



CENTRO DE INTEGRIDADE PÚBLICA

Anticorrupção - Transparência - Integridade

Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan prioritises districts under the influence of the gas industry

Por: Borges Nhamirre

The Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan (PRCD), approved by the Government in October 2021, to be implemented in six (6) districts heavily affected by the attacks of the insurgents, prioritises the restoration of infrastructures in Palma and Mocímboa da Praia districts. This approach may show that the Government is more concerned about establishing stability and the conditions for a return to normal life in the districts covered by the natural gas exploitation projects, relegating to a secondary position the remaining districts which were also severely affected by the attacks.

TotalEnergies, which abandoned its natural gas project in the Rovuma Basin, Palma district, valued at 23 billion US dollars, has been demanding what it calls “sustainable security” so that it can resume the project. According to the Chairman and CEO of TotalEnergies, Patrick Pouyanné, this sustainable security means “seeing the population return to their villages to normalize their social life”¹.

The implementation of the PRCD shows that it is guided to meet the demand of TotalEnergies, but only in two districts: Palma and Mocímboa da Praia. The Government is prioritising the restoration of infrastructures destroyed by the insurgents’ attacks in these two districts and forcing public functionaries to return to Mocímboa da Praia town, to re-establish public services². In Palma district, the public services are already re-established, and it is the only district where the District Administrator has already returned after the attack on the district capital. The administrators have not returned to Mocímboa da Praia, Muidumbe, Macomia and Quissanga districts after the attacks on their respective capitals³.

1 VOA (2022). Chefe da Total Energy diz que o regresso a Cabo Delgado depende da sustentabilidade da segurança, Available on <https://www.voaportugues.com/a/chefe-da-total-energy-diz-que-o-regresso-a-cabo-delgado-depender-da-sustentabilidade-da-seguranca-/6420381.html> [Consulted on 12 May 2022, at 07h37’]

2 Carta de Moçambique (2022). Funcionários e agentes do Estado obrigados a regressar em definitivo a Mocímboa da Praia, Available on <https://www.cartamz.com/index.php/sociedade/item/10306-funcionarios-e-agentes-do-estado-obrigados-a-regressar-em-definitivo-a-mocimboa-da-praia> [Consulted on 12 May 2022, at 07h47’]

3 Inteligência Empresarial (2022). INSS Prepara-se Para Retoma dos Serviços em Palma e Mocímboa da Praia, Available on <https://i-enterpriser.com/2022/03/08/inss-prepara-se-para-retoma-dos-servicos-em-palma-e-mocimboa-da-praia/> [Consulted on 12 May 2022, at 07h54’]

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Key events in the development of the projects to exploit natural gas, the start and the evolution of the insurgents' attacks, and the responses of the government in Cabo Delgado



FEBRUARY 2010

Anadarko announces the discovery of natural gas in the Windjammer field. This was the first of many discoveries in Areas 1 and 4 of the Rovuma Basin, regarded as the largest discoveries of natural gas in Mozambique, with total reserves of 170 trillion cubic feet (TCFs). The government then approved three large Liquefied Natural Gas production projects, namely Coral Sul FLNG, Golfinho/Atum and Rovuma LNG, with a total investment estimated at USD 60 billion.



JUNE 2017

Eni SpA announces the Final Investment Decision of USD 7 billion in the Coral Sul FLNG (Floating Liquefied Natural Gas) project.



OCTOBER 2017

First attack by insurgents against Mocimboa da Praia town and Awasse.



JUNE 2018

The first attack against Maganja village, about 3 km from the fence around the Afungi natural gas liquefaction project.



SEPTEMBER 2019

Total announces the conclusion of its acquisition of Anadarko's 26.5% holding in the Mozambique LNG project, for a purchase price of 3.9 billion USD, and becomes the new operator of the project



NOVEMBER 2019

Soldiers of the Russian Wagner Group leave Cabo Delgado with reports of more than a dozen fatalities and disagreements with some commanders of the Mozambican Armed Forces.



MARCH 2020

Government creates Northern Integrated Development Agency (ADIN), based in Cabo Delgado Province, aimed at promoting socio-economic development in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula provinces.



MARCH, APRIL AND MAY 2020

Insurgents attack, storm and temporarily occupy Mocimboa da Praia town (March) and the district capitals of Quissanga (March), Muidumbe/Namacande (April) and Macomia (May), destroying district police commands and various government buildings.



JANUARY 2021

Insurgents attack the Quitunda resettlement town, within the concession area of the Mozambique LNG project, forcing Total to suspend construction activities and evacuate part of its Afungi camp. The town of Quitunda was built for people resettled from their land to make way for the construction of the natural gas liquefaction project.



MARCH 2021

The Government announces the creation of the Afungi Special Operational Theatre to protect the gas projects



MARCH 2021

Insurgents attack the Palma district capital, taking hostage workers of companies sub-contracted by Total and killing some of them, including expatriates, forcing the withdrawal of Total.



APRIL 2021

Total declares force majeure and confirms its withdrawal from Afungi due to the security situation.



JANUARY 2022

The Chairman and CEO of TotalEnergies, Patrick Pouyanné, visits Mozambique and meets with President Filipe Nyusi. At the end of the meeting, Pouyanné announces that Total will only resume the LNG project construction in Cabo Delgado if there is 'sustainable security'. "Mocimboa da Praia is secure. Palma is secure, but there is still some progress to be done, to have sustainable security," he said.



JUNE 2021

Insurgents make their second major attack on Palma town and try to reach Afungi. The attack is repelled by the Mozambican Defence and Security Forces.



JUNE 2021

SADC approves the deployment of about 3,000 men to Cabo Delgado to conduct operations against terrorism and violent extremism.



JULY 2021

Rwanda deploys about 1,000 members of its armed forces and police to Palma and Mocimboa da Praia to fight the insurgency.

Key events in the development of the projects to exploit natural gas, the start and the evolution of the insurgents' attacks, and the responses of the government in Cabo Delgado



FEBRUARY 2019

The Government (Ministry of Defence and Ministry of the Interior) signs a confidential agreement with Anadarko and Eni, which hold the concessions on Area 1 and Area 4 of the Rovuma Basin, respectively. The agreement envisages that the government should deploy special forces to protect the Afungi gas projects and that the gas companies will pay for the security services provided by the Government.



JUNE 2019

Anadarko announces the Final Investment Decision for 23 billion USD for the Mozambique LNG Golfinho Atum project.



JUNE 2019

The "Islamic State" publishes its first statement, through its official propaganda channels, claiming attacks in Cabo Delgado and showing images of the spoils from the attacks.



SEPTEMBER 2019

About 200 soldiers of the Russian private military company, the Wagner Group, are deployed to Cabo Delgado to help fight against the insurgency.



APRIL DE 2020

Dozens of soldiers of the private military company, the Dyck Advisory Group (DAG), arrive in Mozambique to help the special police units fight the insurgency in Cabo Delgado. DAG provided some air supremacy to the government forces.



JUNE 2020

Insurgents again attack and temporarily occupy Mocimboa da Praia town, destroying various infrastructures including military units, capturing large stockpiles of weapons and vehicles.



AUGUST 2020

Insurgents again attack and occupy Mocimboa da Praia town. This time it is only retaken about a year later, with the support of Rwandan troops.



AUGUST 2020

Total announces the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding with the Government for the formation of the Joint Task Force to protect the gas project, covering not only Afungi, but an area with a perimeter of 25 km.



APRIL 2021

DAG leaves Mozambique after about a year helping the police combat the insurgency.



APRIL 2021

President Filipe Nyusi travels to Kigali, Rwanda, to request Rwandan military intervention in Cabo Delgado.



MAY 2021

The first units of Rwandan military intelligence are deployed to Cabo Delgado for military reconnaissance in preparation for the deployment of combat troops.



AUGUST 2021

With the help of the Rwandan military forces, the Mozambican Armed Forces (FADM) retake Mocimboa da Praia town, which had been occupied by the insurgents in August 2020.



AUGUST 2021

SADC forces are deployed to Nangade, Mueda and Macomia districts to fight against terrorism and violent extremism.



OCTOBER 2021

The Council of Ministers approves the Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan, budgeted at USD 300 million, to be implemented in six districts severely affected by the insurgents' attacks (Palma, Nangade, Mocimboa da Praia, Muidumbe, Macomia and Quissanga). The plan prioritises the reconstruction of the State apparatus in the districts of Palma and Mocimboa da Praia.

Priority for the security of the gas projects

The privileged treatment of Palma and Mocimboa da Praia districts in the government's counter-insurgency strategy is not only in reconstruction. It is also notable in the security for the gas projects. Before foreign troops were stationed in Cabo Delgado, the Government always channelled its best men and resources to Afungi, to protect the gas projects.

In the context of armed conflicts, special protection for projects of major economic importance is common and is justified by the importance these represent for the economy. However, the protection of economic undertakings should not mean sacrificing, or relegating to a secondary position, the security of the civilian population and their property.

In Cabo Delgado, the government has always given priority to the security of gas projects, instead of security of the local population. As the attacks intensified in 2019, the government signed an agreement with multinational gas companies to deploy a special force to protect the gas project.⁴ In return, the Government received payments from Anadarko and Eni to pay the militaries deployed to Afungi.

When Total bought the stake from Anadarko and became the Mozambique LNG project operator, the agreement between the Government and the multinationals was updated, to establish a Joint Task Force, that consisted in a special unit that brought together the best operatives of the Police and of the Mozambican Defense Armed Forces (FADM).

The Joint Task Force transformed the Afungi Peninsula, which was the headquarters of the gas projects, into an "island of stability", armoured against insurgent raids, while the nearby villages were attacked.

Since the attacks were continuing and were happening about 10 kilometres from the gas projects⁵, Total demanded a wider security perimeter, at least 25 km from its project⁶. The government responded by creating the Afungi Special Operational Theatre, a special unit of the Defence and Security Forces, intended to protect the place where the natural gas liquefaction factories were being built and the other support infrastructures⁷.

The government's strategy of protecting the gas projects and leaving the surrounding areas to the mercy of the attacks did not bring the desired results. The special units created to protect the gas projects were able to prevent the gas exploitation and liquefaction project from being attacked, but they did not avoid the paralysis of the gas project.

With the best military units stationed at Afungi, the town of Palma, located within the 25 kilometre parameter established in the memorandum between the Government and Total, was ravaged by the insurgents. During the attack, many workers from companies subcontracted to work on building the gas liquefaction project were held hostage by the insurgents in the hotels in Palma town where they were being accommodated and others

4 CDD (2020). PROTECTION OF MOZAMBIQUE LNG PROJECT - Security Memorandum between the Government and Total jeopardizes national sovereignty. Available on https://cddmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/PROTECTION-OF-MOZAMBIQUE-LNG-PROJECT_-_Security-Memorandum-between-the-Government-and-Total-jeopardizes-national-sovereignty.pdf [Consulted on 12 May 2022, at 11h28']

5 DW (2020). Cabo Delgado: Terroristas voltam a atacar perto dos megaprojetos de gás, Available on <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/cabo-delgado-terroristas-voltam-a-atacar-perto-dos-megaprojetos-de-gás/a-56085833> [consulted on 12 May 2022, at 11h37']

6 All Africa (2021). Mozambique Must Provide 25 km Security Cordon Before Total Restarts at Afungi. Available on <https://allafrica.com/stories/202102160662.html> [consulted on 12 May 2022, at 11h46']

7 RFI (2021). Força para proteger investimentos de Cabo Delgado de ataques terroristas. Available on <https://www.rfi.fr/pt/gertal/20210316-força-para-proteger-investimentos-de-cabo-delgado-de-ataques-terroristas> [consulted on 12 May 2022, at 11h54']

were killed⁸. After the attack on Palma town, Total abandoned the project alleging that the lack of security did not allow it to continue its activities⁹.

With the attack against Palma town and the paralysis of the natural gas liquefaction work, the Government, which up until then had been reluctant to accept foreign military intervention in Cabo Delgado, other than private military companies, changed its approach and asked for military support from Rwanda and from SADC. The foreign military intervention was first directed to Palma and Mocímboa da Praia, with the arrival of the Rwandan Defence Force (RDF), in July 2021¹⁰.

A month after the arrival of the Rwandan troops in Palma and Mocímboa da Praia, troops from the SADC Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM) were sent to Nangade, Mueda and Macomia districts¹¹. The delay in deploying the SADC forces was partly caused by the Mozambican government's delay in sending the "Status of Force" to SADC headquarters in Gaborone, a document without which SADC could not send troops to Mozambique¹².

Having arrived first on the ground, the Rwandan troops dislodged the insurgents from Mocímboa da Praia town, which they had captured about a year earlier. They also attacked some bases of the insurgents, as in Awasse and Mbau, but most of the insurgents, including their leaders, managed to escape¹³ and scattered in small groups into the areas which had been allocated to SAMIM, including the districts of Nangade to the north, and Macomia, to the south¹⁴. Currently, it is in these districts that the largest number of attacks are still being recorded^{15,16}.

Reconstruction prioritises Palma and Mocímboa da Praia

The foreign military intervention made it possible to contain the attacks, particularly in Palma and Mocímboa da Praia districts, and in October 2021, the government approved a Cabo Delgado reconstruction plan, budgeted at 300 million dollars¹⁷.

According to data from the Integrated Development Agency of the North (ADIN), the Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan will be implemented in six districts, namely Palma, Nangade, Mocímboa da Praia, Muidumbe, Macomia and Quissanga¹⁸. These are the districts strongly affected by the insurgent attacks,

8 Aljazeera (2021). Over 180 people trapped in Mozambique hotel after attack, Available on <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/27/over-180-people-trapped-in-mozambique-hotel-after-isil-attack> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 03h46']

9 Total (2021) Total declares Force Majeure on Mozambique LNG Project, Press Release, Available on <https://totalenergies.com/media/news/press-releases/total-declares-force-majeure-mozambique-lng-project> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 03h39']

10 Aljazeera (2021a). Rwanda deploys 1,000 soldiers to Mozambique's Cabo Delgado, Available on <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/10/rwanda-deploys-1000-soldiers-to-mozambique-cabo-delgado> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 03h59']

11 Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros e Cooperação (2021). Força em Estado de Alerta da SADC estabelecida em Cabo Delgado, Available on <http://www.minec.gov.mz/index.php/imprensa/destaques/606-forca-em-estado-de-alerta-da-sadc-estabelecida-em-cabo-delgado> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h03']

12 SABC News (2021). Pending agreement delays deployment of standby SADC troops to Mozambique, , Available on <https://www.sabcnews.com/sadc-standby-force-to-mozambique-delayed/> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h23']

13 Carta de Moçambique (2022) Líderes terroristas continuam à solta em Cabo Delgado, Available on <https://cartamz.com/index.php/politica/item/8930-lideres-terroristas-continuam-a-solta-em-cabo-delgado> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h15']

14 O País (2022). SADC alerta que terroristas se movimentam para rio Messalo, em Niassa, Available on <https://www.opais.co.mz/sadc-alerta-que-terroristas-se-movimentam-para-rio-messalo-em-niassa/> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h18']

15 E-Global (2022) Moçambique, Ataques Macabros em Macomia, Available on <https://e-global.pt/noticias/lusofonia/mocambi-que-ataques-macabros-em-macomia/> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h31']

16 DW (2022) Cabo Delgado: Insurgentes matam 15 pessoas em aldeias de Nangade, Available on <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/cabo-delgado-insurgentes-matam-15-pessoas-em-aldeias-de-nangade/a-61038365> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h28']

17 O País (2021). Necessários USD 300 milhões para reconstrução de Cabo Delgado, Available on <https://www.opais.co.mz/necessarios-usd-300-milhoes-para-reconstrucao-de-cabo-delgado/> [consulted on 6 April 2022, at 04h41']

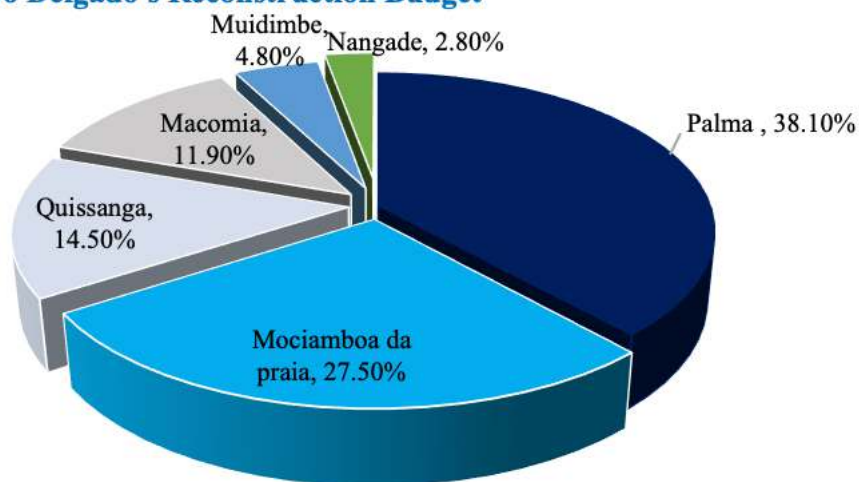
18 Mario, Haggi, (2022). Visão geral dos planos (PRCD) e estratégias (ERDIN) e como se relacionam um com o outro. Presentation at the meeting of the Working Group on Regional Planning, Stabilisation and Reconstruction: Reconstruction of facilities in Safe Areas in the Pemba-Palma Corridor, held on 29 March 2022, in Pemba city

and, with the exception of Nangade, their district capitals were attacked, and various public and private infrastructures were destroyed.

To implement the Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan, a budget of 14.6 billion meticaís was approved. Palma (with 5.5 billion meticaís), and Mocímboa da Praia (with 4 billion meticaís) consume more than 65% of the total budget, leaving about 4.5 billion meticaís for the remaining four districts, as shown in graph 1. Quissanga is allocated 2.1 billion meticaís, Macomia 1.8 billion meticaís, Muidumbe 715 million meticaís and finally Nangade with 416 million meticaís.

Graph 1. Distribution of the Budget for the Reconstruction of six Cabo Delgado districts

Palma and Mocímboa da Praia districts receive 65% of Cabo Delgado's Reconstruction Budget



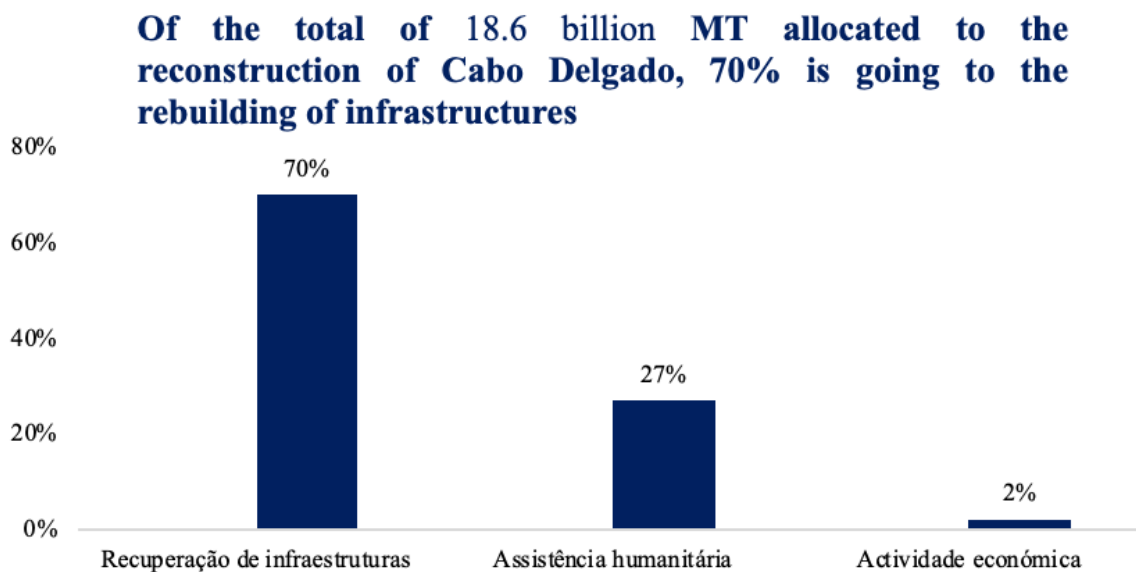
Source: Mario, Haggi/ADIN(2022).

Priority for the restoration of infrastructures in Palma and Mocímboa da Praia

The PRCD focuses on three areas, namely Humanitarian Assistance, Restoration of Infrastructures and Support for Economic Activity. Implementation of these activities is sub-divided into short term actions, with a budget of 12.3 billion meticaís and medium term actions with a total cost of 6.3 billion meticaís, making a total of about 18.6 billion.

As graph 2 shows, in both the short and the medium term actions, the recovery of infrastructures consumes the greater part of the budget intended for the reconstruction of Cabo Delgado, with 13 billion meticaís (70% of the total budget) allocated to this heading, while humanitarian assistance receives 5 billion meticaís (27%) and economic activity 546 million meticaís (2%).

Graph 2. Distribution of the PRCD budget by heading (in %)



Sourced: Mario, Haggi/ADIN(2022).

The distribution of the PRCD budget, both among the districts and by area, shows that a high proportion is destined for the recovery of infrastructures in the districts under the influence of the gas industry - Palma and Mocímboa da Praia. The prioritization of Palma in the allocation of a greater share of the reconstruction budget may be explained by the fact that this district harbours the gas exploitation projects, and there is thus a need to develop the government facilities that will serve the gas industry.

In order to resume the gas liquefaction project, TotalEnergies has been demanding the normalisation of the situation in Cabo Delgado, which should include the return of the communities to their zones of origin. The priority treatment given to Palma and Mocímboa da Praia may be symptomatic that the government intends to normalise (in the first place) the situation in the districts under the influence of the gas industry, relegating the other districts to a secondary position.

Conclusions

The priority given to Palma and Mocímboa da Praia districts, both in defence against the attacks of the insurgents and in reconstruction, may create imbalances in development and stability in Cabo Delgado province, with the zone around the gas being more stable and developed, while the surrounding districts still suffer attacks and the lack of basic conditions of habitability.

Such a situation would not guarantee the long term security of the gas projects. As seen earlier, the Joint Task Force and the Afungi Special Operational Theatre, which were set up thinking exclusively of the security of the gas liquefaction projects, did not bring the expected results. Sustainable and lasting security should mean the security of the civilian population throughout Cabo Delgado province, and so the distribution of the Defence and Security Forces on the ground, as well as of the financial resources for reconstruction, should be as balanced as possible.

Balance is needed in distributing the budget for the reconstruction of Cabo Delgado among the sectors. While one recognises the need to rebuild the infrastructures, it is also important to allocate more of the budget for humanitarian assistance for the hundreds of thousands of victims of the attacks, who are currently dependent almost exclusively on humanitarian aid provided by international humanitarian organisations.

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