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### **Tete: Historical meeting place for Brazilian and Mozambican developmentalist elites?**

Coal exploration, impeded by war, has been a project of the Mozambican ruling elites since independence. Over the past several years, mining in Tete being undertaken by foreign companies, with the participation of the Mozambican government, has raised serious concerns as locals have been displaced and environmental impacts have been considered – as well as the maintenance of the status quo of lack of benefits' distribution to the general population. IESE and CIP in Mozambique have conducted valuable studies and seminar discussions on the coal mining issue; I believe I can contribute to such body of work by offering historical insights, through area studies and political economy, related to the Brazilian presence in Tete.

Archival research I recently conducted in Brazil revealed that the head Brazilian diplomat in Mozambique in the early 1970's suggested exploring coal as a way to balance the deficit between exports and imports with the country. At that time, the Brazilian discourse as exemplified by the diplomat still sided with Portugal. Over time, the idea grew, with great interest in a coal-exploring partnership being shown by Brazilian and Mozambican elites alike, and the Brazilian discourse changing to supporting state-building efforts in Mozambique against aggressors. By the early 80's, a project was underway labelled "technical cooperation," with Brazilian agencies sending technicians to survey coal mines in Mozambique and the participation of various other foreign actors. An ambitious transportation infrastructure project also accompanied this from early on. Funding by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was sought out for the coal-mining project, which also was mentioned as a way to renegotiate Mozambique's debt with Brazil. Brazilian mega-mining multinational Vale was involved from early on, then pulled back, then signed back on in the early 2000's. According to the CIP report "El dorado Tete," Vale, currently exploring in Tete, intends to export 11 million tons of coal a year, largely to China and India. The Mozambican government owns 5 percent of shares in the billion-dollar project.

Different global-scale theories on development over time will be analyzed as framing the relations between and priorities of the elites on the Mozambican and Brazilian sides. A developmentalist impetus on both sides, as well as some ease in communicating due to the Portuguese language, may have offered some common ground. Other projects with Brazil dealing with capitalist expansion through capacitation – such as ProSavana, the SMM antiretroviral factory and small business assistance – will also be briefly considered. I will also discuss what specifically the Brazilian and Mozambican elites may be offering each other in terms of helping develop their respective capital, as opposed to donors from the "global North."