

# MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

209 14 December 2012 Editor: Joseph Hanlon ( [j.hanlon@open.ac.uk](mailto:j.hanlon@open.ac.uk) )

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**New book: Zimbabwe takes back its land**

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## **Did Guebuza call Lula a 'professional agitator'?**

An increasingly intense debate about poverty is emerging, with President Armando Guebuza making an angry attack on his critics on 6 December. *Noticias* (7 Dec 2012) reported an extemporaneous speech to the congress of the OTM trade union movement, saying that Guebuza "launched strong criticisms against those he called professional agitators acting in bad faith, and in the name of friendship with the poor [who are] alleging that only some people are benefitting from natural resources and from wealth." Some foreigners "come here and say the gap between the rich and poor is increasing."

Among the foreigners who make the claim is Roger Nord, IMF Deputy Director for Africa, who said that in Mozambique the poor "have benefitted less" than others from growth and that this is "an issue because it raises social tension." (*News reports & clippings* 198, 6 June 2012)

But President Guebuza may have been referring, at least indirectly, to the ex-president of Brazil, Luiz Lula, who gave a talk on 19 November in Maputo entitled "the struggle against inequality". He was invited to Mozambique by Graça Machel, who introduced Lula by praising him for "making Brazil less unequal, creating millions of jobs, and lifting millions from poverty." By contrast, she said, Mozambique is a success in terms of economic growth, "but we are a society that is ever more unequal [and] economic growth is not transforming the well being of the majority of our people." Machel's and Lula's comments were published in *Noticias* (22 November 2012) along with photos of Machel with Lula and of Joaquim Chissano in the audience. Both are known critics of Guebuza within Frelimo, so *Noticias* was underlining that this was an attack on Guebuza.

In his talk hosted by the Samora Machel Documentation Centre, Lula pointedly warned against leaders who try to extend to a third term and those "who are afraid to speak to the people".

In a speech to businessmen later in the week, Lula said "No Mozambican can feel proud to open their car door and see a hungry person looking for something to eat in the rubbish." He went on to note that the hungry person is of no interest to businesspeople because he has no money to buy – but if he had money he would become a consumer and help businesses to grow. (*O Pais* 23 Nov 2012).

Lula's Machel Centre talk put stress on his experience of reducing inequality in Brazil, and said

Brazil proved that it is not necessary to grow first and then redistribute (as the World Bank and IMF have always advised), but that you can redistribute at the same time as growing because redistribution promotes growth. You must combat poverty at the same time as you promote growth.

He stressed the importance of Brazil's family grant (*bolsa família*) in which 0.5% of GDP is redistributed to 50 million poor people. When they started, they were accused of simply giving "alms" (*esmola*) to the poor. But Lula says this is not an expenditure, but an investment, which people use to buy food and other goods and promote economic growth.

This seems to have been pointed particularly at the Frelimo leadership, which has repeatedly refused on the to do a similar cash transfer on the grounds that the government does not give "alms" and the poor will waste the money.

Guebuza in his OTM comments said it true that wealth was not reaching everyone, but he argued that it was because farmers and fishermen were not working hard enough. Speaking in Xai-Xai on 10 November, he said "only the lazy believe we cannot end poverty". And he went on to criticise certain social sectors which say poverty is not ending. (Noticias 12, 23 November 2012)

Guebuza may have been responding indirectly to Catholic bishops, who issued a statement after their 6-13 November conference that "notwithstanding that there is increasing wealth, the poor are increasingly poor." The gains from natural resources are not contributing to the improvement of conditions for ordinary people. It continued: "The people continue to have a hard life, marked by a situation of ever more severe poverty." (*Savana*, 23 Nov 2012; *Canal de Moçambique*, 28 Nov 2012)

But the government sounds increasingly irritated by criticism. The new prime minister Alberto Vaquina told parliament on 22 November that "the government cannot be guided by a few critics to change policies and strategies it carries out." And on 13 December he told parliament "it is not true that poverty is worse today than it was yesterday." (*O Pais* 23 Nov 2012, AIM 13 Dec 2012)

## Land conflicts in Tete and Gaza

The Catholic bishops also warned that people are being pushed off their land for the mega-projects. And there have been two recent protests about people being threatened with eviction for large farms being set up for foreign investors.

The Chinese company Wanbao on 11 December signed an agreement with the state company Regadio do Baixo Limpopo (RBL, Lower Limpopo Irrigation) for 20,000 ha for rice and other crops. The agreement was signed in the presence of Agriculture Vice Minister António Limbau and Gaza Governor Raimundo Diomba. The company says it will invest \$250 million to develop irrigation and will do contract farming with up to 6000 farmers in the area. (Noticias 12 Dec 12)

Anastácio Matavel of the local NGO FONGA (Fórum de Organizações Nacionais de Gaza) claims that 80,000 people will be thrown off the land by Wanbao. (*Canal de Moçambique*, 25 Oct 2012) President Guebuza visited the project on 10 November and said that all the people living in the area have been told that all their interests will be safeguarded and they will be relocated into area with infrastructure and jobs. (Noticias 12 Nov 2012)

The project apparently grows out of a 2005 cooperation agreement between Gaza province and Hubei province in China to improve rice production. For three years (2008–2011), the project was partly financed by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and served as a test site for the Gates Foundation's "Green Super Rice" programme. Hubei is also involved in the Mozambican agricultural research centre in Boane, near Maputo. (Brautigam & Ekman, *African Affairs*, 111/444, 483–492)

And on 25 October the National Peasants Union UNAC (União Nacional de Camponeses) issued a statement criticising the Brazilian-Japanese ProSavana project in the Nacala Corridor. The statement says: "The project was inspired by an earlier agricultural development project implemented by the Brazilian and Japanese governments in the Brazilian Cerrado (savannah), where large-scale industrial farming of monocrops (mainly soybeans) is now practiced. This Brazilian project led to a degradation of the environment and the near extinction of indigenous communities living in the affected areas. The Nacala Corridor was chosen because its savannah has similar characteristics to the Brazilian Cerrado, in terms of its climate and agroecology, and because of the ease with which products can be exported." They complain that the project is being done in secret, and conclude: "We condemn the arrival of masses of Brazilian farmers seeking to establish agribusinesses that will transform Mozambican peasant farmers into their employees and rural labourers. We are extremely concerned that ProSavana requires millions of hectares of land along the Nacala Corridor, when the local reality shows that such vast areas of land are not available and are currently used by peasants practicing shifting cultivation."

<http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/main-issues-mainmenu-27/agrarian-reform-mainmenu-36>

The Brazilian newspaper *Brasil de Fato* (29 Nov 2012) quotes Charles Hefner of GV Agro, a subsidiary of Brazil's Fundação Getulio Vargas, as dismissing the idea that the project will displace Mozambican peasants. He says ProSavana is targeting "abandoned areas" where "there is no agriculture being practiced". "Mozambique has a tremendous area available for agriculture," says Hefner. "There is room for mega projects of 30-40,000 ha without major social impacts."

In practice, although there have been no official statements, ProSavana is having significant problems finding large tracts of land. All of the good land in the Nacala corridor already belongs to someone. Peasants are under some informal pressure to move (which partly triggered the UNAC statement) but ProSavana is reportedly rethinking its approach, moving away from very large farms.

## British NGOs attack agriculture corridors

Two British NGOs last week issued reports strongly attacking the donor-funded Beira and Nacala Agricultural Growth Corridors. EcoNexus argues "that the corridors are part of a major reordering of land and water access and use in the global south not dissimilar to the enclosures that took place for example in the UK (eg Scotland – all over the UK in fact), where many of those who were driven off the land became labour for emerging industries or were forced to leave the country. Current patterns of land use, such as shifting cultivation or other traditional forms of cultivation and use, already seriously threatened and often completely misunderstood, may cease to be possible across wide areas." The report is by EcoNexus co-directors Helena Paul and Ricarda Steinbrecher.

War on Want sees the corridors as part of "DFID's support for the corporate takeover of African agriculture" in its report "The Hunger Games". It argues that the DFID-sponsored Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) promotion of agro-dealers who supply hybrid maize seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides is a way of making peasant farmers dependent on international corporations, notably Monsanto. War on Want is critical not just of GM (genetically modified) seeds, but also of conventional hybrids.

An earlier War on Want report "Food Sovereignty" argues that "the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) has long championed a model of food security that is based on free trade, corporate-owned technology and greater private sector control of food production and distribution." In Mozambique War on Want calls for support for "collective farming" as it says is promoted by the National Peasants Union (UNAC, União Nacional de Camponeses). It continues: "food sovereignty ... entails a radical change in the way society is organised so that power is taken away from local elites, who are so often aligned with corporate capital, and restored to the people."

Both reports are implicitly critical of the non-profit British company AgDevCo and the catalytic agricultural investment fund it manages, as well as SABMiller for its cassava beer programme. This

is discussed in an article in the Guardian (11 December 2012)

War on Want also criticises DFID for funding its projects through companies based in Mauritius, which is the southern African tax haven. It concludes: "DID has been using hundreds of millions of pounds of taxpayers' money with the express purpose of extending the power of agribusiness over the production of food [and] to meet the commercial interests of major agribusiness companies."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/dec/10/uk-aid-africa-tax-haven-mauritius>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/dec/10/mozambique-growth-corridor-poverty>

<http://www.waronwant.org/news/latest-news/17763-dfid-and-agribusiness-in-africa-a-toxic-mix>

<http://www.waronwant.org/attachments/Food%20sovereignty%20report.pdf>

<http://www.econexus.info/>

## **Parliament leaders violate new conflict of interest law**

A month after the new Public Probity Law took effect, none of the parliamentary leaders whom it affects have obeyed its provisions on conflicts of interest. Under the law, any citizen earning remuneration from two state bodies, state companies, or companies in which the state is a shareholder, is automatically in a conflict of interest. Thus a member of parliament cannot also earn a salary as a director of a state company.

However Teodoro Wate, chair of the parliamentary commission on legal and constitutional affairs, remains chairperson of the board of the national airline LAM. Margarida Talapa, head of the Frelimo parliamentary group, continues as non-executive director of the publicly owned mobile phone company m-Cel. Mateus Katupha, a member of the Parliamentary Standing Commission, is still chair of the public fuel company, Petromoc.

The Frelimo parliamentary group has argued that the law cannot be applied retrospectively, and MPs cannot be asked to resign from posts they had before the law was passed. But Assistant Attorney-General Taibo Mocobora told journalists on 12 December that, as from 15 November, it is prohibited to receive a second state salary, which is current, not retrospective. Anybody in such a situation, said Mocobora, must relinquish one of his or her positions. Failure to do so would be a violation of the law. There are no exceptions, reported AIM. (13 Dec 2012)

## **\$6 mn for Pachinuapa ruby companies**

The British company Gemfields has paid \$6 million for 75% of two ruby mining concessions near Montepuez in Cabo Delgado. The concessions were owned by companies of the 74-year old Mueda-born Raimundo Pachinuapa, a liberation war veteran who was re-elected to the Frelimo Political Commission in September. The concessions cover 67,000 hectares. His companies retain 25% of the concessions and mines.

Gemfields announced on 7 December that it had purchased 75% of EME Investimentos for \$3.5 mn. This follows the purchase of 75% of Mwiriti on 8 June 2011 for \$2.5 mn. At the time Ian Harebottle, CEO of Gemfields, said: "This is arguably the most important ruby deposit in Mozambique." Both companies were part-owned by Pachinuapa, and hold the exploration licences for the land.

### ***In brief***

**Mozambique imported 31,000 used cars** last year, most from Japan, but only 4,270 new cars. (Noticias 20 Nov 2012)

**Mozambique bought another 7.5% of the Cahora Bassa Dam** from Portugal, apparently for \$21 million with a loan from Mozambican banks. The government now owns 92.5%. The remaining 7.5% is held by the Portuguese grid company Redes Energéticas Nacionais (REN), a controlling stake in which was recently acquired by the China State Grid Corp, as part of a privatisation process carried out by the Portuguese government.

**A third dam is proposed on the Zambeze River**, at Boroma, Marara, in Changara district, 24 km upstream from Tete city. The Cahora Bassa dam is roughly 150 km upstream from Tete, and the other proposed dam, Mpanda Nkua, would be 60 km downstream from Cahora Bassa. (Noticias 22 Nov 2012)

**Good Earth Power** of Oman and its subsidiary ZR Energy of Lebanon are proposing to invest \$224 million in Tambara district, northern Manica, according to the district administrator Gilberto Canhenze. The project involves irrigated agriculture on land along the Zambeze River, and they plan to open 50 hectares for the coming season. (Noticias 12 Dec 2012)

**Failure to buy cotton** is causing a crisis. Production is expected to be 130,000 tonnes this year, compared to 85,000 tonnes predicted, and the cotton companies do not have the capacity to buy that much. There is a particular problem with the British company Plexus in Cabo Delgado. (Noticias 20, 23, 26 Nov 2012).

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[The new book](#)

## **Zimbabwe takes back its land**

by Joseph Hanlon, Jeanette Manjengwa & Teresa Smart is now available from the publisher <http://www.kpbooks.com/Books/BookDetail.aspx?productID=295374>

### **Book launch & debate:**

Thursday 31 January 2013, 1700

Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 10 St James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE  
To reserve a place, sign up on <http://www.chathamhouse.org/events/view/187431>

[Now in paper at a reasonable price](#)

## **Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique?**

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**

[tinyurl.com/justgivemoney](http://tinyurl.com/justgivemoney)

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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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