

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

656 19 November 2025 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

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

J Hanlon's new book "Moçambique recolonizado através da corrupção"

free on <https://bit.ly/MozRecol> (Portuguese only)

In this issue

Gas, Gold, War

Gas

Government rejects TotalEnergies demands

Under the guise of resuming the Area 1 gas project, the Council of Ministers yesterday (18 Nov) rejected the demands made in a 24 October letter from TotalEnergies head Patrick Pouyanné to President Daniel Chápo. TotalEnergies ended force majeure but Pouyanné demanded that government accept his claim that the five year closure cost \$4.5 billion would be added to the company's overall development costs, which are paid off before government gains any significant revenue. Pouyanné also demanded that TotalEnergies be given a 10 year extension to its 30 year concession.

The Council of Ministers said that the \$4.5bn claim had been given to international auditors to check and an agreed "Addendum to the Project's Development Plan" awaits that audit. And it said that the 30 year concession is unchanged, but also said that the four and a half years of force majeure should not count as part of those 30 years - which can perhaps be seen as a 4.5 year extension.

Projections are that government will gain major revenue, over \$1bn per year, only 12 to 14 years after work starts. But adding \$4.5 bn to what must be paid off would delay big revenues until at least 2040.

It appears that the Pouyanné letter was just to open negotiations, and there seems to be some flexibility. This is linked to the gas industry view that it is now accepted that climate change will happen and there will be a large market for gas for more than 30 years. Mozambique's current fiscal crisis plus youth discontent means it needs money now, and not in 15 years. It should be possible to agree some form of financial engineering, such as climate change bond guarantees, to trade a concession extension for money now to create jobs.

Mozambique needs **all** of next 15 years gas earnings to protect against climate change

Mozambique needs \$37.2 billion to achieve full climate resilience, President Daniel Chápo told the COP30 environmental meeting in Belém, Brazil, on 6 November. That is approximately the total government income from gas for the next 15 years, earned by increasing global heating.

But Chápo argued that climate justice means that money must come from the industrialised countries that have caused climate change. "The Loss and Damage Fund must become a true

instrument of global climate justice. Developed countries must lead by example, scaling up their mitigation actions and ensuring predictable and sufficient financial and technological support", he said.

Other gas news:

ExxonMobil which leads the Area 4 consortium and will use the Afungi peninsula with TotalEnergies, and which has made it clear it will not begin work until the TotalEnergies work is well under way (2026 perhaps) is now having problems with its choice of contractors, according to *Africa Intelligence* (17 Nov). It has pre-selected contractors the Italian Bonatti and the Portuguese-Chinese Mota-Engil. But Bonatti already has a partnership with ENH (state-owned Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos) which owns 15% of Area 4 and argues Bonatti should not have bid for the contracts outside its partnership with ENH. And China National Petroleum Corporation which also bid and did not win is also protesting. But for a US company to use a Chinese contractor might cause political problems in the US.

TotalEnergies is accused of "complicity in war crimes, torture, and enforced disappearance" in a complaint filed on 17 November by the European Centre for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) with the French National Anti-Terrorism Prosecutor's Office (PNAT). The complaint alleges that between July and September 2021, local people fleeing insurgent attacks "were intercepted by the army" and held in metal shipping containers at the entrance of the TotalEnergies Afungi compound. The ECCHR stated that the company "directly financed and materially supported the joint task force, composed of Mozambican armed forces," which, between July and September 2021, "allegedly detained, tortured, and killed dozens of civilians".

The pipelines to bring gas to Afungi is already under construction. As part of the original agreement, sensitive coral reefs have been dredged for the pipes during the past year by the Dutch company Van Oord. Environmental groups are now protesting. (*Mongabay*, 18 Nov)

Gold

Uncontrolled gold mining booms

The gold price remains at its record high of \$132 per gram (\$4000 per ounce), leading to destructive and uncontrolled mining in Manica, Sofala, Tete, Zambézia and Niassa provinces.

Officially all mining has been banned in Manica. But the Seis Carros [Six Cars] gold mine in Vanduzi continues to function. It is a cooperative belonging to Inocêncio Agostinho Francisca Faínda e Filomena Domingos Francisco Tomás, children of Manica governor Francisca Tomás, according to *MZNews* (18 Nov; *O País* 17 Nov). It works with local *garimpeiros* (artisanal miners) and enjoys the protection of local authorities including the riot police (UIR). Last week there was a battle between Mozambican and Zimbabwean *garimpeiros* for the control of Seis Carros.

The collapse of a different mine in Vanduzi killed up to 10 miners on 6 November. At least 20 others have died in mine accidents this year in Manica.

In Zambezia, Niassa and Sofala miners have invaded farms to dig for gold.

Mozambique's civil service and police are so corrupted that it is impossible for the government to control the mining or profit from the gold, which is smuggled out Mozambique. Neighbouring **Zimbabwe** has set up a gold trading system under the central bank. It owns Fidelity Gold Refinery which has 20 buying centres across the country and was paying \$120/gram today. That is close to the world market price and higher than any intermediate trader pays, so miners sell to Fidelity (as do many Mozambican miners who smuggle gold over the border). Zimbabwe expects to produce 40 tonnes of gold this year. Zimbabwe is also establishing gold service centres to support artisanal and small-scale miners who produce 60% of Zimbabwe's gold. The centres provide equipment and training to improve productivity and reduce environmental damage.

Insurgents

War expands into Nampula province

Insurgents moved south into Nampula province again, reaching Memba sede, which is 70 km south of the Lúrio River and Cabo Delgado, and only 45 km north of Nacala, which is a major port. This is the farthest they have gone into Nampula.

Nampula Secretary of State, Plácido Pereira, confirmed the attack on Memba-Sede, the district headquarters, on Monday night (17 Nov). *MZNews* (18 Nov) calls it "a new and alarming peak of violence in the district." Pereira's "confirmation comes only after social media was flooded with videos and images of the offensive."

Focus Group (5-12 Nov) published a map of reports showing the group moving south from Macomia and crossing the N1 near Pemba on 7 November. LUSA reports the insurgents crossed the Lurio river south and moved into into Memba and Eriti districts on 10 November. Pereira said they moved further south on 14 and 15 November, initially through hills to the administrative post of Mazua, then to Memba-Sede. "In these actions, they set fire to about 101 houses belonging to the population, vehicles and a mill, and kidnapped some citizens," he said.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates that around 128,000 people fled in the past week from Memba. "It is estimated that 80% of the population of Lúrio and Maula have fled," OCHA reported.

Speaking to the media on 5 November, Nampula governor Eduardo Abdula, said that Mozambican soldiers (FDS) were actively patrolling Memba District to thwart insurgent attempts at infiltrating the region. He said insurgents are "no longer present in these regions". Four days later, insurgents were present but not soldier was seen.

And insurgents in the Cabo Delgado conflict zone are moving west and southwest.

"We are not saying that there is no longer terrorism in Cabo Delgado. No!" said President Chopo on Monday (Nov 17) He explained that the relative stabilisation has allowed for significant economic advances, including the lifting of the force majeure clause by TotalEnergies. 'It was this comparative improvement that contributed to TotalEnergies lifting the force majeure clause.' However, he warned that the improvement does not mean the end of hostilities.

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Elections

CIP Mozambique Elections Bulletin is published by Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP <https://www.cipmoz.org>; <https://cipelicoes.org/eng/cip@cipmoz.org>).

To subscribe or unsubscribe: <https://bit.ly/MozBul-sub> Past election newsletters are on <https://bit.ly/CIP-EI>

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

Books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <https://bit.ly/HanlonBooks>

Flood, cyclone and weather: weather <https://www.inam.gov.mz/>

rainfall https://www.inam.gov.mz/images/DAPT_Previsoes/Manha/Previsao_Manha.pdf

Cyclone trackers, <https://bit.ly/Reunion-cyclone>, <https://www.metoc.navy.mil/jtvc/jtvc.html>

(which uses z time which is UCT - Coordinated Universal Time) and <https://www.cyclocane.com/>

Two LSE working papers - World Bank questions its Mozambique 'success' where oligarchs brought

high inequality, poverty and corruption - <https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-208c> and **How the IMF and World Bank caused a resource curse and civil war in Mozambique** - <https://bit.ly/Moz-LSE-209>

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

Previous editions of this newsletter: <https://bit.ly/MozNews2023> and <https://bit.ly/MozNews2022>

My Mozambique archive: <http://bit.ly/Mozamb>

Cabo Delgado

Cabo Ligado weekly report on civil war <https://www.caboligado.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. <http://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>

Twelve books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <https://bit.ly/HanlonBooks>

"Moçambique recolonizado através da corrupção" (2025) <https://bit.ly/MozRecol> (Portuguese only)

Zimbabwe takes back its land (2013) <https://bit.ly/Zim-takes-land>

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)

These are still available for sale:

Galinhos e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento (2014) (free in English)

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/qO9I6v> (English or Portuguese).

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