

# **MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings**

**201 21 September 2012** Editor: Joseph Hanlon ( [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk) )

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## **Frelimo 10<sup>th</sup> party congress in Pemba 23-28 September**

Frelimo opens its 10<sup>th</sup> party congress Sunday in Pemba, 50 years after its first congress in Dar es Salaam in September 1962. 4000 people are expected – delegates, invitees and media; a new Congress centre has been built and all the hotel rooms in Pemba are booked by Frelimo.

The most important task of the Congress is to elect 64 members of the Central Committee; 116 members have already been elected at provincial level. The Congress will also elect the President of the party; controversially, Armando Guebuza is the only candidate proposed.

The first meeting of Central Committee will be held in Pemba immediately after the congress, and it will elect the Political Commission, which is the most powerful body in the party. That meeting of the Central Committee also elects the Secretary-General (presently Filipe Paunde) and secretary of the Verification Committee (now Eduardo Mulémbwe). Those two plus the party president are automatically members of the Political Commission. Frelimo rules only say that the Political Commission must have an odd number of members between 15 and 21.

The Congress does not select the Frelimo presidential candidate for the 2014 election; this will be done by the Central Committee next year. The shape of the Central Committee and of the Political Commission will give some indications of the choice of the next presidential candidate. Although not required, in practice the presidential candidate will need to be an elected member of the Political Commission.

Frelimo has been obsessive about unity since splits led to the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in 1969. Debates are held inside the party and disagreements kept largely hidden. Few people have ever been expelled from the party; indeed, Frelimo actively tries to co-opt potential opposition leaders, which is one reason the opposition in Mozambique has always been so weak. And the unity is remarkable; in 2002 the Central Committee rejected a bid by Joaquim Chissano to stand again, choosing instead Armando Guebuza. Far from quitting Frelimo, Chissano campaigned for Guebuza (despite a personal dislike) and has remained active in the party.

Internally, however, Frelimo is divided in many directions. As well as Chissano and Guebuza factions, there are regional and language divisions, a split between younger and older members of the party, and divisions between those who see still see the party as promoting Mozambican development and those who want to use the party for their own advancement and enrichment. Thus votes are not predictable, because individuals are each part of several groups.

Two years ago Guebuza made moves to promote a change in the constitution to allow him to stand for a third term, but this was rejected by the party itself. Younger people said it was their turn, and it was time for the liberation war generation to retire.

Since then there has been substantial manoeuvring by Guebuza and his allies to keep power. The most important has been the decision of the party leadership to keep Guebuza as president of the party – meaning that for the first time, the President of the country will not be president of the party. Guebuza will want a President that he can control, and it is said that his candidate is Prime Minister Aires Aly.

The most obvious alternative candidate is former prime minister Luisa Diogo, who is popular with women in the party and would stand up to Guebuza. Agriculture Minister Jose Pacheco is also a possibility. Both are on the present Political Commission and would need to be re-elected by large votes if they are to be seen as serious possibilities.

Guebuza will want to delay that selection of a candidate as long as possible, so as not to be a lame duck President. But if those opposed to Aires Aly think they have enough votes, they will try to have the selection sooner rather than later.

In most electoral democracies, the party maintains substantial power over its members who have been elected to political office – who were elected on a party slate to fulfil a party programme. Frelimo rules give substantial power to the Political Commission, even over the choice of government. In 2004 it took two days for Guebuza to negotiate with the Political Commission over the selection of the Council of Ministers, and several of his initial choices were rejected. O Pais (28 August 2012) quotes party Secretary-General Paunde to say: "The party directs the government. ... The President receives instructions from the Political Commission." (The party statutes are on the Frelimo website: <http://www.frelimo.org.mz>)

Thus Guebuza will remain in a powerful position, and if the national Presidential candidate is not a close ally of Guebuza, there could be substantial tension and conflict.

## **Land conflicts and resettlement**

Competition for land and the need to move people for mines, roads and development projects are causing increasing conflicts. These articles give some of the recent events.

### **Violence in Nicoadala**

Four people were injured and equipment destroyed when local people attacked a survey team in Namuta, Nicoadala, Zambezia on 12 September, Radio Moçambique (RM) reported on 14 September. The team was setting out a 1000 hectare farm which had been given to a Chinese citizen for mechanised rice production. But the community said they were already farming in the area.

RM quotes Nicoadala district administrator Costa Chirembwe to say that there had been a proper community consultation involving all the peasants before the land was allocated. But the community says that the consultation only involved community leaders and excluded the 280 people who have farms on the land.

### **Cancelling concessions**

In the first half of the year, concessions of only 22 plots with only 557 hectares of land were cancelled because they were not being used, the Ministry of Agriculture admitted at the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Land Meeting in Inhambane on 13 September. (Noticias, 14 September 2012)

The Ministry reported it inspected 511 plots with 172,000 ha. Of that, 63,000 ha (36%) was being

well used, 38,000 ha (22%) was being partially used, and 71,000 ha (42%) was underused. Under the land law, when a person applies for land they must submit a detailed proposal, and the initial title (DUAT) is only provisional. The plan must be largely carried out in the first two years if the DUAT is to be made permanent. If not, the land area is supposed to be reduced or the concession cancelled.

## **"We were wrong to believe Vale'**

When 500 families blocked the road and railway line in Tete on 10 January 2012 to protest against the failure of Vale to carry out a promised resettlement package when they were moved to Cateme to make way for a new coal mine in Moatize, riot police were called to break up the demonstration, but the people were promised the problems would be solved. (New reports & clippings 193)

Minerals Minister Esperança Bias took the remarkable decision to have a ministry coordinating council meeting in Cateme in August, with ministry staff staying with families in the resettlement houses. The press came too, and there were articles in Domingo (12 August 2012) and O Pais (17 September 2012). And it was clear that the problems which caused the demonstration in January had not been solved.

The new houses had been built without foundations, so they settled and the walls cracked. The cracks were filled, but soon opened up again. And there are still problems with water, rainwater drains, roads, lighting, etc.

Moatize district administrator Manuel Guimaraes said "this has been a lesson to me. We were wrong to trust Vale. ... Vale promised things, but did not keep their promises."

The Domingo journalist, Jorge Rungo, discovered other issues, too. Cateme is 40 km from the centre of Moatize; the soil is poor, rain irregular, and it is too far to go to Moatize to sell their produce. The former farmers have been resettled into a village, but what is there to do? Rungo discovered that nothing much happens in Cateme until the last week of the month, when those with jobs are paid. Then everyone drinks for a week.

Resettlement is not just about houses.

### **Settlement briefs**

+ Nampula municipal council demolished 200 houses in the Murrapaniua neighbourhood, saying that the houses had been built illegally. The families claim they were not warned and have been left homeless. (Noticias 17 September 2012)

+ Maputo Municipal Assembly said it would watch closely the compensation or resettlement of the more than 800 families that will have to be moved for the construction of the Maputo-KaTembe bridge and road, in order to avoid the "fuss" ("barulho") that normally accompanies such processes. In particular, the Assembly warned the city administration that it would be monitoring their actions.

## **Maputo roads and bridge**

Two major road projects are starting in Maputo this month (September). Already under way is the 74 km Maputo ring road. This follows a colonial plan and uses land which has largely been left vacant because of the road plans, although some people and businesses will have to be moved. There is a 53 km outer ring road which will be a dual carriageway that allows north-south traffic to bypass Maputo and Matola, and also serve the rapidly expanding outer suburbs. The remainder is converting the Marginal (coast road) between Clube Naval and Costa do Sol to dual carriageway and then extending the road to Marracuene.

The project will cost \$300 million and should be completed by 2014. The contract was won by the China Road and Bridge Corporation-Mozambique. Mozambican workers are complaining that they

are not being given the protective working clothes given to Chinese workers, and are obliged to work more than 8 hours a day without overtime pay.

The other project is a bridge over the harbour between Maputo and KaTembe and a road south through Belavista and Ponta D'ouro to the South African border. The \$725 million project is funded 5% by the Mozambique government and the rest by the China Exim Bank, 10% as a concessional credit and the remaining 85% at 4% interest for 15 years, with a 5 year grace period (no repayments). The bridge and road will be run as a concessioned toll road and will be expected to pay back its construction costs.

## Two prominent journalists die

Kok Nam, 73, and Augusto de Carvalho, 79, both died in August. Photo-journalist Kok Nam was born in colonial Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), the son of Chinese peasants who emigrated to Mozambique. He was part of the group that set up Tempo as a progressive voice toward the end of the colonial era, and in 1992 was one of the founders of the first journalists cooperative, Mediacoop; he remained director of Savana until his death. Many of the iconic pictures of Samora Machel were taken by Kok Nam.

Augusto de Carvalho was born in Portugal but was a teacher in Lourenço Marques in the 1960s until the colonial authorities stopped him teaching, then a journalist until he was banned from writing. He returned to Portugal and was founding news editor of Expresso in 1973 – like Tempo, a progressive alternative voice in the dying days of fascism. He later returned to Mozambique where he worked with Domingo for 20 years until his death.

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by Joseph Hanlon & Teresa Smart

is now available in **paperback**, for £17.99 (+ p&p)

from the publisher <http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=13503>

and on Amazon.co.uk for £17.09

## Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South

by Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme

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

<http://tinyurl.com/justgivemoney>

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## Two working papers on the web

### Poverty is not being reduced in Mozambique

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

Benedito Cunguara and Joseph Hanlon, June 2010

Tambem em Portugues:

<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx>

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

Joseph Hanlon and Marcelo Mosse September 2010

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**Also on the web:** Previous newsletters and other Mozambique material are posted on  
[tinyurl.com/mozamb](http://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](http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz)

O Pais: [www.opais.co.mz](http://www.opais.co.mz)

Macauhub English: [www.macauhub.com.mo/en/](http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/)

Savana: [www.savana.co.mz](http://www.savana.co.mz)

Canal de Moçambique: [www.canalmoz.co.mz](http://www.canalmoz.co.mz)

AIM Reports: [www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news](http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news)

Carlos Serra Diario de um sociologo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

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