

PROGRAMA DA III CONFERÊNCIA
 TRIANGULAR DOS POVOS
 Maputo, Kaya Kwanga, 24 e 25 de Outubro

Ministry of Economy and Finance
 Republic of Mozambique

THE PROJECT FOR
 NACALA CORRIDOR
 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES
 IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

**ProSAVANA as agriculture initiative
 under Nacala Corridor Development
 -Based on the analysis of PEDEC-Nacala**

**ProSAVANA como iniciativa da agricultura
 sob o desenvolvimento do corredor de Nacala
 -Baseado na análise de PEDEC-Nacala**

Final Study Report
 April 2015

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
 Oriental Consultants Global Co., Ltd.
 JVC International Inc.
 International Development Center of Japan
 Naoko Watanabe

Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC)
Naoko Watanabe

I was supposed to give this presentation face to face but As you may know, my visa hasn't been issued until now.

Since last Thursday, we have been waiting for VISA to be issued. This is the second time after TICAD in August and I or we still don't know the reason and what is going on behind.

Not only me, but the Japanese CSs are disappointed by this situation. But we shall carry on our triangular "luta" and solidarity hand in hand with our Mozambican and Brazilian comrades.

Today Im going to look into "ProSAVANA as agriculture initiative under Nacala Corridor Development, based on the analysis of PEDEC-Nacala". I would like to make this presentation especially for peasants from the corridor regions to see and understand what is going on in the area and why, under which context.

Let me move forward to my presentation because time is very limited.

Structure of presentation

- **Relevance between PEDEC-Nacala and ProSAVANA**
- **Analysis of PEDEC-Nacala Master Plan (agriculture)**
- **ProSAVANA Master Plan (a little bit)**
- **Conclusion**
- **The past researches and PEDEC-Nacala**

◆ **PEDEC-Nacala**

The Project for Nacala Corridor Economic Development Strategy

Projecto das Estratégias de Desenvolvimento Económico do Corredor de Nacala

Here is the structure of my presentation.

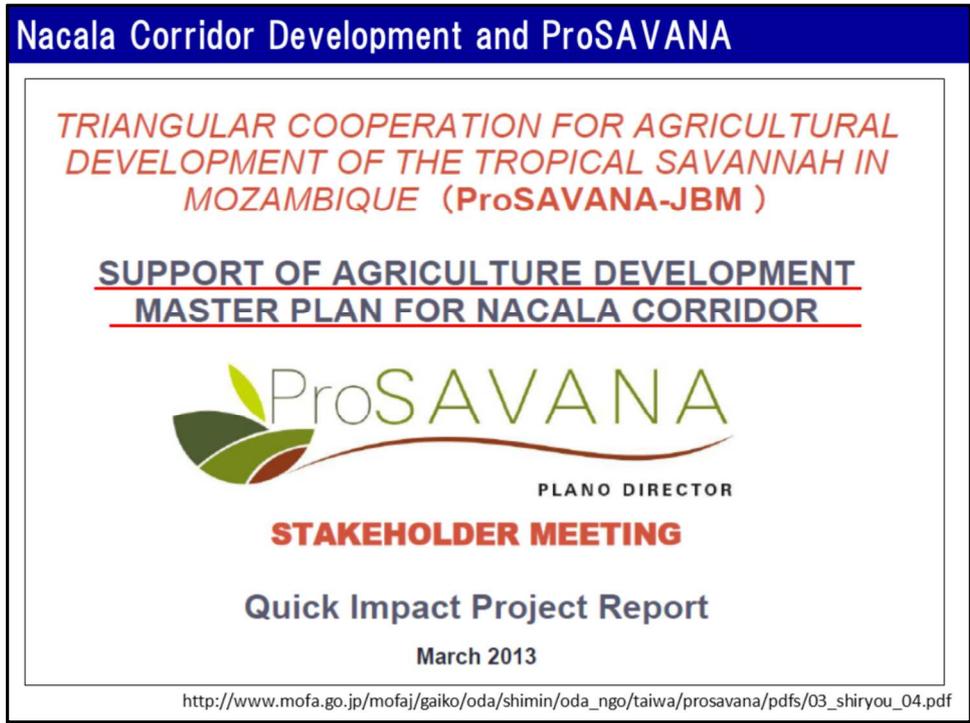
PEDEC-Nacala stands for the project for Nacala Corridor Economic Development Strategy.

This project is agreed only between Mozambique and Japan, not with Brazil.

I am going to talk about

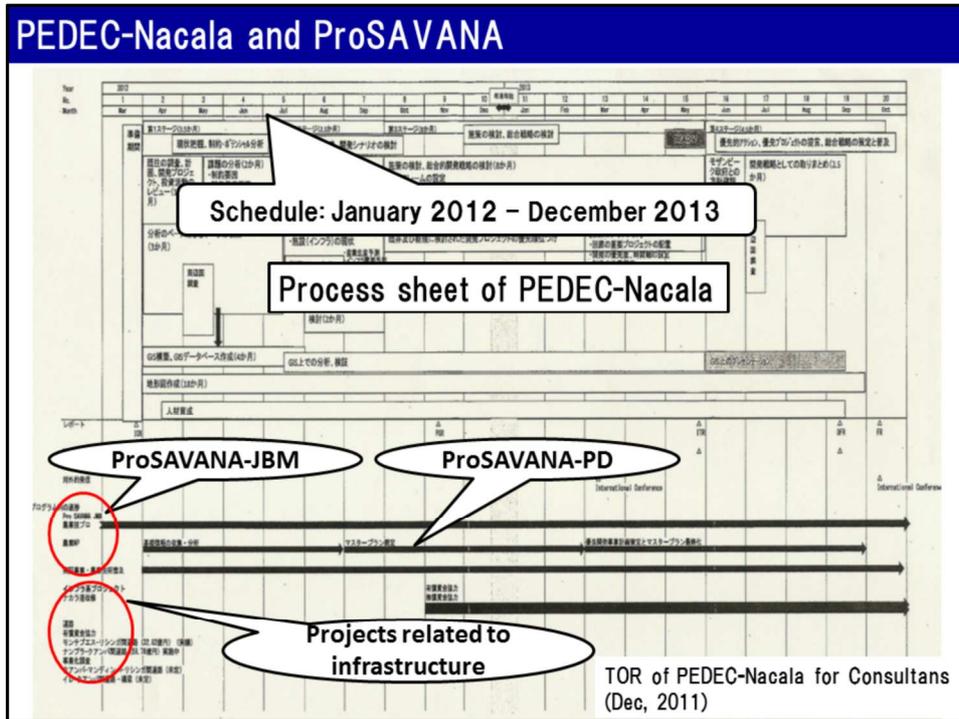
- Relevance between PEDEC-Nacala and ProSAVANA
- Analysis of PEDEC-Nacala Master Plan (agriculture part)
- ProSAVANA Master Plan (a bit)
- And Conclusion

And only if I have time I am going to talk about the researches which I'd done with UPC-N, and district Unions, and CSOs for last few years because what we saw there is related to or part of PEDEC-Nacala.



First, relevance between PEDEC-Nacala and ProSAVANA.

ProSAVANA is triangular cooperation for agriculture development among Mozambique, Brazil and Japan. Its Master plan's official name is "Support of Agriculture development master plan for Nacala Corridor". So you can already see the relation of ProSAVANA and PEDEC-Nacala from the title.



Here is the process sheet attached to TOR for the consultant to produce Master plan for PEDEC Nacala. This was prepared in December 2011.

Above side shows the schedule and Process sheet of PEDEC from January 2012-Dec 2013 and bottom side you can see the schedule of ProSAVANA and also projects related to infrastructure which are part of Nacala corridor development.

So both PEDEC and prosavana were supposed to be proceeded hand in hand in the same period. But as you know ProSAVANA Masterplan, which was supposed to be produced till 2013, has not yet been completed because of our struggle.

Anyway you can see the relevance of the programmes from this time line as well.

PEDEC-Nacala and ProSAVANA

(8) ナカラ経済回廊を対象とした他セクターでのプロジェクトとの連携

本案件は、我が国の対「モ国」協力プログラム「ナカラ回廊開発・整備プログラム」に位置づけられる。同プログラムは、ナカラ回廊及び周辺地域における道路・橋梁の整備・改修などの社会基盤整備と ProSAVANA による回廊周辺地域の農業開発支援の双方によりインパクトの大きな開発を目指している。本案件はプログラム内の様々なセクターにわたるプロジェクト間の整合をとり、優先順位を確認し、今後のプログラムとしての展開の方向性を示すことを目指す。2011 年度内に開始予定の「ナカラ回廊農業開発マスタープラン策定支援」(開発計画調査型技術協力)においては総合的な農業開発計画の策定支援を予定している。また、「ナカラ港運営改善計画」(資金協力、技術協力)の展開も予定しており、プログラムとしてより深い取り組みが期待できるため、これらの協力と相互に十分な情報交換を行い、齟齬が生じないように留意すること。

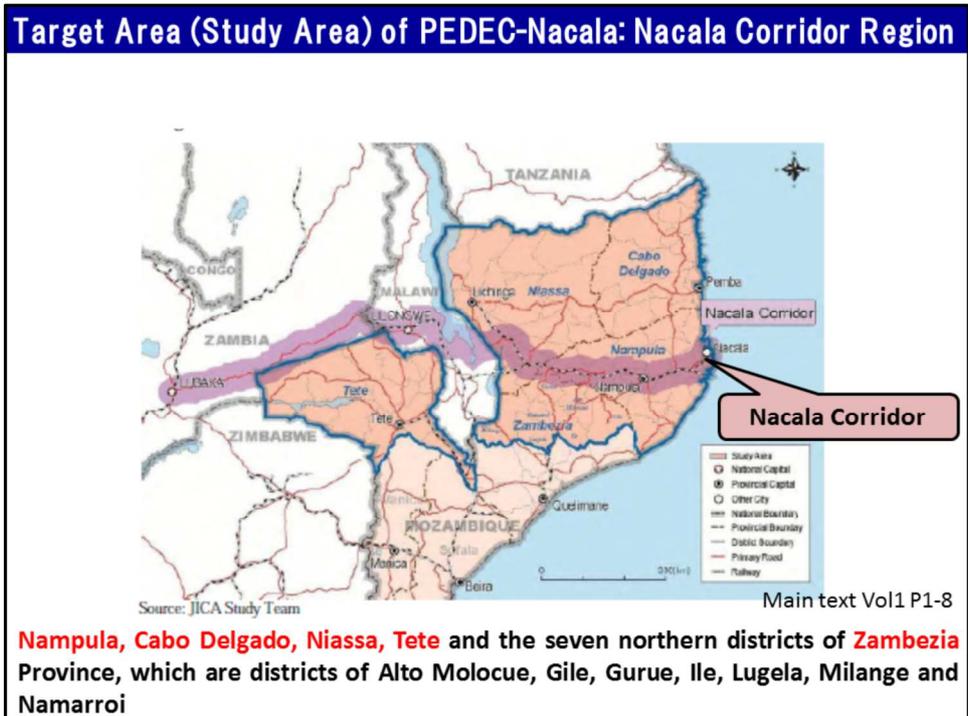
TOR for Consultants
on PEDEC-Nacala
(Dec, 2011)

(8) Linkage with PEDEC-Nacala and projects in the other sectors targeting Nacala Economic Corridor

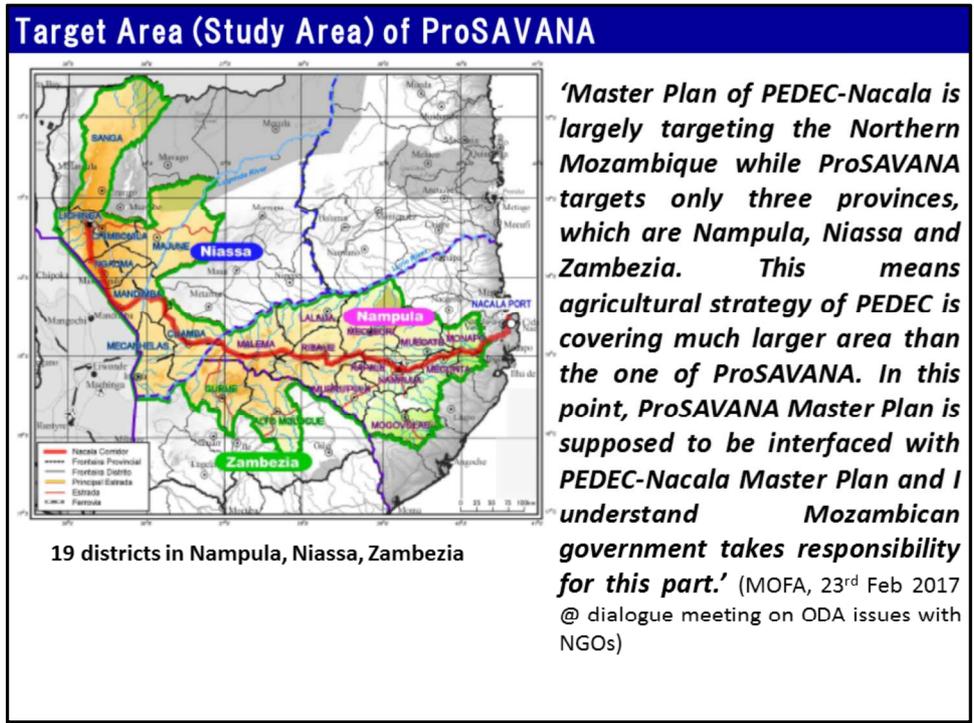
- PEDEC-Nacala is a part of the programme of Nacala Corridor Development.
- The programme is targeting the development which brings the big impact to the area through both infrastructure improvement by roads/bridges construction/repair work and support of agricultural development.
- Therefore PEDEC-Nacala should be carried out carefully to avoid discrepancy between the other projects.

You can also see the relevance from TOR for consultants on PEDEC-Nacala.

It talks about the linkage between PEDEC and projects in the other sectors targeting Nacala Economic Corridor, and it says that PEDEC-Nacala should be carried out carefully to avoid discrepancy between the other projects such as ProSAVANA.



This is the map of Northern part of Mozambique.
 PEDEC-Nacala is targeting five provinces, Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete and Zambezia
 You can see Nacala Corridor with purple line in the map.



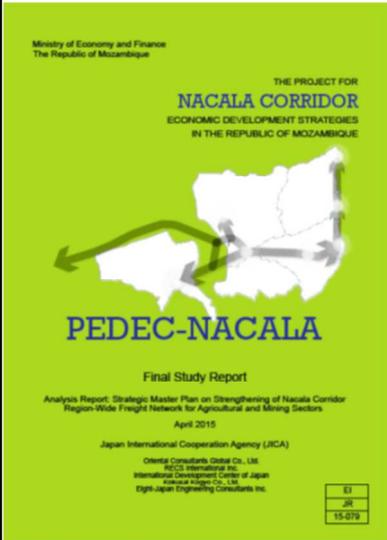
And this is the target areas of ProSAVANA, which are three provinces Nampula, Niassa and Zambezia.

So the target regions of PEDEC-Nacala and Prosavana are overlapping each other.

So both are also geologically overlapping.

And about this, Japanese MOFA said *agricultural strategy of PEDEC is covering much larger area than the one of ProSAVANA. In this point, ProSAVANA Master Plan is supposed to be interfaced or harmonized with PEDEC-Nacala Master Plan and he understands Mozambican government takes responsibility for this part.'*

Strategic Mater Plan (PEDEC-Nacala Final Study Reports)



- ◆ PEDEC-NACALA Final Study Report (April 2015)
- Main Text Volume 1 / Volume 2
- Analysis Report: Strategic Master Plan on Strengthening of Nacala Corridor Region-Wide Freight Network for Agricultural and Mining Sectors
- Analysis Report: Strategic Master Plan on Development of Value Chain for Natural Gas related Sectors

So now let's look in to the report of PEDEC-Nacala.

There are three types of reports for PEDEC Nacala.

One is Main text.

Another one is **Analysis Report: Strategic Master Plan on Strengthening of Nacala Corridor Region-Wide Freight Network for Agricultural and Mining Sectors.**

Today I am mainly talk about this.

And the other is analysis report about Gas related sectors.

How to achieve the vision? : Objectives & Goals of PEDEC-Nacala

Objectives of PEDEC-Nacala

“to formulate development strategies to guide appropriate development and investment in the Nacala Corridor.” (economic sectors, infrastructure sectors and social service sectors)

Goals of PEDEC-Nacala

To enhance social capacity and economic growth in the Nacala Corridor Region

To effectively guide appropriate development in the Nacala Corridor Region

To promote private investment in an appropriate manner in the Nacala Corridor Region

To appropriately manage resources of the Nacala Corridor Region

Main text Volume 1 P[2]

First, here is the info from Main text just to see outline of PEDEC-Nacala roughly.

Objective of PEDEC Nacala is to formulate development strategies to guide appropriate development and investment in the Nacala Corridor . So development and investment, are the main targets.

Overall Development Strategies for the Nacala Corridor Region

- (1) Effective Region-Wide Transport and Logistics System**
 - Creation of an effective region-wide transport and logistics system (sea, railway, and road transport)
- (2) Foundation for Manufacturing Sectors in Major Urban Centres**
- (3) Agriculture and Other Economic Sector Development oriented to Non-Mineral Resources**
 - Promotion of agricultural development and other economic sectors development
- (4) Environmental Management and Land Management**
- (5) Human Resources Development**
- (6) Coordination and Promotion of Integrated Regional Development**
- (7) Region-Wide Inclusive Development**
 - Coping with emerging social problems, socially vulnerable people and geographically less accessible areas for promoting inclusive development widely in the region.

Main text Vol2, P13-10

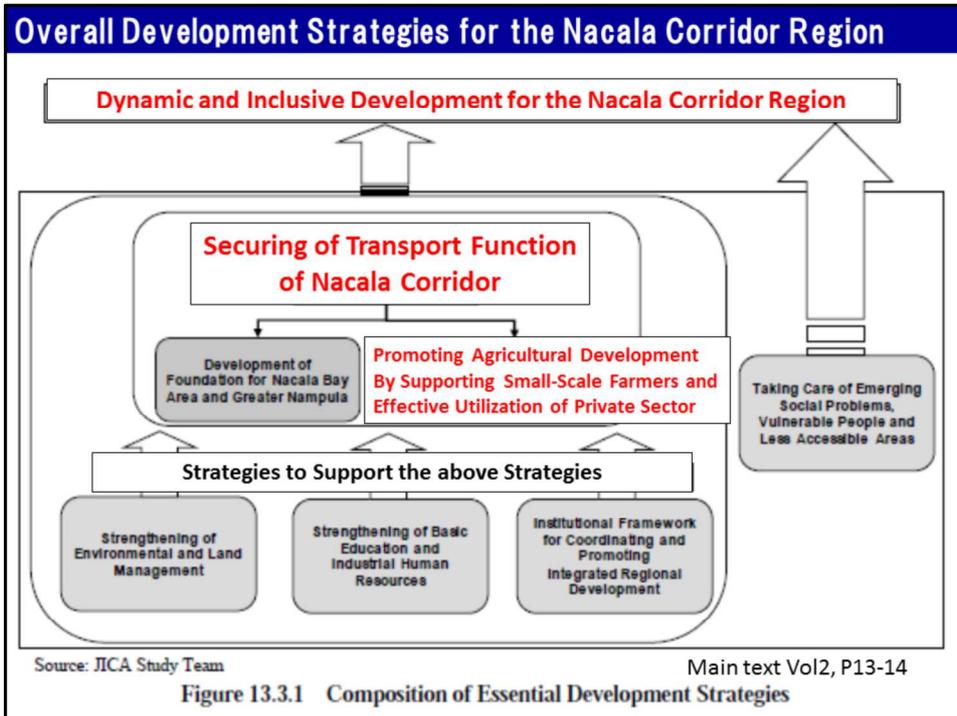
And here are the seven strategies to guide those development and investment.

<Click>

You can see agriculture is one of them, No. 3.

And what kind of agriculture are they talking about under the project.

We see from the next.



Essential Development Strategies

Promotion of *Sustainable Agricultural Development* by 1) Promoting Development of Small-Scale Farmers and 2) Promoting Effective Utilisation of the Private Sector's Viability Funds for Assisting Small-Scale Farmers

The same expression as revised ProSAVANA Master Plan

1) For development of small-scale farmers

- To protect the rights of small-scale farmers and communities on land and other natural resources and their sustainable use, and the prevention of conflicts
- To increase agricultural production and its diversification, and improvement of the productivity of small-scale farmers
- To establish supply chains for agricultural products and to generate added values
- To enhance governance of the agricultural sector
- To develop a social infrastructure to assist community improvement

Main text Vol2, P13-11/12

Here it is.

PEDEC Nacala sets the promotion of ***Sustainable Agricultural Development as the strategy***. And small scale farmers are part of it. It also promote utilization of the private sector's fund to assist small scale farmers.

And it says protection of the rights of small scale farmers and communities are necessary for development.

But Here I just want to mention one thing. When you say sustainable agriculture, first I thought it will be more about sustainable of environment and so it is more about how you can keep utilizing resources you have, conserving environment like peasants in Mozambique are already doing. But I found out it's kind of the opposite here. It talks more about economically sustainable and so small scale farmers are portrayed to be changed to be "sustainable". And in ProSAVANA MP you find the same expression.

Objectives of the Analysis Report

Objectives of the Analysis Report on Strengthening Nacala Corridor Region-Wide Freight Network for Agriculture and Mining Sectors

In this analysis report, the following opportunities are studied and presented:

- How a region-wide freight network would be established and strengthened through the implementation of not only ongoing and planned infrastructure projects but also PEDEC-Nacala development strategies.
 - What kinds of private business chances would be available for agricultural, mining and logistics sectors by the implementation of PEDEC-Nacala development strategies, as well as of ongoing and planned infrastructure projects?
-
- How a region-wide freight network would be established and strengthened through the implementation of not only ongoing and planned infrastructure projects but also PEDEC-Nacala development strategies.
 - What kinds of private business chances would be available for agricultural, mining and logistics sectors by the implementation of PEDEC-Nacala development strategies, as well as of ongoing and planned infrastructure projects?

Analysis report (agriculture etc., P3)

So I'll move forward to **Strategic Master Plan on Strengthening of Nacala Corridor Region-Wide Freight Network for Agricultural and Mining Sectors**.

As you see from the title, Objective of this report is to show How a region-wide freight network, infrastructure would be established and strengthened.

And then What kinds of private business chances would be available for agriculture, and the other sector.

Emerging Development Opportunities in the Nacala Corridor Region

2.1 Four Factors Regarding Emerging Development Opportunities in the Nacala Corridor Region

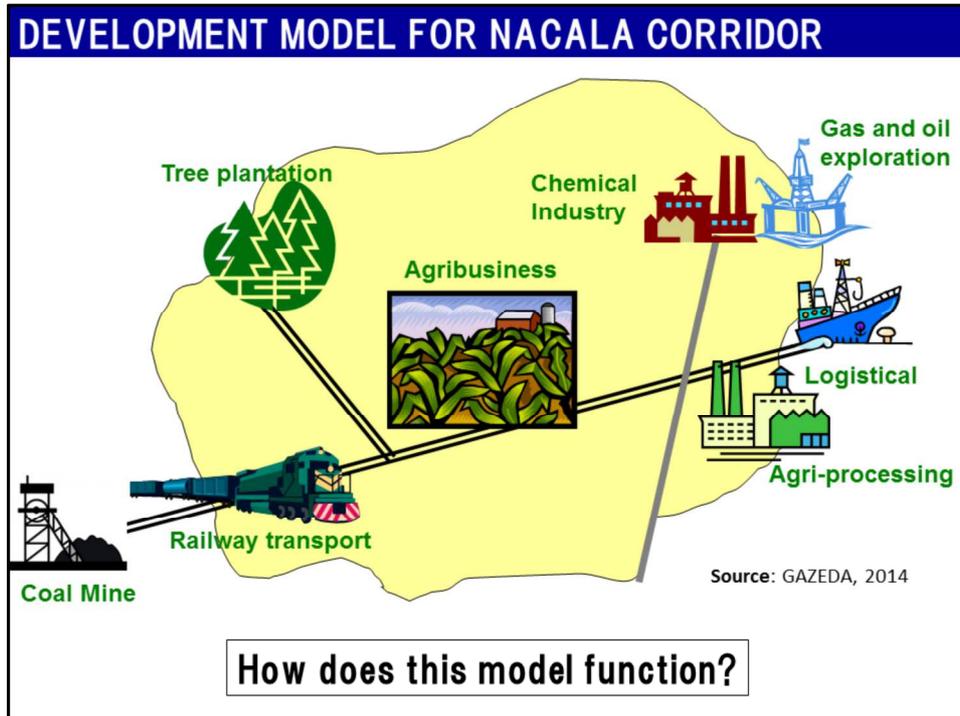
There are four strong driving forces for development for the Nacala Corridor Region. They have a large transformative power on the economy and spatial structure of the Nacala Corridor Region.

- Coal mining and coal transport for export
- Natural gas exploitation and LNG production for export
- Increasing investments and development in Nacala Special Economic Zone (SEZ) near the Nacala Port to be rehabilitated and upgraded
- Key transportation projects as driving forces on regional development

- Coal mining and coal transport for export
- Natural gas exploitation and LNG production for export
- Increasing investments and development in Nacala Special Economic Zone (SEZ) near the Nacala Port to be rehabilitated and upgraded
- Key transportation projects as driving forces on regional development

Analysis report (agriculture etc., P13)

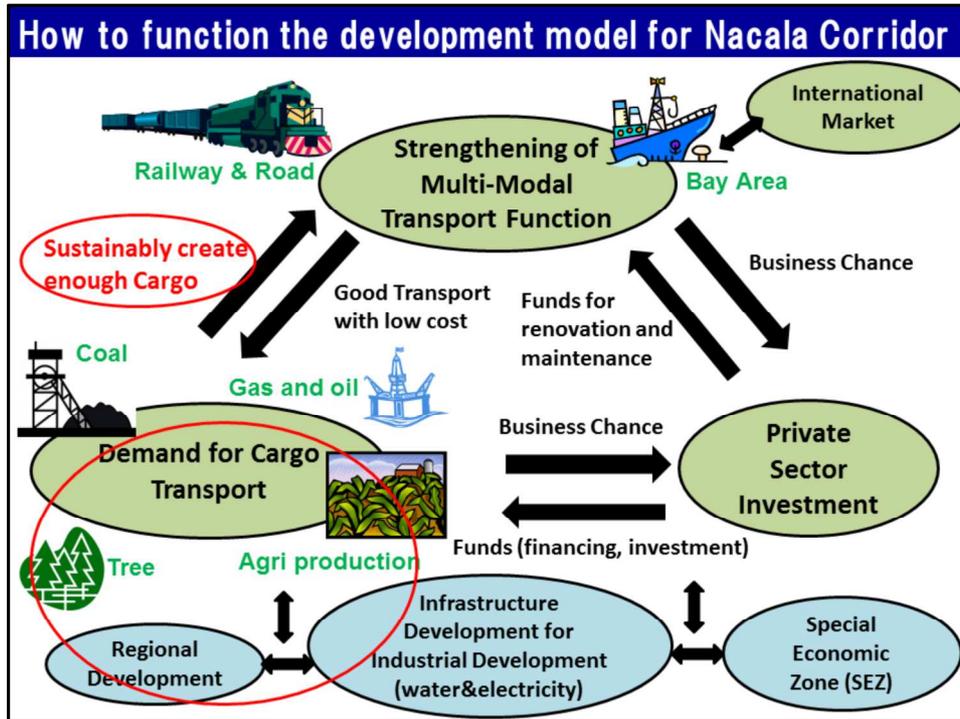
The report talks about the driving forces for the development in the region and from the report you can see.....



...here it is. This is the image or concept of what the report draws. You can see network and business sector..

So idea is you develop industrial business such as coal mine, tree plantation, gas and oil exploration and agribusiness, and at the same time transport and logistics. You can see where those products go. Via port road and railway it goes somewhere else from you live. It's more export oriented model. It's a value chain.

And how does this model function?



As we saw now This report is focusing on the development through the strengthening transport section and also industrial sectors

<Click>

To make it work, you need international market and private sector investment.

And these sectors support each other like win win relationship.

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For example, if it's renovated, Railway and road can offer good transport with low cost for industrial sectors and then the industrial sectors can boost their business and call more investment.

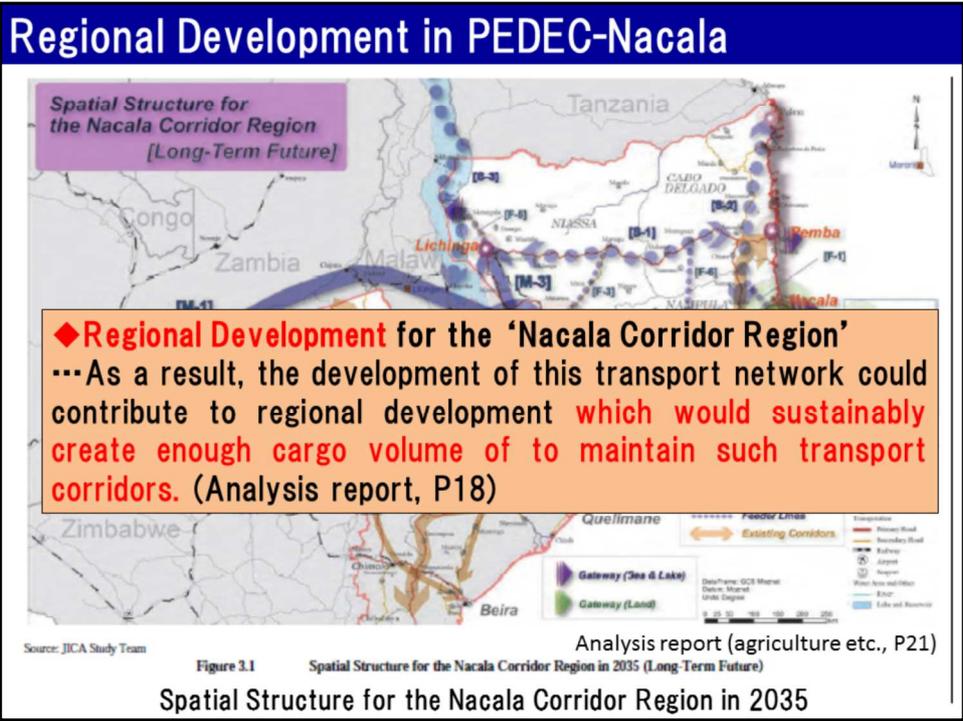
And then they will be able to support transport function with sustainably creating enough cargo so that transport sector can call more investment for renovation and maintenance. And when this circle goes well it gives more business opportunities for investors or private sector investment. And as the exit of production you need the big market, which is international market.

<click>

And it brings regional development. It will make a city growing and then you need water and electricity development and this infrastructure calls more business.

<click>

So, in this development circle, Agriculture and regional development are recognized as the ones to create more and more production to maintain this circle. This is the idea.



Therefore corridor is not only passing Along the main road but it goes to deep in rural area. You can see arrow with dotted lines going to the region around lurio river, northern part of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. This map is spatial structure for the region in 2035. So everywhere is connected to the value chain.

<click>

It’s the same thing, regional development is expected stainably create enough cargo to maintain transport corridors.

Small Scale Farmers in PEDEC-Nacala

Chapter 6 Development Potential of Economic Sectors of the Nacala Corridor

6.1 Agricultural Sector

... if the institution and implementing system for attracting agricultural investment by following rai Principles (Principles of Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food System) and VGGT (Voluntary Guideline on the Responsible Governance of Tenure for Land, Fisheries and Forest in the Context of National Food Security) are established, the Nacala Corridor Region has potential to develop responsible **commercial agriculture with a win-win relationship with local small agriculturalists.**

In order to achieve this situation, it is especially important to support community residents in obtaining DUAT (land use rights).

....maize, cassava, beans and peas **out of various food crops, offer promising prospects.**

Soy, potato, vegetables, sugar cane, cashew nuts, cotton and tobacco **are promising cash crops** in the Nacala Corridor Region.

Analysis report (agriculture etc., P32)

Under this development model, what and how are peasants in the region expected to be?

For example, in the chapter 6 which talks about Development potential, it is said that, the Nacala Corridor Region has potential to develop responsible commercial agriculture with a win-win relationship with local small agriculturalists.

Or...

...food crops like maize, cassava, beans and peas offer “promising prospects.” And soy and the other cash crops are described as “promising cash crops”.

From here you can see what this model expects local small agriculturalist to be.

Market oriented type of agriculture is premised even with SSF.

Development Potential of Small Scale Farmers

- “Corridor Development Model”= private sector investment + international value chain = export oriented
- Regional Development and agriculture are portrayed as supplier for cargo to maintain the model.
- Potential of Small Scale farmers = commercial agriculture (<= expected role as supplier)
- Food crops described as “offering promising prospects”
- No description about the significance of self-sufficiency = food as commodity to sell
- <=Possible only if “responsible investment” and “responsible governance on land” work properly
- DUAT: enable to access to credit ⇔ collateral = when you cannot pay back credit, you will use your land (confirmed by GAPI, research in 2015)

Anyway what you can see from the report is,

- “Corridor Development Model” is strongly connected with private sector investment and international value chain. And this means any industry including agriculture is supposed to be export oriented
 - Therefore, Regional Development and agriculture are portrayed as supplier for cargo to maintain the model. And that’s why farmers need to increase their production for the market.
 - In another words, Potential of Small Scale farmers is described only as a part of commercial agriculture.
 - Food crops described as “offering promising prospects”
 - = food as commodity to sell
 - No description about the significance of self-sufficiency
- <=Possible only if “responsible investment” and “responsible governance on land” work properly

ProSAVANA

Provisional Translation

Triangular Cooperation for Agricultural Development of
the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique

**AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT MASTER PLAN
FOR
THE NACALA CORRIDOR**

Draft Version

Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security

- **Chapter 1 Introduction**
- **Chapter 2 Analysis of Present Challenges and Potential of Agriculture Development**
- **Chapter 3 Basic Concept of the Agriculture Master Plan for the Nacala Corridor**
- **Chapter 4 Agricultural Productivity**
- **Chapter 5 Market Access**
- **Chapter 6 Natural Resources**
- **Chapter 7 Institutions**
- **Chapter 8 Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation Plan**
- **Chapter 9 Strategic Environmental Assessment**

<http://www.prosavana.gov.mz/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/disclosure-of-the-master-plan-provisional-version-VP.pdf>

Now what can you see ProSAVANA based on the analysis of PEDEC-Nacala?

First let me briefly look into the revised master plan which was disclosed in English in Nov, 2016.

So here also you can see the title of Agricultural development master plan for the nacala corridor.

ProSAVANA

< Some changes from the previous Master Plan >

- **Putting high position on family farmers**, especially 'typical small-scale farmers' and evaluates their roles and achievement highly as follows.
'Family farmers have been producing sufficient food staples while maintaining the preservation of natural resources.' (page 3-2).
'Family farming in the area would figure prominently in attaining food security for Mozambique.This Master Plan, therefore, places family farmers as its main target for support measures because they are the key to development.' (page 3-8)
- **Mentioning the importance of "sovereignty"**
'respect for the sovereignty of farmers, which includes the right to produce food, the right to choose farm management techniques and crops, as well as ensuring the right to use the land and other natural resources'.
- Mentioning protection of rights of family farmers by recognizing clearly land conflicts by large-scale land deals
'the rights of farmers to use and manage land and other natural resources shall not be threatened during the development of agriculture'(3-8).

First some changes from the previous master plan.

Putting high position on family farmers,

For example it says Family farmers –

- have been producing sufficient food staples while maintaining the preservation of natural resources
- would figure prominently in attaining food security for Mozambique.
- they are the key to development.

And also mentioning the importance of sovereignty.

ProSAVANA

< Remaining points >

- Mentioning **necessity of transformation of current farming systems and mind-set of family farmers** in everywhere.

*'In Mozambique, family farming is classified as **Family-based Agricultural Exploitation** and defined as a holding in which at least 75% of the agriculture labor force is provided by the farmer household without payment.'* (page 1-3)

*'Provide opportunities to **change** from subsistence agriculture to **sustainable agriculture**, with respect given to the farmers' sovereignty'* (page 3-2 (iv))

The same as PEDEC-Nacala

*'Although family farmers should expect to retain their function as primary producers in the agriculture sector 2030, **the Master Plan aims to bring about the following conditions.**' (=transformation to intensive farming)*

=> Family farmers as objects without will, not vital actor.

=> Contradiction that such change leads opposite effect against farmers' sovereignty.

However, they are likely to remain just as 'writing'.

So remaining points from the previous MP.

- **necessity of transformation of current farming systems and mind-set of family farmers**
- *Provide opportunities to **change** from subsistence agriculture to **sustainable agriculture***

*And they even say family farming is classified as **Family-based Agricultural Exploitation**, saying labor force is provided by the farmer household without payment.*

So The direction of development suggested by MP is based on transformation approach.

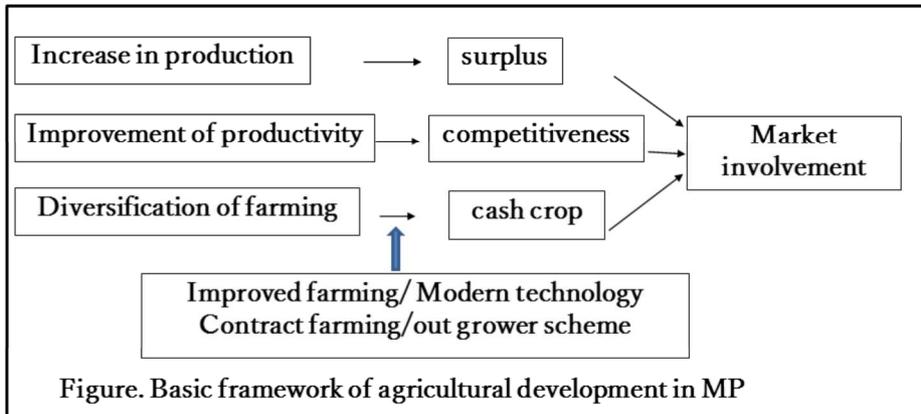
And this scope is consistent since the previous master plan. And If MP does not change this biased scope, major change of MP, that is 'family farmers first', will remain as only superficial writing.

basic framework of MP still shows the willing not to know the real world

of family farmers or not to learn seriously from their activities.

ProSAVANA

- Public and private partnership is considered as major way to achieve the objective the MP, not as one of the driving forces (page 3-2).



Ikegami, 2017

The Same idea as agriculture described in PEDEC-Nacala

And also Public and private partnership is considered as major way to achieve the objective the MP, not as one of the driving forces.

Conclusion

- ProSAVANA is strongly connected with / part of PEDEC-Nacala
- Agriculture portrayed under PEDEC-Nacala is export oriented and described as a component in the region to support “corridor development” by creating cargo volume = producing commodity.
- Small scale farmers/peasants are portrayed only as a part of value chain and their potential/prosperity is described only under the context of commercial agriculture.
- Though the descriptions of “Large scale agriculture” “investment” “Land bank” have disappeared from the revised ProSAVANA Master Plan, as long as PEDEC-Nacala is implemented, peasants can not escape from the huge changes caused by the project, and the impacts of ProSAVANA on peasants, community and their agriculture remain the same as before.

**Read all the points.

**and add the following -

And also you saw that now ProSAVANA also still think that Public and private partnership is considered as major way to achieve the objective the MP, not as one of the driving forces whether it talks about family farming or not, it doesn't change.

Conclusion

- To prove it, agriculture/farming of peasants are still mentioned as what is supposed to be changed by applying intensive agriculture.
- Therefore, the revised ProSAVANA Master Plan mentions the significance small scale farmers, but there is no description of the significance of self-sufficiency or subsistence agriculture which they have been implementing and surviving with.
- So potential/role of “food crops” is described not as “food to eat” but “food to sell = commodity”.
- Thus, we need to see ProSAVANA beyond ProSAVANA .

**Peasants are “objective to be changed”.
Where is sovereignty?
What is sovereignty?**

** Read the four points.

** Then add,

Our government says that ProSAVANA doesn't take away your land but what about Nacala corridor development? What has been going on around Nacala railway is under Nacala corridor development and also some of you may remember our research along Lurio river, that is also related.

And from this analysis, It is obvious that under any type of development programme or project, peasants are described as the objective to be changed.

So where is sovereignty?

And it raises an important question for us to ask ourselves “what is sovereignty?”

Development? Reality of peasants



- In September 2016, Research on Trial & Implementation of Agroecology cooperating with UPC-Nampula, UDC-Monapo, and CSO member.
- Visited fourteen forums and interviewed about 600 peasants.
- After the training of Agroecology, almost all peasants increased their production
- However, the big challenge was remained; Market.
- The current main and the biggest problem for peasants is not about quantity of production but the situation they have a chance to sell production only when intermediate distributor/broker comes to them. In this case peasants cannot decide anything by themselves,
- **In this case, market doesn't mean just "a place to sell" or "more opportunity to sell". It is more about how peasants can "control their own business".**

<Continued>

- For example, the situation of each households are very different according to the conditions such as; whether you have a transport (bike or bicycle)=>enable to choose a place/person to sell, whether you are self-sufficient or not=>enable to choose time to sell, whether you sell production as association/forum=>negotiable on price to sell, etc.
- On the other hand, the intermediate distributor is the one who decides the price and peasants have to no choice but selling at very low price.
- Thus peasants suffer more from "social structure" or "power balance" in their society.

What will happen to peasants if big international value chain is established in Nacala Corridor Region before this "social structure" problem is solved and more intermediate distributor (collecting production) come and they have more power??

Thank you very much for your attention.

**Reality of Nacala Corridor Development
– Result of the researches in 2014-2016**

Development? Reality of peasants



Development? Reality of peasants



The number of trains which pass the station has decreased since 2014 because of construction of railway and also trains carry more coals/cargos than passengers. It used be full of people and market around the station but now you don't find any people there. (2016)

AVISO PÚBLICO

A empresa Corredor de Desenvolvimento do Norte, S.A., avisa aos estimados Clientes, Passageiros e ao Público em geral que a partir do dia 01 de Junho de 2016, passa a vigorar o novo horário de partida do comboio de passageiros bem como a nova tabela de preços do Comboio:

Partida:

Terça e Sábado, Nampula - Cuamba: 05:00 horas
Quinta e Domingo, Cuamba - Nampula: 05:00 horas

Pelos transtornos causados, as nossas sinceras desculpas.

Nampula, 10 de Maio de 2016

A DIRECÇÃO DA FERROVIA

AVISO PÚBLICO Nº 1/2016
Nampula, 10 de Maio de 2016

Development? Reality of peasants



[UP] New railroad is laid at the depth of about 3 m without any bridge. After that small children, pregnant women and old people are forced to pass over by passing the railway up and down on foot and it already caused fatal accident. Ambulance and cars cannot pass over. "Communities around are divided ." (2016)

[down] Train with coals passes frequently and people now look into problems of dust and vibration. Also very long train sometimes stops at station for more than 30 mins suddenly and people struggle passing railway.

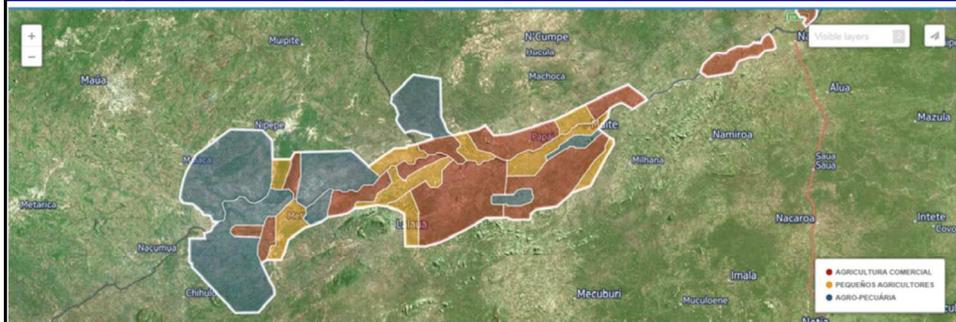
The railway construction is done by subsidiary of VALE (Brazil) and Mitui (Japan) has been investing. (2016)

Development? Reality of peasants



Community people around the railway are losing their land and houses by forced relocation. Most of the people get neither any alternative place nor compensation.

Development? Reality of peasants



• Aug. 2014: Local peasants organizations contacted UPC-N, saying “ Our chiefs were called to Nampula city by Provincial government (MOA) who told us that community people along Lurio River would be forced to be relocated because of development projects/business along the river.”

• May. 2015: GRAIN & ADECRU Report “There is a possibility that 100,000 community people will lose their land”

<https://www.grain.org/article/entries/5212-mozambique-s-council-of-ministers-must-say-no-to-resettlement-of-100-000-in-the-nacala-corridor>

• Map is produced by a company, TurConsult. ⇒ “This is just a future plan.”

Red :Large scale commercial agriculture, Yellow: Small scale farmers, Gray: Livestock agriculture

Development? Reality of peasants

