para que as nossas cidades sejam nossas e não dos ladrões, para que no nosso campo se cultive comida e não a guerra, para que a riqueza do país sirva o país inteiro.

MIA COUTO

25-10-2013

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The new book

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by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publishers

https://www.riener.com/title/Zimbabwe_Takes_Back_Its_Land

<http://www.jacana.co.za/book-categories/current-affairs-a-history/zimbabwe-takes-back-its-land-detail>

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by Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme

Most of this book can now be **read on the web**

tinyurl.com/justgivemoney

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Also on the web: Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on
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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

Macauhub English: www.macauhub.com.mo/en/

Savana: www.savana.co.mz

Canal de Moçambique: www.canalmoz.co.mz

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

Carlos Serra Diário de um sociólogo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

Good daily newsletters:

English: Mozambique Investor. Send e-mail to joaquim.fale@clubofmozambique.com

Portuguese: Mozambique Hoje. Send e-mail to moçambiquehoje@clubofmozambique.com

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