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Agrarian Change by the BRICS' Large-Scale Investments in the Global Agrarian South: Focus on Brazil, Colombia and Mozambique.

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Agrarian Change by the BRICS' Large-Scale Investments in the Global Agrarian South: Focus on Brazil, Colombia and Mozambique.

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Abstract

The rural territories of BRICS countries have been changing their traditional function such as areas oriented to food production and products, which supply the local markets and industries, and a place of residence for a large segment of population, in order to acquire the reservoir role of a variety of natural common goods and to be controlled and explored by both the local and international capital. In this sense, the territorial dispossession involves a complex process that includes the rush and dispossession of common goods such as water, land, minerals, forest, biodiversity, so on; the expansion of capitalist investment through different ways such as the agribusiness, mining industry, building of infrastructure and dams, tourist projects, which lead to transforming the territories through the expulsion of local people (small farming/peasant and ethnic communities), and the rise of socio-territorial conflicts. Additionally, that productive and economic dynamic has expanded on several regions of the “Agrarian South”, with the direct intervention of BRICS countries such as the driving force of this specific development model, leading to an increase in capital penetration in the agrarian territories. In the past years, Brazil has been occupying an important role by supplying large scale of commodities for the local and international market. In addition, it has had a central role in impulsing foreign investments in Agrarian South countries, especially Colombia and Mozambique, through the South-South cooperation. In this paper we focus on two regions of these countries, the Altillanura and the Nacala corridor, where extractivist projects have been developing. Thus, we will analyze the influence that the Brazilian diplomacy has to extend foreign investments and the dynamic of territorialization of extractivist industries in each one of the countries, in order to show the main socio-territorial transformations and impacts. We will argue about the role that foreign and local capital has in the promotion of the current extractivist model. With this perspective, we hope to contribute to the analysis and understanding of the agrarian transformations in the Agrarian South.

1 Introduction

Over the last decades it has been possible to identify a dramatic rise in struggles and conflicts over the control and defense of natural goods in the Agrarian South. It involves an important confluence of different actors such as peasants, small family farming, ethnic communities, environmental and pro-justice activists, NGOs, and others, who have been mobilized in response to the territorial dispossession as part of the territorialization process of the extractivist regime. This process, under the global impact, has brought about a series of problems in local territories such as the processes of deterritorialization of traditional rural communities, the negative impacts at a socio-environmental level and the restatement of neo-developmental counseling in public policies, which have led to the emergence of socio-territorial conflicts (Welch & Fernandes, 2009).

Thus, the Global South has been converted into a scenario where this process has been developed; however, the Global South does not necessarily correspond to a geographical category (although most countries are actually located in the south of the Equator line) but intends to unite regions which have had political and economic subordination in relation to the developed countries. From this perspective, South America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia are known as the Global South, areas which over the last years –due to renewed strategies of capitalist expansion– have been the most recent suppliers of commodities, natural common goods such as water (S. M. Borras, Fig, & Suárez, 2011), forest (Sauer & Borras Jr., 2015), land (S. M. Borras, Franco, Gómez, Kay, & Spoor, 2012; Clements & Fernandes, 2013), biodiversity, minerals (Giarracca & Teubal, 2010), among others (Levien, 2011), which feed the continuous process of recreation and circulation of capital (Adetula, 2008; Levien, 2014).

Thus, the extractive regime supported by high international prices of commodities has led to putting the emergent economies in a central position of the global economy. At this stage, the BRICS countries occupied a double role as receivers of foreign investments, and, by contrast, as driving forces of foreign investment in third countries, especially in a south-south relation. The importance of the BRICS' economic block is that these gather 3.089 billion inhabitants that represent 42 per cent of the world population which in the past decades have been increasing their levels of consumption. Additionally, these countries have 12 Million sq. km of agricultural land that represents 26.2 per cent of the total agricultural land in the world (World Bank, 2016a), leading them to assume a central role in local and international food supply and agro-commodities. However, this regime has led to the increasing dependence of the BRICS block by the exploitation of natural common goods at such a level that the total of natural resources rents in the BRICS was 7.54 per cent of GDP in 2014, while in the rest of the world was 3.92 per cent of GDP (World Bank, 2016a).

The crisis of capital overaccumulation (Harvey, 2003, 2010) has resulted in the reconfiguration of the production which has led to a commodification of economies with an emphasis on countries with important reserves of land, minerals, and other kinds of resources to be controlled as part of the imposition of what Levien (2013) defined as regimes of dispossession. These elements have brought to configure a new economic and political relationship between central and peripheral economies, and between south-south economies, dominated by the control and exploration of the natural common goods. Bernstein (2016); Cotula (2012); Wolford et.al. (2013) & others have shown that the central countries have had a protagonist role in the rush for the control of natural common goods and in the expansion of the extractive industry¹ in rural territories. However, in the last years, as part of diplomatic and economic offensive driven by the emergent countries, these have been increasing their participation in the international extractive dynamic in the global south territories.

¹ The extractive industry is an economic concept that refers to any process that involves the extraction of raw materials from the earth to be used by consumers. It can include oil, gas extraction, mining, and so on (World Bank, 2016a). However from a critical approach the extractive industry concept has started to be debated because the extractive industry of the global south territories does not make any transformation in the countries where resources are extracted. It leads to deep the economic dependence relationships.

In this paper we will present an analytical approach to interpret the territorialization of the extractive regime over the rural territories in the Global South. Then, we will focus on the role that transnational companies and foreign Nation-States have as a driving force of this process with a focus on private investors and countries from the BRICS's block. Finally, we will pay attention to how the Brazilian government has used their international diplomacy to create political and trade relationships with the Global South countries from a south-south perspective, i.e. Mozambique and Colombia. And as this diplomacy has been used to export cooperation programs in several areas such as education, health, technology, and so on. However, these relationships have also been fundamental to allow the expansion of Brazilian extractive investments in these countries.

2 The territorial dispossession in the extractive regime

With the free movement of capital and goods imposed in the neoliberal regime, there was a process of consolidation in the global economic and productive centers, which, by imposing political-commercial models, led to the de-structuring of national productive systems in a large number of peripheral economies. Those without having greater margins of action, whether by ideological adherence or via external impositions, ended up adopting neoliberal postulates. (Acosta, 2013; Aguilar, 2012). As a consequence of the already analyzed overproduction process of goods stimulated by Harvey (2003, 2010), flooding the global markets with an increasing number of products that the global consumers - a large number of them without substantive improvements in their consumption capacity due to the massive elimination of jobs and social welfare policies - failed to acquire / consume has led to a slowdown in the process of capital circulation. This dynamic, accompanied by an increasing participation of speculative financial capital in the branch of production, created the need to expand the capitalist circulation channels.

In this context, the low-income and middle-income countries that suffered the productive disintegration in the neoliberal phase and, which had important sources and reserves of the goods demanded by international capital in its current speculative phase such as land, minerals, forest reserves and water bodies, among others; these countries have oriented their economic and productive policies to the exploitation of these resources (Rincón & Fernandes, 2016). Thus, the extractive model, advanced phase of neoliberalism, has been consolidated in all regions of the Global South as a unique model of development with the ability to make local economies grow (Amin, 2012; Oliveira & Schneider, 2015). Involving important areas of environmental protection, threatening the future availability of sufficient and quality resources in local contexts, and generating multiple conflicts due to the deterritorialization and dispossession suffered by local communities in favor of the interests of international capital (Studnicki-Gizbert & Bazo, 2013).

In each region where the extractive regime is expressed, there is evidence of a specific form of action taken by local governments and transnational corporations in relation to the goods to be appropriated as well as the industries to be implemented, being agribusiness for the export of agro commodities. (Hunsberger & Alonso-Fradejas, 2016; Wolford & Nehring, 2015). In other places the mining industry (Scaife, n.d.; Zaitch & Gómez, 2015), , large-scale property developments, tourism, among others. (Levien, 2011). Also, the action of the affected communities varies according to their degree of organization and capacity of resistance and struggle (Escobar, 2016). Finally, it is possible to identify the participation of economic groups coming from BRICS countries, which will be determined by their better geographic positioning, as would be the case of Brazilian companies in Colombia; or also by their expansionist interests and political closeness, as is the case of Brazilian investments in Mozambique.

Despite the particularities, it is possible to identify as common elements:

- i. Privatization in the administration and control of natural common property.

- ii. Concession of rights of use and exploitation by local governments to transnational and / or national corporations.
- iii. Significant capital investments that result in high rates of return for investors.
- iv. Participation of financial capital as the main promoter of investments, and therefore, a high degree of speculation with the inversions.
- v. Dispossession of collective rights and effects on the life and territories of local populations.
- vi. Global scale in the dynamics of expropriation.
- vii. Large-scale impacts on areas and on local populations where projects are territorialized, but also collateral damage and contiguous populations.

Thus, we identify that the Agrarian South is the place where a continuous process of what I define as “The Territorial Dispossession” is being materialized, which is defined as the advance of capital at the multiscale and multidimensional level over the territories of rural communities settled in the Agrarian South. This process, in addition to encompassing the appropriation and privatization of common goods at different territory scales, from private properties and administrative units, also encompasses the second territory, such as the territories of peasant communities, even to capture the immaterial territory by the appropriation of cultural practices, narrative, public policies and ideologies (Rincón & Fernandes, 2016). Thus, this notion seeks to develop a multidimensional and multiscale understanding of expropriation dynamics in rural territories, and which contributes to the interpretation of the processes that take place in other regions on a world scale (Fernandes, 2013).

It is precisely the global scale of the present expropriation regime which leads to proposing an interpretation of the economic and social processes that are developing in the different territories of the Global South. Thus, we start from a reading that recognizes that the current dynamics are not disconnected in the different regions and correspond to a process of capitalist expansion and accumulation on a world scale (S. Borras & Franco, 2012). Therefore, the Global South, which does not correspond to an exactly geographical category, allows to group disparate regions of the different continents, which share relations of subordination and economic and political dependence in relation to the centers of capital and power concentration; which under the present regime, constitute the areas where foreign and local investments are concentrated by the appropriation and dispossession of a wide variety of natural common goods.

Despite this, there is still a vacuum in the elaboration of an interpretation that accounts for patterns and specificities of territorial impacts under the current regime of capitalist accumulation from a perspective of the Global South. Particularly, the research in which the present report is framed, seeks to contribute to the elaboration of a framework for understanding the territorial dynamics that are being presented in the Global South, which will guide the conduction of comparative analyses.

3 The BRICS’ foreign investment: the Brazilian’ role in the south-south relationship.

The creation of the economic and political bloc that make up the BRICS countries is a product of the multiple instances of integration and multilateral cooperation, which at different stages during the twentieth century, middle and low income countries contrast international organizations controlled by rich countries; i.e. the US and the European Union, contributing to the configuration of a new global economic and political order (Pereira & Medeiros, 2015). Since its inception, the BRICS have expanded their activities into two main streams of work: (i) coordination in meetings and international organization; and (ii) the development of an agenda for multisectoral cooperation among its members (BRICS, 2016). Thus, since the first meeting in 2009, the multilateral body has carried out an intense agenda of international cooperation in areas such as “finance, agriculture, economy and trade, combating transnational crime, science and technology, health, education, corporate and academic dialogue and security, among others” (BRICS, 2016).

The bloc of BRICS countries won centrality because it could be considered as a pole against the hegemony of the central capitalist countries. This was supported in that they harbor important reserves of minerals, land and natural resources in high demand by the global economies. Its full integration into international markets, low production costs and a constant increase in the consumption capacity of its population places them as key players in global trade. In addition, foreign diplomacy promoting cooperation programs in various areas from a south-south perspective with low- and middle-income countries has guaranteed them the commercial opening for the subsequent arrival of local investments. The last phase of high international commodity prices was central to strengthen the economic influence of the BRICS bloc at the international level, although its performance as a hegemonic economic bloc is limited. The founding of the New Development Bank and the execution of cooperation and development programs among the member countries constitute the main actions of the bloc. In the meantime, the geopolitical level prevailed actions directed by self-interest. In addition, the fall in international commodity prices and the slowdown in the world economy have created a crisis scenario with a special impact on emerging economies, which has reduced their influence at regional and global levels.

The acting of the countries that are part of BRICS block, as Gray & Gills (2016) say, could be analyzed from two different approaches. On the one hand, the materialization of south-south relationships that are supported by principles of solidarity and cooperation leading to promoting the development in third countries, especially in low and middle income countries. On the other hand, the BRICS promote dynamics of capitalist expansion, and political and economic control similar to the central or north countries, deepening the dispossession relationships that characterize the current stage of global capitalism expansion. Thus, we will focus on the actions of Brazilian government and companies as part of BRICS block in thirds countries. we argue that i) the Brazilian government has used the international diplomacy to create/consolidate political relations with countries sharing similar political orientation (e.g., Mozambique) and to expand their political and economic influence in the region (e.g., Colombia), through cooperation programs and trade agreements, which ii) allowed the transnationalization of programs and plans to develop a south-south relation in areas such as health, education, basic sanitation, science and technology, but also, iii) led to favoring the expansion of Brazilian investments in the international rush for the control of the natural commons goods.

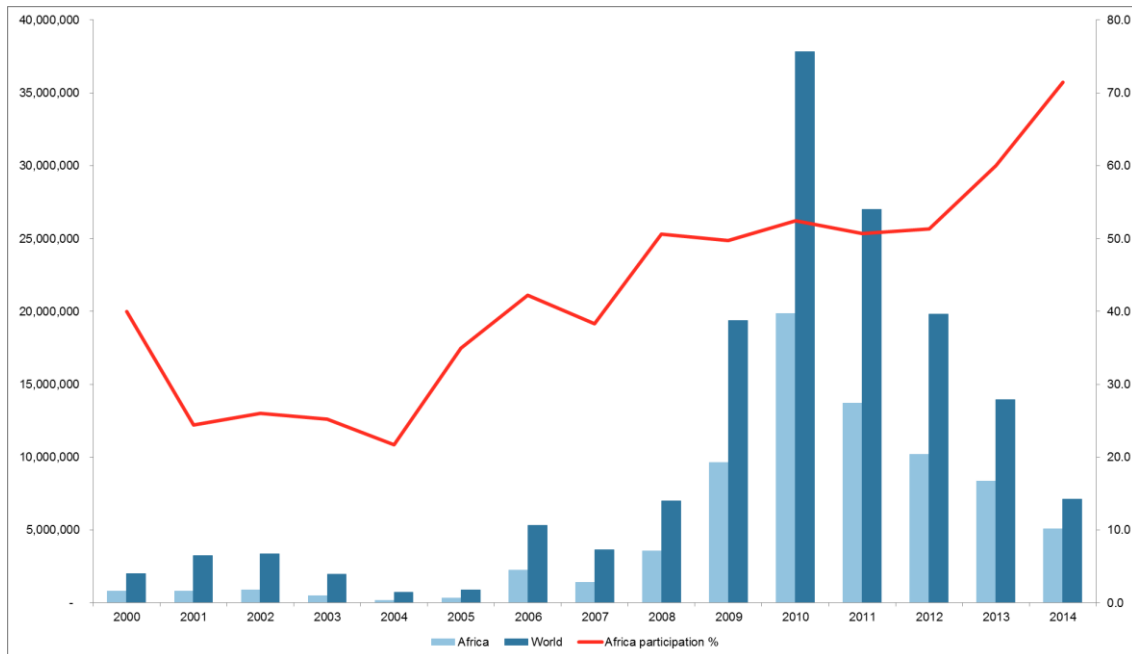
The current period of internal economic and institutional crisis which Brazil is going through has led to reducing the implementation of programs and projects of cooperation in south-south relationship. As it is possible to see on graph 1, during the period 2000 to 2014 the Brazilian foreign south-south cooperation reached its highest level in 2010, orienting mainly its resources to African's countries, and then Brazil started a deep period of deceleration of foreign cooperation. Even so with the monetary reduction of Brazilian foreign cooperation, the African's countries continued to have an important participation in the total of these investments, increasing its perceptual participation in the total of the fund. However, this political situation has not limited the expansion of investments from Brazilian corporations in third countries, mainly in infrastructure, agribusiness, mining, among others, creating itself a trans-territorialization of socioterritorial conflictivity.

Brazil plays a central role in the expansionist dynamics of global capital (dos Santos, 2011; Fulquet & Pelfini, 2015; Oliveira & Schneider, 2015). On the one hand, Brazil has important reserves of natural common goods such as agricultural land, minerals, forest, water resources, and so on, that have been exploited by the local and international capital, which has led to materializing a process of territorial dispossession (Rincón & Fernandes, 2016). On the other hand, Brazilian companies have promoted territorial dispossession in third countries through foreign investments with an emphasis on the south-south relation (Ferrando, 2015).

A favorable period characterized by high international prices of commodities led to stimulating the Brazilian economy that had the resources to implement social policies and to push forward the industrial and productive development at a national scale. Led by PT administrations (2003-2016), the country achieved reductions in their historical levels, the main poverty index, led to consolidating the

middle class and make progress in education, health and basic services. This has been known as the Brazilian miracle. |

Graph 1. Brazilian international cooperation in the World and Africa, 2000 to 2014



Source: elaborated by the author based on Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC).

This political and economic model was fundamental to consolidate national corporations, which in alliance with the central administration, were important beneficiaries of public contracting allowing them to have large reserves of capital. That alliance was also central in the process for expanding foreign investments by national companies. Meanwhile, the federal administration that showed a significant attainment in the political-economic model that put the Brazilian economy in an important position at an international level, was fundamental to create the conditions for favorable investments of Brazilian companies, especially in Colombia and Mozambique, where their national governments intended to implement the Brazilian model.

The action of Brazilian companies in Colombia and Mozambique has been oriented to territorialize the extractives industries in a similar way to what has been occurring in Brazil. Their action has been focused on sectors such as the production of agro-commodities to export the mining industry, the construction of dam projects and the infrastructure to facilitate the movement of products. Companies such as Odebrecht, Vale S.A., Camargo Corrêa, and others, arrived in those countries with large-scale projects that have led to increasing their rates. They have materialized the territorial dispossession through the implementation of extractives industries which deterritorialize rural populations and impose production models that do not respond to the priority needs of these populations and nations as a whole.

The transterritorialization of the Brazilian model and their adoption by Colombian and Mozambican governments represents a process of deepening the capitalist model of production oriented to export, and is extremely dependent on international market fluctuations. This model does not represent the solution of local necessities to have access to food, conservation of natural commons goods and sustainable development; on the contrary, it has led to increasing the dependence on foreign investments and reduce the control of local communities for the use, control and exploration of their own resources. Thus, the transnationalization of the Brazilian model has also led to the trans-territorialization of socioterritorial conflictivity.

4 The Brazilian south-south cooperation and corporative investments in Mozambique

Mozambique is one of the world's poorest countries, with more than half the 28 million people living below the poverty line. It gained independence from Portugal in 1975 but is still suffering from the economic and social effects of a 16-year civil war that ended in 1992. The country has one of the highest indexes of rural population, 68.2 per cent, and agriculture employed 80.5 per cent of the total, at a low level of employees in the industry and service sector, only 3.5 and 16.1 respectively (United Nations, 2016). Thus, the rural populations have supported their economic activity in agricultural production, making a sustainable use of the natural resources that are in their territories to guarantee the familiar and community reproduction (Matos & Medeiros, 2014; Mosca, 2014). The country has an increasing dependence on internationally monetary assistance that reaches 12.9 per cent of GNI (United Nations, 2016)

At a low level of industrialization, a large subsistence agrarian sector, and a high index of poverty, the extractive regime was the principal model adopted by the local administration to develop the country through the exploitation of their natural commons (Mosca & Selemene, 2011). In this way, the country has become an important focus on foreign investments, both national states and private companies, which seek to exploit large kinds of natural commons that the country has as lands for agriculture, mineral and gas resources, water sources, tourism and real estate projects, and so on (Matos & Medeiros, 2013). The foreign investments have led Mozambique to have experimented a fast-economic growth, increasing their GDP index from US 2.291 billion in 1992 to US 16.946 billion in 2014. In the same way, the GNI per capita index has shown formidable increments passing from 180 US in 1992 to 620 US in 2014. However, these 'positive' numbers that stimulate the economy and the foreign investments have not been able to make significant improvements in the economic conditions of population, maintaining 58 percent of the population in the poverty line (World Bank, 2016a).

The high international prices of commodities that characterized the last decades (McMichael, 2010), was fundamental to promote the foreign investments in several areas of extraction and production (Kirshner & Power, 2015). In Mozambique, the main agents are private companies and foreign State-Nation that acted through direct investments or international cooperation (Ferrando, 2015). In this area, the investments from BRICS bloc have a central role, especially the Brazilian and Chinese actions through projects and cooperation programs (Scoones, Amanor, Favareto, & Qi, 2016).

Additionally, the country has a political and administrative structure of governance based on a model of Party-State system, which leads to deepening the centralist governance. This system has a low level of participation of local and regional governmental bodies in the investments and projects to be implemented in their territories (Wolford et al., 2013). The traditional systems of community organization based on lineage authorities also contribute to guaranteeing the socio-territorial control over large numbers of communities (Clements & Fernandes, 2013). This extremely hierarchized socio-political system has been a fundamental factor to favor a fast and deep expansion of foreign investments over the territory because it is used by the corporations or foreign national states to avoid local and regional resistances in relation to their extractive investments.

Thus, the process of extractive industry expansion over the rural territories in Mozambique involves a complexity of socioeconomic, political and cultural relations which has led to materializing territorial dispossession at different scales and dimensions to favor the circulation and reproduction of international capital (Matos & Medeiros, 2015; Mosca & Selemene, 1989). This represents a continuation of historical dynamic of pillaging that in the past the colonial countries made over the African countries where the common goods, which are fundamental to guarantee the reproduction of life for the local people, remain the principal target for international capital. (Peters, 2004). In this way, the Mozambique's case is an important reference to analyze where it is possible to understand the direct actions and strategies that the foreign national states and private corporations develop for the capture of territories.

The Brazilian performance in Mozambique as I mentioned in the first section, can be analyzed from two perspectives. The first is the determined policy of cooperation and development that during Lula administration was advancing towards the countries of Africa. This led to the implementation of a series of actions and policies that brought a number of countries in the region to the forefront. These policies, in the words of the former president², were motivated by the need to build another relationship of integration with the African and Latin American countries, which led Brazil to overcome its political and commercial dependence on the traditional powers, the United States and Europe, leading to consolidate blocks of power against hegemony and contributing to the development of countries with multiple demands. Thus, the former president completed an active agenda in African countries making 29 trips to the continent visiting 20 countries- the most visited destinations being Mozambique and South Africa.

This active agenda with the countries of Africa, and particularly with Mozambique, was motivated by the expansion of cooperative relationships in many areas such as education, health, basic sanitation, agriculture and infrastructure. Over the past years Brazil carried out an aggressive intentional agenda to build and consolidate links of cooperation with peripheral countries in a south-south relation. It had a special focus on African's countries where established cooperation relationships with 42 countries, represented its largest network of countries partners. The Brazilian cooperation in Africa has been concentrated on development program and projects in agriculture, 33.35%, education, 22.98% and health, 15.46%. Mozambique has being one of the most benefited countries of the international cooperation with 165 programs and projects. These has been concentrated in areas such as agriculture, 23%, health, 18.78% and education, 11,5% (Brazilian Cooperation Agency). This has lead Mozambique to be the main receptor of Brazilian international cooperation between 2003 to 2010, receiving the 15% of total resources (Garcia & Kato, 2013, p. 78).

Nevertheless, the advanced diplomacy was accompanied by the offense of important Brazilian companies that sought to make investments taking advantage of the political opening with Brazil. This led to the development of multiple investments in large areas such as mining, hydrocarbons, infrastructure construction, agricultural projects, hydropower, among others, which are mostly oriented to produce and exploit resources to be exported, and whose dividends do not remain or are not reinvested in the country. This leads to producing a dynamic of territorial dispossession.

Table 1. Distribution of action areas of the Brazilian international cooperation in Mozambique

Cooperation areas	Projects	Per cent
Agriculture	38	23,03
Science & Technology	1	0,61
Sports	2	1,21
Social Development	4	2,42
Education	19	11,52
Environment	9	5,45
Fishing	2	1,21
Health	31	18,79

² Intervention in an act to defend the ENFF, Guararema. November, 2016.

Cooperation areas	Projects	Per cent
Others	59	35,76
Total	165	100,00

Source: elaborated by the author with information of Brazilian Cooperation Agency, 2016.

Thus, Brazilian companies such as Odebrecht, Vale, Camargo-Correa and Samarco have invested in several areas of the country, and especially in the Nacala corridor (see table 2). The Nacala corridor has been taking a place of reception of foreign large-scale investments in several areas moved by its rich reserves in minerals, lands, hydric resources and strategy location which facilitate the worldwide trade. These have been central to stimulate the investments of Brazilian companies supported by its experience with large scale projects into Brazil and other regions. Its modus operandi is very similar to other transnational companies through subdivision corporation to participate in different kinds of projects, and the subdivision of the stages of construction to allow the participation of different companies in the projects.

Table 2. Brazilian private investments in the Nacala Corridor- Mozambique

Corporation	Corporative division	Production Area	Projects	Additional Information
Camargo Correa	Intercement	Cement	Nacala and Cinac factories	5 cement factories 3,1 million of tons/year
	Constructora Camargo Correa	Construction	Maphanda Nkuwa hydropower dam	1.5 mw, only 20 % will be used in Mozambique, 80% to export
			Moatize coal mine	Infrastructure construction
Odebrecht		Construction	Nacala Airport	Modification military airport to civil airport
			Moatize coal mine	Vale's Industrial Complex, occupy an area of 246 square meters
			Terminal coal, Beira maritime port	To export coal from La Vale mine
Vale	Corredor Logistico Integrado de Nacala	Logistic infrastructure	Railways Moatize to Nacala port	Nacala-Velha 712 km
		Logistic infrastructure	Sea port	

		Mining extraction	Moatize coal mine	Will produce 11 million tons of products derived from coal each year
Andrade Gutierrez		Construction	Moatize coal mine	Vale's Industrial Complex,
OAS		Logistic infrastructure	Railways Moatize to Nacala port	Nacala-Velha 712 km

Source: elaborated by the author.

The performance of Brazilian companies in the construction of large scale infrastructure and projects, was supported through BDS which brought economic support to the Mozambique government to develop these initiatives. However many of these projects do not attend the primary necessities of population and the country, and will serve to the interests of international capital. It is the case of Maphanda Nkuma hydropower dam which is planned to be constructed over the Zambeze River in the province of Tete. It has been projected to reach a power generation of 1.500 MW; however, only 20% of that will be use domestically, the other 80% will be exported to South African where it will help to reduce pollution for the use of coal as the main source that provide energy. Thus, it is a perfect example of the territorial dispossession dynamics moved by the foreign companies that make large investments, which have significant socio-territorial impacts, to explore the local common goods sold to foreign Nation-States. Thus, the international trade has prevalence over the local and national interests and priorities.

The Vale is another exceptional example of transnational investments which takes the control of local natural common goods producing negative impacts upon local communities, leading to changing the regional socio-productive dynamics. The Moatize coal mine is one of the largest areas for the coal extraction in Mozambique that is oriented to supplying the high China's demand, and that were not exploited since the independence of 1975 (Garcia & Kato, 2013). "The Mozambique-Vale land deal involved the transfer of 23,780 hectares to the Brazilian mining corporation and resulted in the resettlement of 1313 families (approximately 5,000 people) between November 2009 and April 2010, whose traditional lands in the Moatize Valley were expropriated as part of the deal" (Clements & Fernandes, 2013, p. 55). Also, to guarantee the mining operation they had to contract the construction of Vale's industry complex which involved the participation of other Brazilian companies such as Odebrecht, Camargo Correa and OAS. Additionally, the Vale reached the control over the Corredor Logístico Integrado de Nacala with 80% of participation, which allowed to have the command over the railway Nacala-Velha and the terminal of coal in Beira, to guarantee the coal transportation and export, achieving a vertical control of the whole process, from the extraction to the international buyers.

The construction of Vale's industry complex and the start of operation of the Moatize mine has led to the emergence of socio-territorial conflicts with the local population which was deterritorialized and forced to occupy other areas determined by the company, losing their cultural links and traditional livelihoods. The areas where the peasants were resettled had presented several problems such as bad land quality for agriculture, areas far from markets and houses that have not adapted to local environment. Additionally the Vale and the other Brazilian partners were the focus of local and international accusation due to the low salaries of workers and the inadequate labor conditions (Garcia & Kato, 2013). The monopolization of railway for the transportation of coal from Moatize mine to Nacala seaport has led to limiting the circulation of population which lives along the Nacala corridor, which has been affected by the significant reduction in frequencies for public use and increases in travel times.

This has been made possible, according to the sources consulted in the fieldwork visit to the country, due to the cooperation relations established by the two governments, Brazil and Mozambique, which enabled the arrival of programs in various areas that helped to solve problems in health, nutrition and education of local populations. This also led to relationships between representatives of companies and national leaders, at the government level and the ruling party level.

The links at this level are decisive because with a centralized and vertical administration decisions at the national level are taken at the level of the highest spheres of power, without the participation of local and regional governments and much less of the population to be affected, are ideal for the start-up of foreign investments. This high-level negotiation has been central to guarantee the land access by foreign investor because there the land pertains to the state and it cannot be purchased or sold. Thus, as Clements & Fernandes (2013, p. 52) says, the companies can have access to large areas of land through the acquisition of Land Use and Benefit Titles, known as DUATs (*Direitos de Uso e Aproveito da Terra*) which are typically granted for terms of up to 50 years, with the potential for subsequent renewal for an equal period. This has favored the expansion of investments in many countries, not only in Brazil, but also in many areas leading to an emergence of conflicts due to the dispute of opposing models in the territories. On the one hand, there are projects of large corporations that appropriate the natural common goods in their dynamic of expansion and recreation of capital and, on the other hand, there are local communities that make a defense of the natural common goods, which are their livelihoods.

In short, as Mosca & Selemene (2011, p. 127) affirmed, the Mozambican state give full support to the foreign corporation against its national interests and population: “[...] *o Estado não é o actor que actua junto das comunidades, deixando esse papel para os líderes locais, para as organizações da sociedade civil, organizações não-governamentais e mesmo para as empresas interessadas. Por outro lado, quando há conflitos, o Estado surge do lado das multinacionais e, se necessário, com forças policiais repressivas*”.

5 The new horizons for the capital large-scale investment on the post-conflict scenery in Colombia

The Colombian rural sector has been determined by the permanence for most of five decades of the internal armed conflict. The ‘agrarian question’ in the country has been characterized by the inequality of land tenure, the non-political recognition for peasants and indigenous people, and the non-inclusion of these such as main agents in the edification of the notion of nation-state. That has led to creating the conditions to sustain a permanent situation of social and armed struggles that the peasant people and the State have confronted to achieve their political recognition and solve the inequality relationships persistent in the countryside. Thus, the peace deal between the FARC-EP and the Colombian government has created the expectation for a new phase of the ‘agrarian question’ because the actions and politics will converge to allow the implementations of the agreements; the specific demands expressed by the peasants and indigenous people that were not incorporated in the agreements; and finally, the expansion of extractive projects driving by the central government and companies over the territories that were controlled by the rebels. All this puts the Colombian case in an exceptional scenario to analyze the performance of transnational companies by the control and dispossession of the natural common goods, but also the rise of transnational Latin American and Caribbean companies, like the Brazilian ones, which have increased their influence as part of the expansion dynamic of the BRICS bloc.

The 1990’s was a period of deep transformations for the national economy and agrarian sector by the implementation of a neoliberal doctrine. The agrarian policies had a pro-corporative orientation and strengthened capitalist production; however, the several strategies and actions taken by central governments to promote the agribusiness sector failed to transform the agrarian sector into the driving force of the national economy. In 2016 the Agricultural GDP just reached 7.12 per cent of GDP total

(World Bank, 2016b), with a growth of 0.5 per cent in the last year, under the national average that reached 2.0 per cent (Dinero, 2011). Those policies helped to create some ‘oasis’ of agribusiness such as flower industry, sugar-cane industry and oil-palm industry, which concentrate land, spend largescale capital and are in continuous expansion, orienting their production to global markets. On the other hand, persisting a significant sector of small family farming (peasants and ethnic communities), who in a bigger proportion produce food and products to fulfill locals and regionals markets. And finally, the stockbreeders, who concentrate land on a large scale, making an unproductive use of it, limiting the possibility to produce food and leading to configuring a landscape homogenized by the cattle production in the rural territories.

In this context, the Brazilian cooperation programs had started in the early XXI century through several binational actions concentrated on Agricultural and Environmental subjects, as table 2 shows. This had the goal of consolidating the binational relationships that allowed transfer the Brazilian’ development model supported in the articulation of political class and private investors to take control over the most important projects to favor the accumulation by dispossession capital process.

Table 2. Distribution of action areas of the Brazilian international cooperation in Colombia

Cooperation areas	Projects	Per cent
Agriculture	12	19,67
Technical Support	7	11,48
Social Development	9	14,75
Environment	13	21,31
Health	7	11,48
Others	13	21,31
Total	61	100,00

Source: elaborated by the authors with information of Brazilian Cooperation Agency, 2016.

Thus Colombia is the focus of interest for several foreign investors from transnational and translatinas companies in sectors such as mining industry, hydropower dam projects, infrastructure developments and agribusiness, which has the support of the central government as part of consolidation of the extractive regime that the country has adopted. As we show in table 3, the Brazilian companies have concentrated their investments on areas such as infrastructure and hydropower projects.

Table 3. Brazilian private investments in Colombia

Corporation	Corporative division	Production Area	Projects	Additional Information
Camargo Correa	Construções e Comercio Camargo Correa	Civil Infrastructure	Basic sanitation in Antioquia’s municipalities.	Hire by EPM

	S.A.	Construction	Porce III hydropower dam	Hire by EPM. Investment of US\$ 1,330 millions.
			Hidroituango hydropower dam	Hire by EPM. The largest hydropower in Colombia. Investment of US\$ 5,500 millions.
Odebrecht		Oil, Coal & Gas Infrastructure	Increase the Oil extraction capacity in Los Llanos Orientales	Hire by BP Exploration Company Ltd.
			Drummond seaport, Santa Marta.	Hire by BP Exploration Company Ltd.
			Oil extraction infrastructure, Antioquia	Hire by BP Exploration Company Ltd.
			Gas pipeline system, Medellin	
			Coal extraction complex, El Cerrejon, La Guajira	
		Communication routes construction	Santa Marta railway	Hired by FERROVIAS
			Highway, La Ruta del Sol	
			Highway improve infrastructure, Boyacá	
			Navigability on the Magdalena River	
		Energy infrastructure	Thermoelectric plant, Palmira	Hire by Brechtel Overseas Corporation
			Hydropower dam, MIEL I	

		Civil Infrastructure	Basic sanitation in Cali	Hire by EMCALI
			Aqueduct system, Bogotá.	
Andrade Gutierrez				6 projects finalized.
OAS		Communication routs construction		

Source: elaborated by the authors.

That is developed through the territorial dispossession that is the main strategy to promote economic development on a national scale, leading to creating the confrontation between development models. This dispute results in the confrontation between the interests of capital, whether under the face of transnational, trans Latin, and even local corporations, and central governments, for appropriating the natural common goods. On the other hand, the local rural communities are affected by the destruction of their livelihoods. In this process, the paramilitary groups supported by landowners, businessman, armed forces, and politicians, have a key role in the expulsion of local communities, and the persecution and murder of social leaders that led to the destruction of the social organizations, to get the control of largescale territories (Grajales, 2011) with resources to be exploited by both the internal and international capital.

In contrast, the peace deal between the FARC-EP and the government that had the “agrarian issue” as the first point of the negotiation, represents the recognition of the unresolved “agrarian question” that has been the origin of several conflicts. Therefore, the achievement of peace is determined by the resolution of the unresolved problem of the agrarian sector such as the high inequality of land tenure, an insufficient support by the federal government to small family farming production, an inadequate access to services of education, health, basic sanitation, rural infrastructure; and finally, the rights of peasants and their recognition as main agents that contributed to sectoral and national development. However, the signing of peace agreement that leads to disarmament of the FARC-EP and with the resolution of the older internal conflict persistent still in the western hemisphere, also represent the possibility for the expansion of capital over territories that were under the insurgency control. Thus, the peace agreement has been promoted by the national government to attract the foreign investment in areas such as the mining industry, tourism, agribusiness, leading to deepening the dynamic of dispossession of common goods and promoting the emergence of new territorial conflicts.

Specifically, in agriculture, the Brazilian influence is expressed through the adoption of the large-scale production model promoted by the articulation of public institutions and private corporations, the so-called Cerrado model. The Cerrado miracle is the result of an institutional plan to expand the large-scale production to the Brazilian`s agricultural frontiers. With the active participation of public institutions like EMBRAPA (acronym for Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuaria, the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) which developed a specific production package adapted to the environmental conditions of the Brazilian Cerrado region. That resulted in a specific technology oriented to improve the soil acid conditions; introducing new grass varieties, adapting the soy bean and no-till agriculture, which led to the integration of non-agricultural areas in the global agro-commodities market system. Thus, the Brazilian Cerrado model is the confluence of the technical innovations, and the articulation of public institutions and private investments to promote the large-scale production to consolidate the agribusiness model for “undevelopment” areas. In this way, the Cerrado model has been based to promote the Pro-Savana program in Mozambique and the Zidres program in Colombia.

The Zones of Interest for Rural, Economic and Social Development (Zidres in Spanish), is the ultimate and most important project that the central government has promoted to stimulate the capital

investments in agricultural production for the post-conflict. The ZIDRES is the last version of several laws and projects for the agroindustry development that different administrations have tried to implement sharing an approach where the large-scale production of commodities should displace the small family farming food production.

The Zidres law has been introduced by the central government as the main strategy to reduce rural poverty and to develop agricultural production; however, this one leads to deepening the inequality relations of land tenure and the territorial dispossession of the small family farming producers. This law will allow the allocation of fiscal lands or state lands to develop agribusiness projects by private investors. The problem is that in the political constitution it is stipulated that these lands must only be destined to landless people³. Additionally, access to public lands at low cost, the private initiatives will take advantage of public investments in rural infrastructure, power resources and others that had created the adequate conditions to produce and mobilize the agro-commodities. Also, the corporative agroindustry will incorporate peasants or the small family farming into their business plans through the contracting farming system, which will lead to losing the peasant autonomy over their territories.

In short, the Brazilian diplomacy helped to consolidate the private investors through the concession of large-scale projects in areas such as infrastructure and energy oriented to favoring the capital expansion. Also, it has been central in the process of establishing a specific development vision based on the Cerrado model that will incorporate the Orinoquia' region into the global agro-commodities market. This leads to aggravating the dynamic of territorial dispossession.

6 Conclusions

The current public development policies and private investments that materialize in the Mozambican and Colombian territories have a neo-developmental notion that relies on the dynamics of capital expansion as the main way to generate growth. This has a limited vision of development that point to large productive transformations based on a perspective of unlimited growth, which will therefore reduce the needs of the population in general. This vision is not exclusive to the global south countries. On the contrary, it is shared in countries that have endured their economic model in the extractivist regime. Therefore, not recognizing other ways of development outside those imposed by the dynamics of the international market, demanding commodities and natural common goods, this orientation creates conflicts and deepens existing ones with the populations settled in the territories.

With the determined intrusion of investments from foreign national states and transnational corporations, characteristic of the current regime of capitalist accumulation, this conflict takes on new and more complex dimensions. Now it is no longer the interests of national governments that develop production or development project in a territory, or the shares of companies with national capitals to expand their investments and production with effects on a population and a specific area. But in addition to this, the interests of foreign national states that through international cooperation or direct investment come into play, seek to expand their political and commercial influence over a particular country, or, as in the case of China, guarantee access to limited resources in their territories. These actions by foreign national states, although having an important commercial component (expansion of national investments in Third World countries) and in some cases solidarity in South-South relations (bilateral and multilateral aid programs), are also part of intricate strategies of geopolitical positioning where these can gain influence in regions or blocks of countries as opposed to other centers of power, such as China and Brazil in the African` and Latin American` countries.

³ Many of these lands have been occupied historically by peasants that were violently displaced in the 1950's in the period of La Violencia. Then they lived a second displacement through the violent land dispossession and expulsion made by paramilitary groups to take the control over large territories to favor landowners and agribusiness companies. Nowadays many of these lands dispossessed are under the control of irregular's owners and the Zidres law will provide the correction of these imperfect situations in favor of business and landowners

The foreign private companies, which in many cases use diplomatic offensives to strengthen their trade relations in the host countries, may act motivated by their own interests (commercial or productive expansion) or also serve as executors of projects promoted by the foreign national states (construction of infrastructure sponsored by international cooperation). Its performance, because it does not respond to greater interests than those of increasing capital income, is much more flexible both in the areas to be exploited and in the times of its permanence. In other words, they can continue once the diplomatic and cooperation offensive has ended (as in the case of Brazil) or they will continue until the profitability of their investments is favorable, leaving the country if international prices are not favorable. Thus, with an autonomous mode of action, investments from foreign private companies act in a speculative manner, determined by the variations of the international market, being habitual not to reinvest their profits in the country but to mobilize them towards other economies or sectors outside the national borders.

Additionally, the action of foreign nation-states and transnational corporations in their countries of origin, where investments and projects develop, is characteristic because they have also encouraged the socio-territorial conflicts. The conflicts emerge from the confrontation between contradictory development approaches (Fernandes, 2013). In the case of BRICS countries, the investments and extractive projects which are carried out in their territories have the target to increase the national incomes through the exploitation of the commons goods, and in this way to guarantee the monetary resources to implement social, and in some cases, redistributive public policies.

However, the search for these targets is dominant and has a unidirectional vision of the development without paying attention to the local priorities and participation of communities which live and depend on the common goods such as livelihoods. Thus, it is common that hydric resources that provide water for agricultural irrigation, human use or fishing activities can be provided for mining extraction, recreational activities or private use. In this way, the economic profits of private companies, foreign Nation-States or transnational investors have priority over the general benefits, and so on.

These contradictions have led the agrarian south to increase the conflicts by the access and use of the commons goods. On the one hand, there are peasants and ethnic peoples who have historically made a defense by their rights to stay in their territories and to have a free access to use and preserve the natural goods, because these are a fundamental piece to support and guarantee both the familiar reproduction and the community persistence. On the other hand, there are commercial interests of exploiting these resources in the continuous process of capital accumulation. In this way, confrontation emerges when private initiatives deterritorialize local population (peasants and ethnic communities) to impose agribusiness production, or when extractive companies promote mining projects over conservation areas or rural territories. These conflicts are exported by the same companies and the nation-states through the foreign investments over the rural territories in the agrarian south.

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