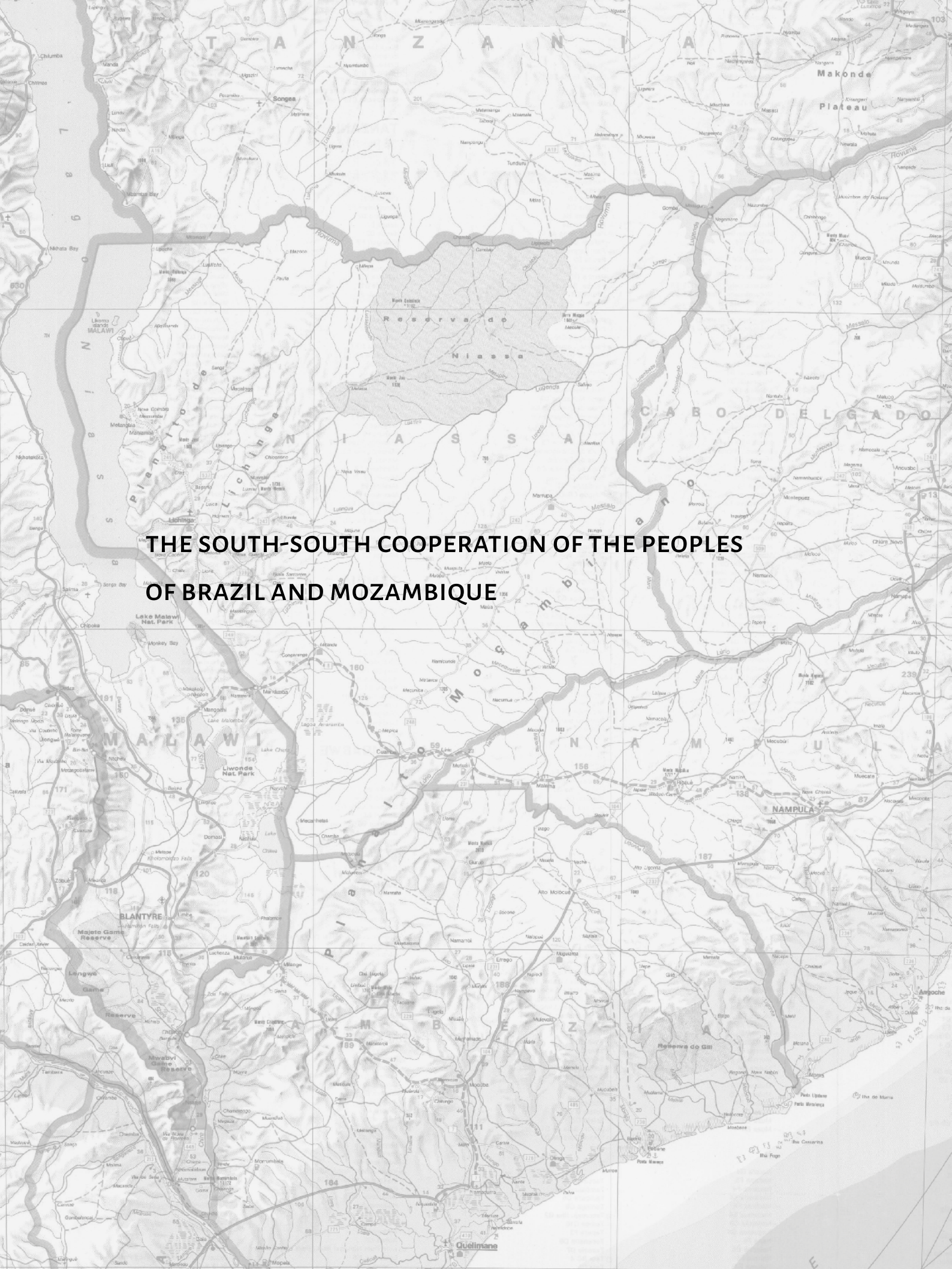


THE SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION OF THE PEOPLES OF BRAZIL AND MOZAMBIQUE

1st edition





**THE SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION OF THE PEOPLES
OF BRAZIL AND MOZAMBIQUE**



Peasant in Northern Mozambique.
Image by: Japan International
Volunteer Center

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EDITED BY
Diana Aguiar and Maria Emília Pacheco

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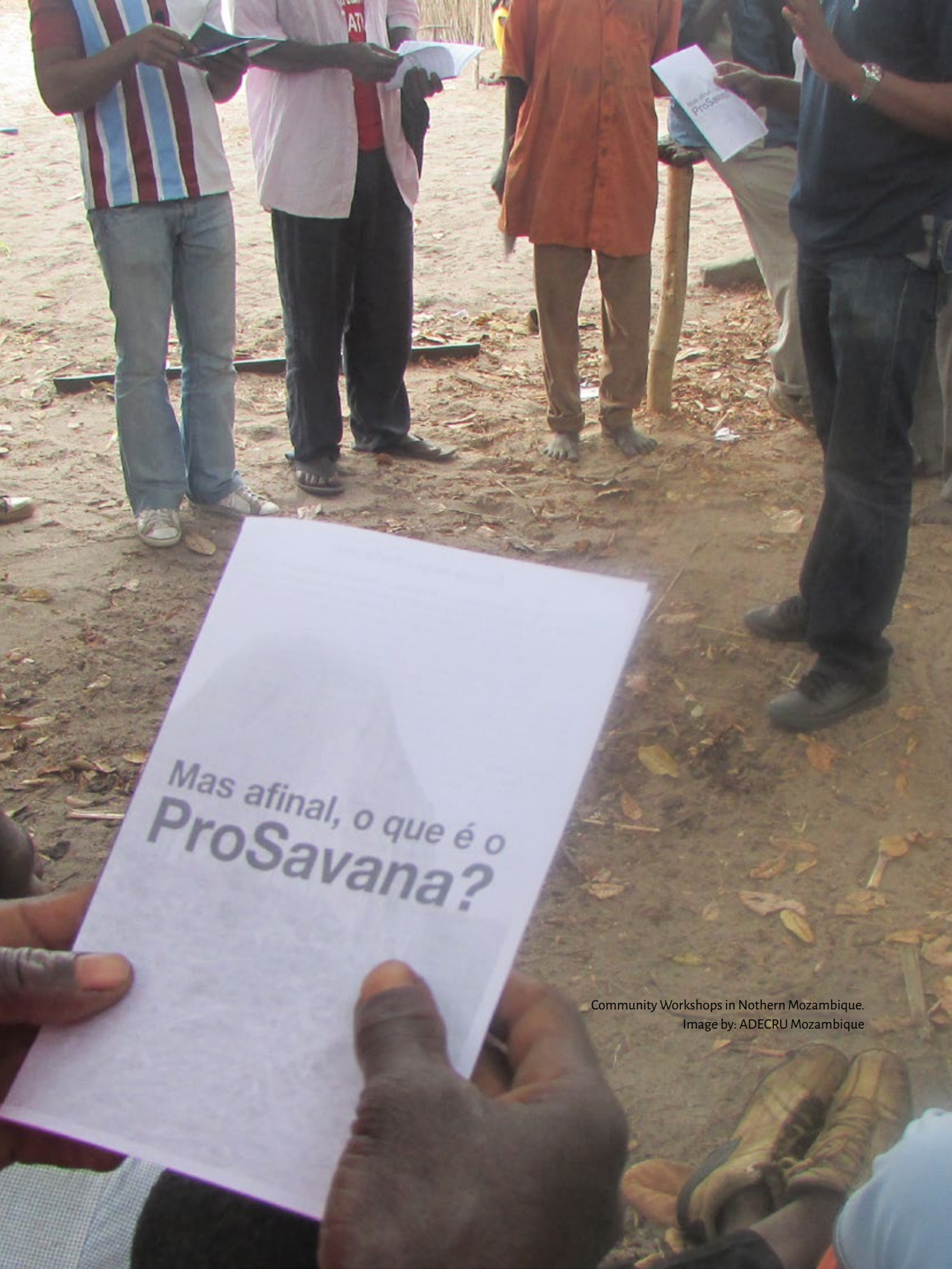
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A group of people are gathered outdoors in a rural setting, likely for a community workshop. In the foreground, a person's hands hold a white document with the text "Mas afinal, o que é o ProSavana?". In the background, several other people are standing and looking at similar documents. The ground is dirt with some dry leaves. The overall scene suggests a community meeting or training session.

Mas afinal, o que é o
ProSavana?

Community Workshops in Northern Mozambique.
Image by: ADECRU Mozambique

THE SOUTH-SOUTH COALITION OF THE PEOPLES AND THE PREMISES OF THE NO TO PROSAVANA CAMPAIGN

THIS IS A PUBLIC REPORT ON THE PROCESS OF RESISTANCE AND ALTERNATIVES THAT RURAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE, BRAZIL AND JAPAN HAVE BEEN COLLECTIVELY BUILDING SINCE 2012. THE TEXT WAS PREPARED BY FATIMA MELLO BASED ON HER ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE OF WORKING IN THE NO TO PROSAVANA CAMPAIGN AS ADVISER TO THE NGO FASE IN THE 2012-2015 PERIOD. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN THE NO TO PROSAVANA CAMPAIGN DIANA AGUIAR (FASE), MARIA EMÍLIA (FASE), NATHALIE BEGHIN (INESC), VANESSA CABANELAS (JUSTIÇA AMBIENTAL AND NO TO PROSAVANA CAMPAIGN IN MOZAMBIQUE), DR. SAYAKA FUNADA-CLASSEN (INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MEIJI GAKUIN UNIVERSITY) AND NAOKO WATANABE (JAPAN INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEER CENTER), IN ADDITION TO DANIEL ANGELIM (OXFAM BRAZIL), SUBMITTED COMMENTS, ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND KEY SUGGESTIONS. THIS TEXT IS A SPECIFIC PERSPECTIVE FROM BRAZIL. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO COVER IN DETAIL THE COMPLEXITY OF EVENTS OR VIEWS FROM MOZAMBIQUE AND JAPAN.

Brief introduction to the Brazilian cooperation in Africa

The first Lula administration set a new milestone in Brazil's international relations, putting South-South cooperation at the core of its foreign policy. This guideline led to a great cooperation effort in Africa that included setting up several diplomatic representations on the continent, presidential visits and high-level political dialogue in regional forums such as the African Union and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), programs such as the Brazil–Africa Dialogue on Food Security, Fighting Hunger and Rural Development, as well as technical cooperation in the areas of agriculture, health care, energy, transfer of national public policies, particularly of food and nutrition security policies, humanitarian assistance and greater presence of Brazilian companies on the continent.

As a result of its leading role in the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and in multilateral dialogues on fighting hunger and on food and nutrition security, Brazil began to play a crucial role in designing multilateral, regional and bilateral programs in Africa, such as the International More Food Program (PMAI) and Purchase From Africans for Africa

(PAA Africa). At the same time, domestically, the creation of policies and programs such as the Food Acquisition Program (PAA) and the National School Meal Program (PNAE) and the expansion of the National Family Farming Strengthening Program (Pronaf), with the inclusion of new credit lines such as Pronaf Women, Pronaf Youth, Pronaf Agroecology, as well as the existence of bodies such as the National Food and Nutrition Security Council (CONSEA), were mainly the result of an extensive and historical organization and mobilization of rural social movements in Brazil that ended up finding their way into some foreign policy guidelines, particularly into guidelines related to Brazilian cooperation, which competed for space with traditional interests of export-oriented commercial agriculture.

However, Brazil's global leadership in the food and nutrition security agenda is not as strong domestically, as domestic policies and programs in support of family and peasant agriculture, its production systems and food and nutrition security, despite having grown significantly since 2003, are still relegated to secondary importance as compared to the budget and political weight of agribusiness and large-scale, export-oriented, monoculture-based industrial agriculture.

Moreover, the evolution of Brazilian foreign policy – and of its guidelines for cooperation – was not linear in recent years as before and underwent a deep change from the Lula to the Dilma administration, marked by a strong reduction in policy initiatives on the foreign front. Even though certain aspects of the so-called “active and proud” foreign policy of the Lula administration can be questioned, it is undeniable that its strong policy initiatives led to coherence between policy guidelines and movements of private agents. In the case of Africa, Brazilian foreign policy has translated into cooperation programs that guided the various stakeholders involved – public and private actors, technical assistance programs, humanitarian programs, political dialogues – in a single direction: that of increasing Brazil's political and economic presence on the continent. Under the Dilma administration, the weakening of foreign policy initiatives ended up producing a vacuum that resulted in more space for private sector actions without appropriate guidelines to guide them. This change created a more difficult environment for social organizations and movements to work.

The strong influence of agribusiness on defining the guidelines of Brazilian foreign policy is a phenomenon observed under all governments and in all areas, from trade negotiations to cooperation programs. The Brazilian presence in Mozambique, which led to the ProSavana program, can only be understood if we go back to the 1980s and take a look at how the now hegemonic model of agriculture in the Cerrado region was initially

adopted and ended up being expanded to become one of the largest Brazilian cooperation programs in Africa.

The Prodecer program implemented in the Cerrado region with the support from the Japanese government in the 1980s is one of the examples of incubation of what was to become the power of Brazilian agribusiness. Prodecer was a pilot program for implementing an agricultural model in the region that began to expel peasants and traditional populations from it and to create endless stretches of deforested areas and soybean monocultures and other export-oriented crops that are still growing today based on intensive use of toxic agrochemicals. The Prodecer pilot program led to the adoption of a large-scale agribusiness model that to this day continues to be implemented, modernized and linked to the transnational the food industry chain and that, through its political power, began to inspire national agricultural policies and to strongly influence some Brazilian cooperation programs in Brazil's main industry, agriculture, in open contradiction with its cooperation initiatives in the field of food and nutrition security.

When efforts began to be made to expand it to Africa, this model found a continent in a process of rapidly and violently expanding its agricultural frontier, where national governments are joining transnational chains to turn the land into a source of profit, production and export of commodities to the international market. The African "Savannah"¹ in particular has been the target of aggressive land grabbing² processes as a result of initiatives such as one promoted by a coalition of governments, banks and large companies under the auspices of the G8 called New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition³, which has been criticized by large sectors of international civil society as a new form of colonialism in Africa through the privatization of seeds and amendments in land laws in favor of foreign private investors.

The transnational food chain, its funders, interested companies, including Brazil, were certain that their plans to turn land in the north region of Mozambique into a new territory to expand their profits would come to fruition. However, the organization and resistance of millions of peasants, who are invisible to capital, was not in their plans. Peasants in northern Mozambique, their communities and their production systems were not included in the plans, projects, official documents, documents of companies and memoranda of understanding or were mentioned only marginally in them. And because of their organization and mobilization, today they are key actors in the conflict going on in the African "Savannah" between peasant agriculture, focused on food security and on the sovereignty of the people, and an agricultural model that, once again in history, is intend-

1. Sayaka Funada-Classen and Naoko Watanabe point out that, in Mozambique, the term "Savannah" is not used, especially in northern Mozambique, where most of the country's forests are concentrated, a region that is not considered as a "savannah" area. This term was adopted based on the governmental logic and on that of the World Bank due to its original connotation of "savannah = no trees." See <http://omrmz.org/omrweb/publicacoes/observador-rural-12>

2. The term land grabbing refers to situations where farmers and traditional communities are expropriated from their lands and territories by public and/or private national and transnational corporations and foreign private investors. Their life and production systems are dismantled to make way for large-scale crops, often of export-oriented commodities.

3. <https://new-alliance.org/>



ed to plunder Africa's natural resources, in this case land, to expand profits out of the continent.

The struggle of Mozambican peasants is therefore a consequence of a global scenario in which Africa has become one of the targets of competition for new frontiers of profit accumulation where traditional powers compete for territories and natural resources with emerging South countries – China and Brazil in particular and South Africa in its role as a regional power. For Brazil, the cooperation with Mozambique translates conflicts and contradictions that are also present in Brazilian society: the Brazilian cooperation takes the form of a range of initiatives that include technical cooperation programs in the areas of food security, health care, education, a heavy presence of companies such as Vale⁴ for exploiting the second largest open-pit coal mine in the world in Moatize, in the Tete prov-

4 The Mitsui Japanese company owns 15% of Vale's shares and participates in the company's management. See <https://www.mitsui.com/jp/en/innovation/business/vale/index.html>



ince – it should be highlighted that Vale built a virtually private railway linking the Moatize mine to the port of Nacala – and Camargo Correa and Odebrecht for building large infrastructure projects such as the Nacala airport and implementing large agricultural projects, as in the case of the Pinesso Group, for producing and exporting commodities, such as the ProSavana project. Brazil's presence in Mozambique leaves no doubt that technical cooperation, heavy investments in the internationalization of companies and trade promotion go hand in hand and are mutually reinforcing.

It is clear that the various initiatives of the Brazilian cooperation with Mozambique are exporting the conflicts of Brazilian society to that country, as recognized in a statement of the president of the Mato Grosso Association of Cotton Producers, Carlos Ernesto Augustin: "Mozambique is like a state of Mato Grosso in the middle of Africa, with free land, less

Land grabbed by Agromoz.
Image by: ADECRU Mozambique

THE PROSAVANA PROJECT

PROGRAM OF TRIANGULAR COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE
IN THE TROPICAL SAVANNAHS OF MOZAMBIQUE

In *Cooperação e investimentos do Brasil na África - O caso do ProSavana em Moçambique* (2013), Sérgio Schlesinger reports that the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank (IBRD) published a study in 2009 called *Awakening Africa's Sleeping Giant* (World Bank and FAO, 2009). According to that document, the savannah region stretching from Senegal to South Africa, which is called the Guinea Savannah and covers 25 countries, has 400 million hectares of potentially arable land, only 10% of which are being used today. The cases of the Brazilian Cerrado region and northeastern Thailand were used as reference to evaluate the potential use of similar areas in the African Savannah, Mozambique, Nigeria and Zambia. The crops selected for comparison purposes (cassava, cotton, corn, rice, soybeans and sugar) were the main ones grown in the corresponding regions in Thailand and Brazil.

The latest data from the National Statistics Institute of Mozambique (INE) indicate that:

“Currently, 70% of Mozambique's population lives in rural areas and most of it depends on subsistence agriculture. While substantial efforts have been made to address the issue, the country's extremely low agricultural productivity, combined with its high vulnerability to climatic shocks, exposes much of its population to chronic food insecurity and the yield of agricultural products is low and unpredictable.”

In 2010, Mozambique's most populated provinces were Nampula and Zambezia in the north, with more than 4 million people or 40% of its total population. The percentage of the rural population in the two provinces is 70-80%, a higher average than that registered for the country as a whole.

In this context, the governments of Mozambique, Brazil and Japan announced a joint initiative designed to take advantage of the knowledge gained from the Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation Program for the Development of the Cerrado Region (Prodecer) carried out in the mid-1980s. It should be noted, however, that the socioeconomic situation in the Brazilian Cerrado region is significantly different from that observed in the African Savannah, meaning that new models of sustainable agricultural development specifically designed for each of the regions concerned are necessary.

The official agencies involved in that initiative also pointed out that factors such as human security, food security, poverty reduction in rural areas and nature conservation need to be considered.

Launched in 2009, ProSavana is a triangular cooperation program between the governments of Mozambique, represented by its Ministry of Agriculture, Brazil, represented by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) and the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa), and Japan, represented by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). It is the largest cooperation initiative in the history of the Japan-Brazil Partnership Program (JBPP) launched in 2000. It comprises the implementation of technical cooperation projects that, according to its official documents, contribute to agricultural development in the north region of Mozambique, known as the Nacala Corridor.

environmental restrictions and cheaper shipping to China. Today, land is extremely expensive in Mato Grosso state and it is impossible to obtain a license to deforest and clear land there.”

A chronology of the ProSavana program and of the resistance of the peoples

In September 2009, the signing of the “Technical Cooperation between Japan, Brazil and Mozambique” Memorandum of Understanding marked the official launch of the ProSavana program. After that MOU was signed, the different government agencies of the three countries involved began to work on detailed plans, which were published in an executive summary of the program in June 2011:

Designed as an Agricultural and Rural Development Program for the Nacala Corridor in Mozambique, the ProSavana-JBM program is intended to improve the competitiveness of the rural sector in the region by increasing food security through measures to organize and increase the productivity of family farming and by generating exportable surpluses through the provision of technical support for agribusiness-oriented agriculture.

The program is based on the experience acquired in the Brazilian agriculture/livestock development programs carried out in partnership with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), especially on the experience and results of the Japan-Brazil Cooperation Program for Development of the Cerrado Region (Prodecer) and of the Managed Settlement Programs of the Federal District (PAD-DF) developed as of 1973.

Like the Prodecer program, ProSavana is a 20-year program divided into three projects: the first one was designed to maximize current knowledge of natural and socioeconomic resources of the Nacala Corridor and to identify the most appropriate agricultural technologies for promoting sustainable agricultural development in the region – ProSavana – TEC; the second one consists in studies for planning and implementing community-level productive projects with the aim of establishing model development zones; and the third one is focused on drawing up a comprehensive plan for regional agricultural development in the Nacala Corridor (Master Plan)⁵.

During 2011 and 2012, meetings were held between representatives of the governments of Japan and Brazil for promoting agribusiness in Mozambique. In April 2011, JICA and ABC held the “International Seminar

5. “Project for improving research and technology transfer capacity for promoting agricultural development in the Nacala corridor in Mozambique.” Available at <http://www.undp.org.br/Extranet/SAP%20FILES/MM/2011/14740/PROSAVANA-TEC%20-%20RESUMO%20EXECUTIVO.pdf>

on Agribusiness in Mozambique: Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation and Investment Opportunities” in São Paulo. In June 2012, JICA held a seminar in Tokyo on the Joint Mission of the public and private sectors of Japan, Brazil and Mozambique to promote agricultural investments in the Nacala Corridor. On that occasion, the Agribusiness Center of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (GV Agro) presented the Master Plan for the ProSavana Program and the Nacala Fund – and since then the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) and GV Agro have been playing a key role in enabling the interests of the Brazilian and multinational agribusiness model and of the governments involved in the ProSavana program in northern Mozambique. In July 2012, FGV, ABC and EMBRAPA held the Global Fund Launch Event for The Nacala Fund in Brasilia with the support from JICA. A representative of JICA and the Japanese Ambassador to Brazil attended the event.

Also at that time, delegations of agribusiness entrepreneurs from Mato Grosso state began to pay visits to northern Mozambique. At least one of them, which included a group of 40 businessmen, was organized and promoted by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC). Also at that time, between 2011 and 2012, organizations and social movements of Mozambican peasants began to become aware of the plans of the governments of the three countries for the north region of the country, where about 4 million peasants live.

Social movements in Mozambique – of peasants, women, human rights organizations – have since been leading a resistance against the ProSavana program. Before joining forces against the ProSavana program, social movements in Brazil and Mozambique were already getting together and discussing other actions. In particular, the International Network of People Affected by Vale, the World March of Women and Via Campesina have been carrying out joint actions for years and the foundation laid by them was crucial for structuring their solid resistance against the ProSavana program. The Small Farmers Movement (MPA)/Via Campesina has been keeping representatives in Mozambique for some time to implement native seed programs.

Specifically in relation to the ProSavana program and to the presence of Brazilian agribusiness entrepreneurs in Mozambique, the dialogue between movements in both countries began in 2012. In May of that year a first contact was made with a representative of the National Peasants' Union of Mozambique (UNAC), which is linked to Via Campesina, during the People's Summit at Rio+20. On the same occasion, a member of Environmental Justice in Mozambique was forbidden from entering Brazil, triggering public demonstrations of solidarity.

Mozambicans visit the Brazilian Cerrado region

It was in the second half of 2012 that a more structured dialogue on the ProSavana program actually began. Peasant organizations and movements in Mozambique began to receive news about the similarities between the agricultural development program planned for the north region of the country and the projects carried out with the support from the Japanese cooperation in the Brazilian Cerrado region in the 1980s. Based on solid relations built over time, Mozambican organizations networked with Brazilian social organizations and movements and scheduled a visit to the Brazil's Cerrado region. They relied on the support from Oxfam International in both countries, especially from the GROW campaign.

The NGO FASE, which for four decades has been fighting large monoculture crops⁶ and promoting agroecological models in the Cerrado region, organized the trip that brought representatives of UNAC and of the Rural Mutual Aid Association (ORAM) to Brazil. Before the field visit, the agenda included participation in a seminar of rural social movements in Cuiabá, capital of Mato Grosso state, which immediately produced synergies and led to the identification of common struggles on both sides of the Atlantic in favor of food and nutrition sovereignty and security.

The field visit, which covered a 3,000-kilometer area of large monoculture crops in Mato Grosso state, caused a strong impact on the representatives of the Mozambican organizations. As they were driven past seemingly endless soybean and sugarcane plantations during that field trip, they became afraid that the same would happen in the provinces of Niassa, Nampula and Zambezia, where peasants have been growing crops for local consumption based on traditional methods without any technical assistance or credit.

The agenda also included visits to rural workers' unions and indigenous and traditional communities and meetings with rural leaders, during which the Mozambicans heard reports of their resistance to the model implemented since the 1980s and which is being reproduced today based on intensive use of pesticides, with very negative effects on health. The Mozambicans filmed their visit and recorded these reports, and the captured material was turned into a film⁷ that is being used in training courses and to promote discussions in rural communities located along the Nacala Corridor.

In addition to visiting the Cerrado region, the representatives of UNAC and ORAM came to Brasilia to hold important meetings with government representatives. They also attended an event held by the National Food

6. FASE has published a number of studies on the expansion of soybean and sugarcane crops and cattle-raising in Mato Grosso state and has been playing a key role in networking social organizations and movements in the region. See www.fase.org.br

7. OCULTA do Prodecer". Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUKmyKfsEok>

and Nutritional Security Council (CONSEA) to celebrate agroecological projects developed by rural social movements from all regions of Brazil. They met with the president of CONSEA, on which occasion they planted the first seed of a network that produced important fruits in the following year, when a representative of UNAC was invited to attend a plenary session of CONSEA as a featured speaker, making it possible for the ProSavana program to be discussed during that meeting and for the Council to adopt a public position and issue recommendations on it⁸.

Open Letter supported by Brazilian and Japanese civil society

After the impact caused by the visit to the Cerrado region, social organizations and movements in Mozambique defined a joint position against the continuation of the ProSavana program. The “Open Letter to Urgently Stop and Reflect on the ProSavana Program,” which was written by Mozambican organizations and social movements, published in May 2013 and widely endorsed and supported by various sectors of Mozambican, Brazilian and Japanese civil society, was for a long time seen as the main document against the project because it resulted from an intense process of discussions between organizations and movements in Mozambique and led to the development of strong bonds between them⁹. The preparation of the Open Letter was preceded by a statement issued by UNAC in October 2012 that was instrumental for building the resistance against the ProSavana program because it led Japanese civil society to engage in that joint struggle in November 2012¹⁰.

In Brazil, the “Open Letter” had a huge impact within government, resulting in a kind of crisis that contributed to delay and stall initial plans and to press governments to pay attention to the demands of the peasants. The “Open Letter” was sent to various government agencies involved in the ProSavana program, including the Office of the President of the Republic. But there has never been an official public answer to it. Unofficially, some government representatives responded with the argument that Brazil can only have a relationship with the government of Mozambique; others argued that “foreign NGOs” were behind the initiative. Among government sectors that support family and peasant farming, the Letter has become an important tool in favor of their claims and against the interests of agribusiness. From the perspective of social movements, it is a very important document, as major movements fighting for land signed it and included the ProSavana program in their struggle agenda.

Before the first half of 2013 was over, meetings and hearings began to

8. This position is mentioned in Explanatory Memorandum 007 of December 5, 2013, available at: <http://www4.planalto.gov.br/consea/eventos/ple-narias/exposicoes-de-motivos/2013/e.m.-no-007-2013/view>

9. “Agronegócio brasileiro invade a África” - <http://www.farmlandgrab.org/post/view/21362-agronego-cio-brasileiro-invade-a-africa>

10. The Japanese civil society network against the ProSavana program is made up of NGOs, academics and citizens.



Community Workshops.
Image by: ADECRU Mozambique

be held with representatives of different agencies of the federal government to collect information and present the positions of the South-South network. The pressure was initially focused on the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), the agency in charge of Brazilian cooperation activities at the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations (MRE). But after several attempts it was seen that ABC was merely the executive agency and that pressure would have to be put on policy- and decision-making agencies.

Brazilian organizations and movements were faced with a decision-making process without a clear-cut institutional framework or clear rules, which made it difficult for them to carry out advocacy actions appropriately. Realizing that a forum was lacking for discussing and analyzing the different interests that guide Brazilian foreign policy, especially Brazil's development cooperation and South-South cooperation, these organizations decided to map out the public and private actors that had a real voice in defining the future of the ProSavana program. Through this mapping exercise, they uncovered the maze in which representatives of agribusiness companies, of foundations such as the Getúlio Vargas Foun-

dation (FGV/GV Agro) – which is in charge of preparing the Master Plan for the ProSavana and the Nacala Fund¹¹ – of the Lula Institute, of multilateral cooperation programs engaged in food and nutrition security projects, of the Gates Foundation¹², among others, circulate and make decisions privately.

Amidst a myriad of public and private actors, those organizations observed how the Lula Institute played a key role in defining and deciding on Brazil's presence in Africa in general and on its participation in the ProSavana program in particular. The Lula Institute, a non-government institution, has the mission of contributing to fight hunger in Africa, and for this purpose it mobilizes public agencies, companies, institutions and international programs. The premise adopted by the Lula Institute is that hunger in Africa is an urgent problem and that private sector involvement is necessary to address it. A similar premise was adopted in Brazil, where commercial agriculture prevails in the country's agricultural and agrarian model, historically anchored in a political base of support (the so-called "ruralist bench") that ensures its strong presence in the executive branch and in the allocation of budget resources, credit and public support policies and programs.

With the aim of institutionalizing the dialogue and strengthening alliances with government sectors that are responsive to the demands of rural social movements, the ProSavana program was successfully included in the agenda of the 8th meeting of the Standing Committee for International Affairs (CPAI) of the National Council on Sustainable Rural Development (CONDRAF), linked to the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) (see box).

At this point in the discussions, the ABC representatives recognized the existence of information and communication problems and reported that the distortions and negative perceptions of the ProSavana program would be reversed after the launch of its third pillar – the PEM¹³, focused on technical assistance, which was more delayed than that of the other pillars. The representatives of ABC even argued that the design of ATER was being redefined to focus more on the demands of family farming. However, the rural social movements were already supporting the idea that the main forum for the dialogue should be transferred from ABC to a political agency where the correlation of forces was more favorable, and the meeting at CONDRAF was a milestone in that regard.

Mobilization in Mozambique, Brazil and Japan

11. The Nacala Fund was a private international financial mechanism headquartered in Luxembourg designed to finance private agricultural projects in the Nacala Corridor region in Mozambique.

Although it was not designed to be an official mechanism to promote the development of the ProSavana program, its operations were explicitly aligned with the strategies defined in the Master Plan and with the guideline of alignment between private and public investments. <http://fase.org.br/pt/acervo/biblioteca/fundo-nacala-estrutura-original-e-desdobramentos/>

12. The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation works on several fronts in Africa, including in actions in support of projects designed to fight hunger through biofortification.

13. PEM: Project for Community Agricultural Development Models with Improved Agricultural Extension Service - <http://www.prosavana.gov.mz/prosavana-pem-1/?lang=pt-pt>

QUESTIONS ON THE AGENDA IN BRAZIL

Nathalie Beghin, from INESC and CONSEA, precisely summarized in her notes the status of the debate then:

ProSavana: In response to the demands of rural movements, CPAI included the ProSavana program on the agenda of its 8th meeting. A representative of ABC/MRE made a presentation on this cooperation strategy. The ProSavana program is based on three pillars, namely: (i) strengthening research capabilities through a partnership between the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA) and the Agricultural Research Institute of Mozambique (IIAM) – which is under way; (ii) drawing up a Master Plan, an activity being carried out by FGV Agro, which won a tender based on Terms of Reference prepared by the three countries; (iii) the Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Program (ATER).

It was highlighted that the Prodecer program is being used as reference for the ProSavana program and that it is linked to the national plans of the Mozambican government, such as that of the Strategic Program for the Development of the Agricultural Sector (PDSA). The representative of ABC also emphasized the following points:

- ProSavana is an innovative program in the Brazilian South-South cooperation, as it does not constitute a one-off action of Brazil, but rather an integrated approach designed to address serious global problems in the fields of food security and social inclusion.
- Brazil took into account the criticism by Mozambican rural movements, especially by UNAC, in relation to the content and implementation of the ProSavana program. Accordingly, measures such as the following ones have been taken: scheduling of consultations with local organizations; establishment of a Communication Committee – made up of representatives of the three countries and which reports to the Ministry of Agriculture of Mozambique; launching of a website in the domain of the Mozambican government; preparation of promotional material using a simple language that can be understood by all stakeholders; and inclusion of consultation mechanisms in the Technical Assistance and Rural Extension (ATER) pillar.
- The preparation of the Master Plan is under way. No documents have been approved by the countries so far. As a result of the pressure from civil society and of other demands, the documents are being reviewed and will also include the results of the consultations held with Mozambican civil society, especially in the Nampula region.
- Brazilian cooperation is guided by the principles of national sovereignty, non-conditionality and non-interference. In this regard, Brazil's actions are restricted to meeting the demands and needs expressed by the Mozambican government.

In the debate that followed, criticisms were voiced and propositions made, particularly by the representatives of social organizations and movements attending the meeting. The ProSavana program was particularly questioned in the following aspects:

- It is a model being exported along the lines of the Prodecer program, which stimulates agribusiness and disrupts local family farming, apart from causing terrible environmental impacts as a result of its agricultural model based on monoculture with intensive use of pesticides and GMOs.
- Lack of transparency in relation to how the cooperation arrangement is being implemented – both in Brazil and Mozambique. The whole initiative lacks transparency.
- Lack of effective mechanisms for consulting the main stakeholders, i.e. Mozambican farmers and their organizations.
- Lack of social participation in preparing the ProSavana in Brazil.
- Lack of due regard for the traditional knowledge and practices of local farmers.
- The livelihood of about 5 million small farmers who do not have a title to their land is at stake. The ProSavana program has indeed resulted in a land grabbing process in Mozambique due to the fact that it is seen by the agribusiness industry in Brazil and other countries as the new agricultural frontier.
- It was noted that rural organizations and movements in Mozambique at large do not want the ProSavana program to be discontinued, but would like to have it redesigned with the aim of strengthening family and peasant farming in the country.

Proposals were presented to address these problems, such as the following ones:

- Discussing and questioning the contents of Brazilian cooperation in the agricultural and agrarian fields. CONDRAF and CONSEA are the forums in which these discussions should be held.
- Reinforcing the importance of institutionalizing social participation in the process of defining public policies. For these purposes, the following was suggested: (i) exchanges between rural organizations and movements in Mozambique and Brazil should be supported; (ii) a fourth pillar – “strengthening social participation capabilities” – should be included in the ProSavana program.
- The traditional knowledge and practices of local peasant organizations should be valued and recognized through a specific study. Just like Agro FGV was hired to draw up the Master Plan, terms of reference can be prepared with a focus on meeting the demands, needs and interests of family farmers in the Nacala corridor.
- The adoption of agroecological practices should be stimulated.

The coordinated efforts between social movements and organizations in the three countries began to take effect and were strengthened by a strong advocacy and pressure on the Japanese government undertaken by organizations and supporters in Japan, whose cooperation through JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) advanced in ProSavana and in regional and bilateral political dialogues, including the (Tokyo) International Conference for Africa's Development (TICAD) held in May-June 2013 in Japan¹⁴. The mobilization was also supported by accusations made by international organizations and global social movements fighting against the expansion of transnational agribusiness.

In the first half of 2013, governments began to respond to farmers' demands to be heard and have access to information and transparency by holding meetings in the provinces and in Maputo – while these meetings were called “consultations,” they were actually sessions in which government representatives conveyed very superficial information about the alleged benefits that ProSavana would bring to the farmers. These meetings were not focused on listening to what the farmers had to say, but rather on following a protocol of presenting rudimentary information, which would then be recorded in public documents as consultations held with civil society.

During that period, the so-called “consultations” did not disclose any official documents, as a result of which some organizations in Mozambique had to resort to unofficial means in April 2013 to gain access to the “zero draft” ProSavana Master Plan – in other words, while the document should have been made available to the public, it was accessed in a non-public manner. Social movements from the three countries organized themselves to collectively read and analyze the document's content, as well as understand and cross information about the crops planned for each area in the Nacala Corridor, the companies involved, funding sources, potential impacts on provinces and communities, similarities with agribusiness in Brazil, connections with the international grain market, among other aspects (cf. Schlesinger, 2013). The content of the first version of the ProSavana Master Plan was then used to create information materials to be distributed to and discussed with farmers who would be affected. UNAC made a huge effort to discuss the issue with its constituency.

The information included in the Master Plan had a major impact on farmers. Fearing the grabbing of their lands (which in Mozambique are public and made available to small farmers under a concession contract), the farmers initially put up a strong resistance. That was the most intimidating moment for the governments, which were forced to respond to the

14. “África, o novo ‘campo de batalha’ entre o Japão e a China.” Available at http://www.rm.co.mz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9743%3A-ProSavana-nao-ira-usurpar-terras-guebuza&catid=1%3AUltimas&Itemid=50



Meeting with affected communities in Nampula, 2013.
Image by: Sérgio Schlesinger/FASE

demands made by farmers and by the tri-national network. The first responses were seen in the first half of 2013 and included the intensification of “consultations” and accusations that Brazilian and Japanese organizations were interfering with Mozambique’s internal affairs. Yet, during that period, an ABC director organized a meeting with Mozambican organizations at the Brazilian Embassy in Maputo, while other meetings and hearings were also being held in Brazil for providing rudimentary information. Also at that time, claims were made that ProSavana was a program developed by the government of Mozambique and therefore it, and only it, could disclose official documents.

Then, as pressure mounted, the Brazilian government, particularly ABC, began to claim that ProSavana had communication issues and that

these were the only target of criticism¹⁵. Based on this premise, the governments decided to hire consulting firms specialized in communications and provide official information – albeit in a selective and superficial way – through a website created for this purpose.

The dialogue and networking that resulted from the visit to Brazil and from the signatures collected for the “Open Letter” led to an invitation for FASE representatives to go to Mozambique in August 2013. The agenda included coordination meetings with national and provincial Mozambican organizations, attended on the Brazilian side by representatives of FASE and MPA/Via Campesina, which at the time worked in partnership with UNAC to promote the exchange of agroecological information for small farmers. This meeting was crucial to start off the whole process of building the South-South cooperation, carrying out diagnoses, exchanging information, identifying common struggles and visions, and creating a short- and medium-term agenda.

At the meeting, the participants discussed and approved the main public messages on which they would work jointly: the “Open Letter” would still be the main document and the unified resistance was established there. The demand for access to information and transparency needed to be prioritized, because back then the information available was scarce and distorted and no consultations were being held with farmers. It would be a common struggle for the three countries, as the responsibility fell with the three governments: every organization and movement would be responsible for leading the struggle in their country. Brazil’s responsibility is to export a failed model, as companies with plans to go to Mozambique face conflicts in Brazil. There was also a need to point out Brazil’s responsibility in the More Food Program, in which manufacturers of machinery and tractors for large-scale agriculture do not meet the needs of small farmers. It would be necessary to demand the creation of a program to support small-scale farmers and their production systems, provide the means to strengthen rural production, and respect the true owners of the land, namely, the farmers. It was also necessary to always question the narrative that there is plenty of land available in Mozambique and point out that farmers are at risk of losing their land; that there is no unused land; that the land issue would always be the central issue; and that the insinuation that the “Open Letter” was written by Brazilians – as if Mozambican movements had no autonomy and capacity to do so – was an affront to the people of Mozambique.

On the same occasion, the First People’s Triangular Conference was held, producing a strong impact on the country’s political agenda. The

15. “Brasil reconhece falhas no ProSavana.” In *Savana. Independência e Integridade*. Maputo, April 12, 2013. Available at http://letivo//macua.blogs.com/files/savana1005_12.04.2013.pdf, p. 12.



Coal Port in Nacala.

Image by: ADECRU Mozambique

conference, which was attended by representatives of peasant organizations from the provinces that would be affected by ProSavana and several national organizations, as well as representatives of social organizations from Brazil and Japan, received the then Minister of Agriculture of Mozambique and several other government representatives. However, the representatives of the governments of Brazil and Japan did not participate in such a way as to reinforce the narrative that “ProSavana is a program developed by the Mozambican government.” This conference had a memorable public impact.

Besides the meetings and conference in Maputo, representatives of FASE, ORAM (Rural Organization for Mutual Support), UNAC, Oxfam Novib, Oxfam International in Brazil and Mozambique, and ActionAid Mozambique conducted field visits to Niassa and Nampula, where they met with peasant networks, forums and representatives, visited communities, and talked to farmers. They witnessed the large presence of Brazilian companies in the construction of ports and airports in Nacala and of large silos for the storage and export of grains shipped through the so-called

Nacala Corridor. The lack of infrastructure, electricity, and support for farmers to produce and market their products along the corridor contrasted sharply with the huge export infrastructure that was being built when they arrived in Nacala.

After returning to Brazil, they knew that the fight against the expansion of the Brazilian agribusiness model and companies into the north of Mozambique could only be waged if, on the Mozambican side, all organizations representing farmers and fighting for rights and justice in the country joined forces and if, on the Brazilian side, all rural social movements engaged in that fight. Another major aspect would be the increased engagement of organizations and supporters in Japan that have been involved in this fight since the beginning, with the aim of changing the financing pattern of JICA's plans for the Nacala Corridor.

During the first phase (which lasted until mid-2014) in Mozambique, all social organizations and movements that support the peasants' struggle and rights joined forces to demand transparency, access to information about the preparation of the ProSavana Master Plan¹⁶, consultations with farmers, the suspension of the program, and the strengthening of national plans and programs designed to support rural production. As mentioned previously, this unified movement resulted in the launch of the "Open Letter."

During this period, FASE and MPA played a key role in enhancing cooperation with all rural social movements in Brazil. Using the "Open Letter" as an information and mobilization tool, they managed to get the networks, forums, institutions, NGOs and, particularly, the movements of workers, family farmers and peasants to make a serious commitment to prevent the Brazilian agribusiness model from being exported to Mozambique¹⁷.

The perception has always been that it is not just about international solidarity, albeit this is a central component, but also about a common struggle, since the expansion of agribusiness in Mozambique would also have a perverse impact on food and nutrition sovereignty and security in Brazil, as it would strengthen the transnational chain that links the Brazilian agribusiness to the international food industry. According to information provided by Brazilian social movements, large farmers and companies announced that they would leave the Cerrado region and go to Mozambique to obtain free lands – as Mozambican lands are public and made available to small-scale farmers under concession agreements – and avoid any kind of social, labor or environmental regulations.

16. In early April 2013, the Master Plan was first leaked by members of the technical team that prepared its first draft.

17. In Brazil, the Letter was signed by the following organizations, social movements and groups: Friends of the Earth Brazil (*Amigos da Terra Brasil*); National Articulation of Agroecology (ANA); Brazilian Association of NGOs (ABONG); Central Union of Workers (CUT); Pastoral Land Commission (CPT); Pastoral Land Commission – State of Mato Grosso; National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG); FASE – Solidarity and Education; Federation of Family Farming Workers (FETRAF); Federation of Agronomy Students of Brazil (FEAB); Mato Grosso Forum for the Environment and Development (FORMAD); Mato Grosso Forum for Human Rights and Land (FDHT-MT); Brazilian Forum on Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security (FBSSAN); Climate Change and Social Justice Forum; Forum for Struggles in Cáceres – state of Mato Grosso; Researcher Group on Environmental Education, Communication and the Arts (GPEA/UFMT); Raízes Group; Institute of Alternative Policies for the Southern Cone (PACS); Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses (IBASE); Caracol Institute; Institute of Socioeconomic Studies in Brazil (INESC); Global Justice; Landless Workers' Movement (MST); Peasant Women's Movement (MMC); Movement of Small Farmers (MPA); Brazilian Network for the Integration of Peoples (REBRIP); Axé Dudu Network; Mato Grosso Network for Environmental Education (REMTEA); Faith and Life Society (*Sociedade Fé e Vida*); Life Brazil (*Vida Brasil*).

Shift in the governments' narrative and new challenges for social organizations

In view of the increasing pressure and mobilization of peoples, particularly the Mozambican social organizations and movements, the following moment was marked by shifts in the narrative and content of the ProSavana program. In October 2013, the government of Mozambique launched a concept note that indicated a significant change from the previous version of the Master Plan. The “Concept Note for Formulation of the Agricultural Development Master Plan in the Nacala Corridor” no longer mentioned anything about exports, did not focus on the “high-value crops and commodities” that were consistently mentioned in the previous version, and did not cite Prodecer as a reference. According to the document, the Strategic Plan for Agricultural Development (PEDSA) would be the new baseline. It claimed that an extensive interview and consultation process had been conducted. The Note’s central argument focused on the low productivity of fallow farming systems, which produced almost no surplus and generated low income, and on a proposal to expand contract farming in order to enhance productivity. While it was unclear if it was only a change in direction or an actual change in the program, one could see that the pressure and mobilization of farmers and the tri-national network was having a powerful effect. The Note was subsequently removed from the official ProSavana website.¹⁸

The gradual narrative shifts promoted by the governments and official documents played a key role in redefining the direction of the resistance movement, which was a single unit up until then. In late 2013 and early 2014, the changes began to change the perception of some sectors representing farmers about the ProSavana program. At that time, leaders of peasants and of local and national civil society organizations in Mozambique also began to receive threats. As several of the “consultation” meetings – which brought together government and civil society actors that joined forces in the past to wage wars of national liberation – failed to provide alternative forms of support for peasant production, they began to gradually change the perceptions of rural sectors about ProSavana and divide the movement. A series of actions taken by the governments produced different perceptions among farmers: the “consultations” were intensified and farmers were explicitly putting forward their demands, but their proposals were never actually accepted and the program’s logic was not changed. While the program continued to promise improvements to farmers, they continued to face land grabs in the provinces. This gap between words and

18. The Note was criticized by the Japanese partners. The text is available at <http://www.farmland-grab.org/post/view/22964-japanese-experts-analysis-the-concept-note-for-formulation-of-agricultural-development-master-plan-in-the-nacala-corridor>

actions began to frustrate farmers in their efforts to negotiate and push for changes in the program's direction and ended up playing a crucial role in the launch of the No to ProSavana Campaign.

Despite this scenario, the Second People's Triangular Conference was held in July 2014, providing yet another overwhelming demonstration of the organization and mobilization capacity of social peasant organizations and movements in Mozambique. The conference was attended by many peasant representatives from the provinces affected by ProSavana, by national entities and networks engaged in the struggle for land, human rights, women's rights, and environmental justice, and by academics and international partners, as well as by representatives of the three governments at specific times. The delegation of rural social organizations and movements from Brazil was very representative and played an active role, with management representatives of CONTAG¹⁹, MPA, MMC, CONAQ, MST, FBSSAN, FASE, Oxfam International in Brazil, and ActionAid Brazil.

While the Second Triangular Conference consolidated the struggle of Mozambican social organizations and movements and their remarkable ability to establish a base of resistance while at the same time internationalizing the debate, it also showed that not all organizations that had originally initiated the struggle continued to contribute substantially to the process. Some organizations that played a key initial role did not participate actively in the Second Conference.

In June, one month ahead of the Second Conference, the No to ProSavana National Campaign²⁰ was launched, marking a new milestone in the struggle. In parallel with the Second Conference, the first international meeting of the No to ProSavana Campaign was held. That meeting was attended by several representatives of social movements and organizations from the three countries and international representatives of international organizations operating in Mozambique, as well as of different provincial and national organizations, movements and networks, but there were some significant absences, showing that the campaign had a somewhat limited scope from the outset. At that meeting, a solid plan was agreed that included strategies for the base work and components for internalizing the resistance movement.

As part of the campaign, a working meeting between social organizations and movements from Brazil and Mozambique was held in March 2015 in Brasilia, where participants agreed on a plan to move forward with their work on two fronts: promoting the No to ProSavana Campaign and building a cooperation agenda between the two countries (see box).²¹

19. <http://www.contag.org.br/index.php?modulo=portal&acao=interna&cod-pag=101&id=9745&mt=1&data=25/07/2014%2010:26:42&nw=1&idj=025>. Comunicado de Imprensa do ProSavana. Disponível em http://www.prosavana.gov.mz/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/FINAL_COMUNICADO-DE-IMPRESA.pdf

20. <http://www.farmlandgrab.org/post/view/23578-campanha-nacional-nao-ao-ProSavana>

21. Representatives of the following organizations attended the meeting: ADECRU, Environmental Justice (Justiça Ambiental), LIVANINGO and UNAC on the Mozambican side; and ActionAid, CONTAG, CPT, FASE, FBSSAN, FES, INESC, MMC, MPA, MST and Oxfam on the Brazilian side.

Up until that moment, the mobilization had achieved successful results. It pressured authorities to hold consultations with farmers, culminating in the holding of public hearings with communities affected by ProSavana in the April-June 2015 period. These public hearings, however, were harshly criticized by a wide range of social organizations and movements, which even called for their invalidation²², and were also the subject of official complaints during a triangular press conference in Tokyo. Sayaka Funada-Classen and Naoko Watanabe say that the complaints had a huge impact on the Japanese government, which had planned and used public funds to finance the hearings for the purpose of legitimizing the ProSavana Master Plan, thus causing JICA to dramatically increase its efforts to co-opt the Mozambican civil society.

At the working meeting between Brazilian and Mozambican social organizations and movements in Brasilia in March 2015, the Mozambican delegation presented the following agenda, which clearly expresses the consistency and consolidation of the partnership and dialogue:

22. <https://adecru.wordpress.com/2015/06/04/chamada-dos-povos-para-invalidacao-imediata-da-auscultacao-publica-do-plano-director-do-ProSavana/>

COOPERATION BETWEEN BRAZILIAN AND MOZAMBICAN CIVIL SOCIETY

Aware of the advantages resulting from the process of cooperation with other countries across the world, the Mozambican civil society felt the need to establish a cooperation process to denounce the evil effects of capitalism and promote their struggle against the ideas of unbridled capitalism.

Therefore, the fact that the two societies share a common history associated with the struggle for independence against Portuguese colonialism, coupled with the use of a common language, contributed toward attracting, coordinating and building the cooperation process between the peoples of Brazil and Mozambique.

However, the massive presence of Brazilian companies, projects and development programs in the Mozambican territory led to greater openness and involvement of Brazilian and Mozambican civil society organizations in the cooperation process.

Nevertheless, the actions taken by the Vale do Rio Doce company during the establishment process in Mozambique and during the coal mining process in the Tete province, coupled with the harmful impacts caused by the company on the communities of Moatize, the participation of Camargo Correa in the future Mpadkua dam, and the implementation of ProSavana in Mozambique—a program designed for monoculture production in a 14.5 million hectare area inhabited by about 4.5 million families who use the land for food production – brought the two peoples closer together in their efforts to combat the evils caused by Brazilian companies in Mozambique.

ProSavana Nampula Meeting. Image by: ADECRU Mozambique



Thus, under the cooperation between Brazilian and Mozambican civil society, the Mozambican delegation, made up of representatives of UNAC, Justiça Ambiental, Livaningo, ADECRU, Human Rights League, Women's Forum, Kulima, and AAAJC, proposes that the cooperation should be established at two levels:

1. AT THE LEVEL OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (PEOPLES OF BRAZIL AND MOZAMBIQUE).

The Mozambican delegation proposes that, during the cooperation process between the two peoples, the following steps should be taken:

- Greater engagement and commitment by both peoples in programs designed to strengthen Mozambican small-scale farmers – including PAA-Africa, production and conservation programs, and programs for improving native seeds – and in the preparation of policy proposals focused on supporting small farmers;
- Engagement of Brazilian civil society in the surveillance and monitoring of all policies, programs and cooperation projects proposed and implemented by the governments of Mozambique and Brazil;
- Greater efforts by the two peoples to pressure the governments of Mozambique and Brazil to refrain from importing programs and projects that undermine peoples sovereignty, particularly with regard to the security of land tenure for small farmers, environmental sustainability, and rational exploitation of natural resources in Mozambique;
- Cooperating to prevent the agribusiness model that is being imported into Mozambique from contributing toward the emergence of landless people;
- Working jointly to consolidate food sovereignty, taking several steps to fight against export-oriented monoculture production;
- Fighting the ProSavana program to the bitter end;
- Paving the way for importing best practices in agroecological food production with the aim of guaranteeing food and nutrition security for the people of Mozambique;
- Pressing multinational and Brazilian companies, particularly Vale, Embrapa and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), so that they do not destabilize the social, cultural and economic fabric of Mozambican communities.
- Promoting the participation of rural women in development projects and programs focused on the agricultural sector;
- Empowering women at the community level in the two countries;
- Taking part in the development of policies, programs and projects designed to mitigate the effects of climate change on communities in Brazil and Mozambique;
- Paving the way for implementing training and experience exchange programs between the two communities, with a focus on agroecology and other particularly important areas and taking into account the needs of each people;

2. AT THE LEVEL OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES (GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL AND MOZAMBIQUE)

- The cooperation between the two governments should encourage the development of policies for the agricultural sector focused on supporting peasant agriculture, with the following priorities: access to rural credit, farming extension services, irrigation systems, production of native seeds that are resistant to climate change, rural infrastructure linked to the creation of productive capacity, and policies that support and promote the commercialization of rural production;
- The Brazilian government should support policies focused on the conservation of forest and wildlife resources, and not on the removal of natural vegetation in large areas to make way for agricultural fields for monoculture or commodity production;
- The Brazilian government should stop all activities that are being carried out under the ProSavana program, particularly in the Nacala Corridor region;
- The governments of Brazil and Mozambique should consider and encourage the establishment of an inclusive and participatory dialogue and hold public and community consultations to address the needs of families along the Nacala Corridor.
- The governments of Brazil and Mozambique should cooperate in initiatives aligned with the actual needs of most of the Mozambican population, who happen to live in rural areas;
- The Nacala Logistics Corridor that is being built by Vale should not focus only on coal export, but also on bringing the farmers' produce to the consumer market and enabling the free movement of goods and people along the corridor;
- Each and every development program and project signed under the cooperation between the two governments should ensure the involvement of Mozambican and Brazilian civil society;
- Each and every cooperation project should include social responsibility;
- The cooperation should guarantee and respect the social and cultural fabric of each country;
- The projects and programs signed under the cooperation between the two governments to be implemented in Mozambique should be approved by the Mozambican communities;
- The two governments should support the education, training and experience exchange initiatives promoted by Brazilian and Mozambican civil society;
- The two governments should promote policies and programs designed to advance food sovereignty with a view to achieving food security;
- The two governments should take part in the process of helping farmers organize themselves;
- Some of the projects and programs focused on the agricultural sector should be managed by civil society;
- The use of peasant labor to promote agribusiness should be discouraged;
- The two governments should recognize and legitimize the existing cooperation process between Brazilian and Mozambican civil society.

Lessons and new challenges

Since the beginning of the resistance movement against the ProSavana program, the governments adopted several strategies to divide and weaken the peasant struggle for land rights in northern Mozambique, including, as mentioned previously, superficial and misleading consultations, false promises, and omissions concerning the project's content. However, the broad unified resistance began to wind down more strongly with the co-optation of prominent leaders and organizations, as expressed in a statement made by the No to ProSavana Campaign in January 2016²³. The accusations made in the statement were confirmed in February 2016 with the creation of the Civil Society Coordination Mechanism for Development of the Nacala Corridor, whose purpose would be to “work for engaging CSOs in reviewing and finalizing the ProSavana Master Plan with the aim of incorporating and safeguarding the legitimate demands put forward by civil society organizations under the program.”²⁴

The resistance against ProSavana became a reference for social movements in Africa and all over the world in the larger struggle against land grabbing. This struggle brought and continues to bring major accomplishments, challenges and lessons for future strategies of different peoples.

There is no doubt that the pressure both inside and outside of Mozambique for basic needs – access to information, transparency and the right to be consulted – was very effective. It led to a crisis that stalled the initial plans of ProSavana, changed its narrative, and delayed the completion of the program's Master Plan.

The South-South articulation of peoples against the ProSavana program also points to important lessons about new dynamics of international solidarity. The traditional North-South solidarity models has given way to a movement based on the injustices produced by the same model in countries from the South, establishing a dynamic relationship between Brazilian and Mozambican peoples driven by a common struggle for the right to land, security and food sovereignty.

The challenges ahead involve the need to combine the resistance struggle with the development of alternatives, as clearly stated in the Campaign's work plan defined at the meeting held in March 2015 in Brasilia. The project to improve the food and nutrition sovereignty and security of peasants and family farmers on both sides of the Atlantic needs to become economically viable to compete with the agribusiness model represented by ProSavana.

23. Campanha Não ao ProSavana denuncia as irregularidades do processo de Diálogo sobre o ProSavana. Available at <http://fase.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Comunicado-de-Imprensa-ProSavana-marginaliza-e-exclui-a-Campanha-N%C3%A3o-ao-ProSavana-do-processo-de-dialogo-corrigida.pdf>

24. Press release issued by ProSavana. Available at http://www.ProSavana.gov.mz/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/FINAL_COMUNICADO-DE-IMPRESA.pdf

Some landmark dates for the network of peoples

	<u>November 2012</u>	Visit of UNAC and ORAM representatives to the Brazilian Cerrado region.
<u>May 2013</u>		
Month in which the “Open Letter to Urgently Stop and Reflect on the ProSavana Program” was issued”.	<u>2nd half of 2013</u>	Establishment of the Mozambique Group in Brazil, made up of the following rural social movements: MPA, MST, MMC, CONTAG, FETRAF, CPT and CONAQ; networks working in the area of food and nutrition security, especially FBSSAN; civil society organizations engaged in activities related to the Brazilian cooperation agenda in the areas of agriculture and food and nutrition security in Brazil: FASE, INESC and PACS.
<u>August 2013</u>		
1 st Triangular Conference of the Peoples. It brought together more than 60 representatives of social movements, environmental movements, peasant associations and civil society organizations in Mozambique, Brazil and Japan. Authorities from Mozambique, such as Agriculture Minister José Pacheco, also attended the conference. Launch of the study “Brazilian Cooperation and Investments in Africa – The case of ProSavana in Mozambique,” carried out by the NGO FASE in partnership with UNAC and ORAM*.	<u>December 2013</u>	first meeting of representatives of the Mozambique Group and the Lula Institute, which included the representative exhibition of UNAC.
	<u>December 2013</u>	Representatives of UNAC made a presentation during a CONSEA plenary meeting.**
	<u>June 2014</u>	Launch of the No to ProSavana National Campaign.
	<u>July 2014</u>	2 nd Triangular Conference of the Peoples, when an international meeting of the No to ProSavana Campaign was held simultaneously.
	<u>March 2015</u>	Working meeting between Social Organizations and Movements for the Brazilian Cooperation in Mozambique in Brasilia.

* http://fase.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Caderno_ProSavana_FASE.pdf

** <http://www4.planalto.gov.br/consea/comunicacao/noticias/2013/plenaria-do-consea-debate-cooperacao-internacional>

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ANNEX

Open Letter to Urgently Stop and Reflect on the ProSavana Program²⁷

OPEN LETTER OF MOZAMBICAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS TO THE PRESIDENTS OF MOZAMBIQUE AND BRAZIL AND TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN, MAY 2013

His Excellency the President of the Republic
of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza
Her Excellency the President of the Federative
Republic of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff
His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe

Excellencies;

The Government of the Republic of Mozambique, in partnership with the Governments of the Federative Republic of Brazil and Japan, officially launched the ProSavana Programme in April 2011. The programme is the result of a trilateral partnership of the three governments with the purpose of, purportedly, promoting the development of agriculture in the tropical savannas of the Nacala Corridor in northern Mozambique.

The entry and implementation strategy of ProSavana is based on, justifiably, the urgent need to fight poverty and the national and human imperative of promoting the economic, social and cultural development of our country. Or at least these have been the main arguments used by the Government of Mozambique to justify its option to pursue a policy of attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the subsequent deployment of large investments in mining, hydrocarbons, monoculture tree plantations and agribusiness for the production of commodities.

We, the rural populations, families from the communities of the Nacala Corridor, religious organisations and Mozambican civil society, recognising the importance and urgency of combating poverty and promoting sustainable and sovereign development, believe it is timely and crucial to voice our concerns and proposals in relation to the ProSavana Programme.

The ProSavana Programme is already being implemented through its 'Quick Impact Projects' component, without the Environmental Impact Assessment Study ever having been carried out, publicly discussed and approved, one of the main and essential requirements of Mozambican leg-

islation for the implementation of projects of this size, normally classified as Category A.

The breadth and grandeur of the ProSavana Programme contrast with the failure of the law and the total absence of a deep, broad, transparent and democratic public debate, preventing us, (small-scale farmers, families and the population), in this way, from exercising our constitutional right of access to information, consultation, participation and informed consent on a matter of great social, economic and environmental relevance with direct impact on our lives.

However, since September 2012, we have been conducting an extensive debate and wide-reaching meetings with various sectors of Mozambican society. According to the latest documents we had access to, the ProSavana Programme is a mega partnership between the Governments of Mozambique, Brazil and Japan, which will cover an estimated area of 14.5 million hectares of land in 19 districts of the provinces of Niassa, Nampula and Zambézia, allegedly intended for the development of large-scale agriculture in tropical savannas, located along the Nacala Development Corridor.

After several discussions at community level in the districts covered by this programme, with Mozambican Government authorities, diplomatic missions of Brazil and Japan and their international cooperation agencies (Brazilian Cooperation Agency-ABC, and the International Cooperation Agency of Japan-JICA), we find that there are many discrepancies and contradictions in the sparse information and documents available, which are indications and evidence to confirm the existence of defects in the programme design; irregularities in the alleged process of public consultation and participation; serious and imminent threat of usurpation of rural populations' lands and forced removal of communities from areas that they currently occupy.

President of Mozambique, President of Brazil and Prime Minister of Japan, international cooperation must be anchored on the basis of the interests and aspirations of people to build a world of greater justice and solidarity. However, the ProSavana Programme does not abide by these principles and those driving it do not propose, much less show themselves to be available to discuss in an open manner, the substantive issues associated with the development of agriculture in our country.

President Armando Guebuza would like to remind that excellence, along with millions of Mozambicans and Mozambique, he sacrificed much of his youth, struggling to free the people and the land of colonial oppression. Since those hard times, rural populations, with their feet firmly on the ground, took it upon themselves to produce food for the Mozambican

27. Available at <http://www.farm-landgrab.org/post/view/22136-car-ta-aberta-para-deter-e-refle-tir-de-forma-urgente-o-pro-grama-prosavana>

nation, raising the country from the rubble of war to building an independent and just society characterised by solidarity, where everyone could feel that they are the children of this liberated land.

President Guebuza, more than 80% of the Mozambican population depends on family farming for its livelihood, accounting for the production of more than 90% of the country's food. ProSavana is a tool for creating optimal conditions for multinational corporations to enter the country, which will inevitably rob rural families of their autonomy and disrupt the small-scale food production systems, which could cause the emergence of landless families and increased food insecurity, i.e., the loss of the greatest achievements of our National Independence.

President Dilma Rousseff, solidarity between the peoples of Mozambique and Brazil comes from the difficult times of the national liberation struggle, through national reconstruction during and after the 16 years of war that Mozambique went through. More than anyone, President Dilma you suffered oppression and were a victim of the military dictatorship in Brazil and knows the price of freedom. Currently, two-thirds of the food consumed in Brazil is produced by rural populations and not by the corporations that the Brazilian Government is exporting to Mozambique through ProSavana.

President Dilma Rousseff, how is it justified that the Brazilian Government does not give priority to the Food Acquisition Programme in Mozambique, which we rural populations support and encourage? Paradoxically, all financial, material and human resources at various levels are allocated to agribusiness development promoted by ProSavana. How is it that international cooperation between Brazil, Mozambique and Japan, which should promote solidarity among peoples, is converted into an instrument to facilitate obscure commercial transactions and promote the grabbing of community land, which we use in the age-old manner to produce food for the Mozambican nation and beyond?

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan, through JICA, for decades contributed to the development of agriculture and other sectors in our country. We repudiate the current policy of the Japanese Government's cooperation with Mozambique in the agrarian sector. More than the investment in mega infrastructure in the Nacala Corridor to allow the outflow of agricultural commodities through the port of Nacala, as well as financial and human support to ProSavana, it is our understanding that the Japanese venture should focus on small-scale agriculture, the only one capable of producing adequate food in the quantities needed for the Mozambican population, as well as promoting sustainable and inclusive development.

Esteemed representatives of the people of Mozambique, Brazil and Japan, we live a phase in history marked by growing demand by and expansion of large financial groups and multinational corporations through appropriation and control of natural resources globally, transforming these into commodities and claiming these as a business opportunities.

Excellencies, on the strength of the facts presented, we rural populations of Mozambique, families from the rural communities of the Nacala Corridor, religious organisations and civil society, denounce and repudiate as a matter of urgency:

- The manipulation of information and intimidation of communities and civil society organisations who oppose ProSavana by presenting sustainable alternatives for the agricultural sector;
- The imminent process of usurpation of the land of local communities by Brazilian, Japanese and local corporations, as well as those of other nations;
- ProSavana is based on increasing production and productivity based on export monocultures (maize, soybean, cassava, cotton, sugar cane, etc.), which aims to integrate rural populations in the production process exclusively controlled by multinational corporations and multilateral financial institutions, destroying family farming systems;
- The importation into Mozambique of the built-in contradictions of the development model of Brazilian agriculture.

Despite the accusations presented above, we rural populations of Mozambique, families from the rural communities of the Nacala Corridor, religious organisations and civil society, request and demand urgent intervention of Your Excellencies, President of Mozambique, President of Brazil and Prime Minister of Japan, as the legitimate representatives of your people, in order to urgently halt the intervention logic of the ProSavana Programme, which will have irreversible negative impacts for rural households such as:

- The emergence of landless families and communities in Mozambique as a result of the processes of land expropriations and consequent resettlement;
- Frequent upheavals and socio-environmental conflicts in communities along the Nacala Corridor, and beyond;
- Worsening and deepening poverty among families of rural communities and reduced alternatives for livelihoods and existence;

- Destruction of the production systems of rural families and consequently food insecurity;
- Increased corruption and conflicts of interest;
- Pollution of ecosystems, soil and water resources as a result of excessive and uncontrolled use of pesticides, chemical fertilisers and other toxic substances;
- Ecological imbalance as a result of extensive clearing of forests to make way for agribusiness mega projects.

Thus, we small-scale farmers, families from the communities of the Nacala Corridor, religious organisations and national civil society signatories to this Open Letter, publicly express our indignation and outrage at the way the ProSavana Programme has been designed and is being implemented on our lands and the communities of our country.

We advocate for the development of agriculture based on production systems, rather than products, i.e., the non-destruction of the family method of production, which over and above economic issues also incorporates specifically the way of occupation of geographic spaces, the social and anthropological dimension that has proved very sustainable throughout the history of mankind.

The social movements and organisations signatories to this Open Letter turn to Your Excellencies, President Armando Guebuza, President Dilma Rousseff and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, in your capacity as Heads of Government and State and legitimate representatives of the peoples of Mozambique, Brazil and Japan to see to it:

- That all necessary measures are taken to immediately suspend all activities and projects under way in the tropical savannas of the Nacala Development Corridor within the scope of the implementation of the ProSavana Programme;
- That the Government of Mozambique see to it that an inclusive and democratic mechanism is set up for the creation of an official broad dialogue with all sectors of Mozambican society, particularly small-scale farmers, rural people, Corridor communities, religious organisations and civil society with the aim of defining their real needs, aspirations and priorities in the national development matrix and agenda;
- That all human, material and financial resources allocated to the ProSavana Programme be reallocated to efforts to define and implement a National Plan for the Support of Sustainable Family Farming (the family system), advocated for more than two decades by rural families

throughout the Republic of Mozambique with the aim of supporting and guaranteeing food sovereignty for the more than 16 million Mozambicans for whom agriculture is the main means of livelihood;

- That the Mozambican Government prioritise food sovereignty, conservation agriculture and agro-ecology as the only sustainable solutions for reducing hunger and promoting proper nutrition;
- That the Mozambican Government adopt policies for the agricultural sector focused on support for small-scale agriculture, whose priorities are based on access to rural credit, farming extension services, irrigation, giving value to native seeds that are resistant to climate change, rural infrastructure linked to the creation of productive capacity and policies that support and promote the commercialisation of rural production.

Finally and according to the statement above, we, Mozambican small-scale farmers, families from the rural communities of the Nacala Corridor, religious organisations and civil society, demand cooperation among countries based on the genuine interests and aspirations of the people, a cooperation that serves the promotion of a more just and caring society. We dream of a better and viable Mozambique, where all Mozambicans men and women can feel that they are the children of this land, united and engaged in the construction of a state whose sovereignty comes from and resides in the people.

Maputo, on this, the 28th day of May, 2013

SIGNATORY MOZAMBIKAN ORGANIZATIONS/SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

1. Acção Académica para o Desenvolvimento das Comunidades Rurais (ADECURU)
2. Associação de Apoio e Assistência Jurídica as Comunidades (AAAJC) - Tete
3. Associação Nacional de Extensão Rural (AENA)
4. Associação de Cooperação para o Desenvolvimento (ACOORD)
5. AKILIZETHO - Nampula
6. Caritas Diocesana de Lichinga - Niassa
7. Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM) - Niassa
8. ESTAMOS – Organização Comunitária
9. FACILIDADE - Nampula
10. Justiça Ambiental/Friends of The Earth Mozambique
11. Fórum Mulher

12. Fórum das Organizações Não Governamentais do Niassa (FONAGNI)
13. Fórum Terra - Nampula
14. Fórum das Organizações Não Governamentais de Gaza (FONG)
15. Kulima
16. Liga Moçambicana de Direitos Humanos - LDH
17. Livaningo
18. Organização para Desenvolvimento Sustentável (OLIPA-ODES)
19. Organização Rural de Ajuda Mútua (ORAM) - Delegação de Nampula
20. Organização Rural de Ajuda Mútua (ORAM) - Delegação de Lichinga-Niassa
21. Plataforma Provincial da Sociedade Civil de Nampula
22. Rede de Organizações para o Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ROADS) Niassa
23. União Nacional de Camponeses - UNA

SIGNATORY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS/SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

1. Alter Trade Japan Inc.- Japan
2. Friends of the Earth Brazil
3. Articulação Nacional de Agroecologia (ANA) - Brazil
4. Associação Brasileira de ONGs (Abong)
5. Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC) - Japan
6. Africa Japan Forum (AJF) - Japan
7. Alternative People's Linkage in Asia (APLA) - Japan
8. Association of Support for People in West Africa (SUPA) - Japan
9. Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) - Brazil
10. Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT) - Brazil
11. Comissão Pastoral da Terra (MT) - Brazil
12. Confederação Nacional de Trabalhadores de Agricultura (CONTAG) - Brazil
13. FASE - Solidariedade e Educação - Brazil
14. Federação dos Trabalhadores da Agricultura Familiar (FETRAF) - Brazil
15. Federação dos Estudantes de Agronomia do Brasil (FEAB)
16. Fórum Mato-grossense de Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento (FORMAD) - Brazil
17. Fórum de Direitos Humanos e da Terra do Mato Grosso (FDHT-MT) - Brazil
18. Fórum Brasileiro de Soberania e Segurança alimentar e Nutricional (FBSSAN) - Brazil
19. Fórum Mudanças Climáticas e Justiça Social do Brasil

20. Fórum de Lutas de Cáceres - MT - Brazil
 21. GRAIN International
 22. Grupo Pesquisador em Educação Ambiental, Comunicação e Arte (GPEA/UFMT) - Brazil
 23. Grupo Raízes - Brazil
 24. Instituto Políticas Alternativas para o Cone Sul (PACS) - Brazil
 25. Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Económicas (Ibase) - Brazil
 26. Instituto Caracol (iC) - Brazil
 27. Instituto de Estudos Socioeconómicos do Brasil (Inesc)
 28. Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) - Japan
 29. Justiça Global - Brasil
 30. La Via Campesina - Região África 1
 31. Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra - Brazil
 32. Movimento Mundial pelas Florestas Tropicais (WRM) - Uruguay
 33. Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas (MMC) - Brazil
 34. Movimentos dos Pequenos Agricultores (MPA) - Brazil
 35. Mozambique Kaihatsu wo Kangaeru Shiminno Kai - Japan
 36. Network for Rural-Urban Cooperation - Japan
 37. No-Pesticides Action Network in Tokyo (NPANT) - Japan
 38. ODA Reform Network (ODA-Net) - Japan
 39. Rede Brasileira Pela Integração dos Povos (REBRIP)
 40. Rede Axé Dudu - Brasil
 41. Rede Mato-Grossense de Educação Ambiental (REMTEA) - Brazil
 42. Sociedade fé e vida - Brasil
 43. Vida Brasil
- 72 other national and international individual signatories



Vale's train heading to Nacala.
Image by: ADECRU Mozambique

Support:



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