Transforming Mozambique
The Politics of Privatization, 1975–2000

Many of the economic transformations in Africa have been as dramatic as those in Eastern Europe. Yet much of the comparative literature on transitions has overlooked African countries. This study of Mozambique's shift from a command to a market economy draws on a wealth of empirical material, including archival sources, interviews, political posters and corporate advertisements, to reveal that the state is a central actor in the reform process, despite the claims of neo-liberals and their critics. Alongside the state, social forces – from World Bank officials to rural smallholders – have also accelerated, thwarted, or shaped change in Mozambique. M. Anne Pitcher offers an intriguing analysis of the dynamic interaction between previous and emerging agents, ideas and institutions, to explain the erosion of socialism and the politics of privatization in a developing country. She demonstrates that Mozambique's present political economy is a heterogeneous blend of ideological and institutional continuities and ruptures.

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The Politics of Privatization, 1975–2000

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In memory of my father, Charles Scholey Pitcher and my friend, Scott Kloeck-Jenson

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Preface

Little noticed amidst the fanfare surrounding regime changes in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa, the formerly socialist country of Mozambique has undergone a tumultuous transition to democracy and capitalism in the last ten years. Its privatization program has been called the most "successful" in Africa, while the peaceful completion of two national elections suggests that the chances for democratic consolidation are at least as good as, and probably much better than, many countries in the rest of Africa. The purpose of this book is to situate Mozambique's experiences within the comparative literature on the erosion of socialism and the transformation to a market economy. I focus on the politics of privatization in order to draw conclusions about the role of the state and social forces in structuring, challenging, supporting and undermining comprehensive change in transitional countries. I argue that although privatization has certainly altered the role of state institutions in Mozambique, the process and outcome of privatization have not eliminated state power, only redirected it. These findings challenge claims by supporters of neo-liberalism that transitions have been "revolutionary."

My initial approach to understanding Mozambique's transition from socialism to capitalism was to give a great deal of weight to international factors. When I first got interested in Mozambique in the 1980s, some of the more influential secondary literature placed the blame for the failure of socialism in Mozambique on South Africa's support for the counter-revolutionary movement, Renamo, and on policies of destabilization practiced by Western countries. Government pronouncements did not seem to disagree, and frequently blamed the South African backed "bandidos armados" for undermining the goals of the socialist and nationalist revolution. When I finally arrived in Mozambique in 1992, just before the signing of the accord that would end the seventeen-year conflict, my views only seemed to be confirmed. International "forces" were ubiquitous. Taxi drivers in the war-torn capital of Maputo demanded dollars and the lettering of the UN adorned every tenth car on the road. Employees of every non-governmental organization from Oxfam to World Vision crammed the streets and gazed out of the open-air restaurants and cafes on the main boulevards of the capital.

The impact of the international context and the role of international actors in Mozambique have been important, but repeated fieldwork in Mozambique together with my study of transitions elsewhere have downgraded my assessment of their role from "determinative" to "influential." Since 1992, I have been to Mozambique four more times. On three of these occasions, I engaged in extensive fieldwork, worked in the archives, and conducted numerous interviews. Each of these methods has shaped in profound ways my analysis of Mozambique's transition from a country that was committed to socialism following independence to a country that has now adopted the principles of the market and the procedures of democracy.

My fieldwork has taken me from the factory floors of Maputo and Nampula City to the fields of Sofala, Zambezia, Nampula, and Cabo Delgado Provinces. Surveys and interviews with over a hundred rural inhabitants revealed the persistence of colonial practices and relations, and the endurance of rural distrust of institutions of power, not the ubiquity of international forces. In one village in Meconta District, Nampula, a simmering conflict over the price of cotton that pitted local and national state officials and company employees against rural producers recalled similar incidents from the colonial period. In another locality, frequent denunciations by smallholders of communal villages, state farms, party secretaries, and other Frelimo inventions reinforced the notion that not all of the blame for what had happened in Mozambique could be lain at the door of international interests, nor was assigning "blame" the most productive way of reflecting on what had happened to Mozambique. Most importantly, fieldwork revealed the ingenuity and the insecurity, the resistance and the resilience of rural peoples. While rural communities were internally differentiated, and some households were beset with conflict, local peoples had also devised individual and collective strategies to ignore, shape, or stop policies with which they disagreed. Where appropriate, I draw on extensive surveys and interviews with smallholders and local officials to present their responses to events since independence. Most of the household surveys (HS), group interviews, and individual interviews took place in the "cotton belt" of northern Mozambique. Cotton is one of the main exports of Mozambique and involves the participation of about a quarter of a million smallholders. The views of smallholders in cotton areas thus shed some light on the experiences of rural producers since independence. Also, I opted to examine provinces in northern Mozambique to balance the findings from the relatively more researched southern provinces.

I began in 1994 with a small pilot study of fifteen households in Montepuez District, Cabo Delgado. Based on those findings, I then devised a detailed survey consisting of both closed and open-ended questions. I administered these with the aid of Makua-Portuguese interpreters to over 100 households in Meconta, Monapo, and Mecuburi districts of Nampula Province during selected periods of fieldwork in 1994–95. Notably, all of the informants were either

single, widowed, or divorced women, or couples. The inclusion of women in all surveys thus departed from the assumption in some of the recent work by agricultural economists on rural households in Mozambique that the man is the "head of household." By speaking with women alone or along with their husbands, I gained a more nuanced understanding of the skills and strategies they employed to survive the disruptions brought by natural disasters, war, and government policies. Part of the results and the methodological approach used in the surveys have previously been published in *African Studies Review* and the *Journal of Southern African Studies*. For enabling me to hear the stories of smallholders, I want to thank my translators from Portugese into Makua, the local language of much of the north; they were Lourenço Muarapaz, Guilherme Afonso, Juberto Moane, and João Lameiras. I appreciate greatly that those women and men with whom I spoke spent what little leisure time they had to share their experiences with me.

Rural challenges have not stopped with the peace accord. In some areas, rural peoples struggle to retain land that new investors claim, or they engage in conflicts with commercial operations over water and other resources. This was particularly the case in parts of Zambezia Province, where Scott Kloeck-Jenson and I conducted interviews with government officials, company directors, and rural peoples who had lost land following the "sale" of property to private investors by the Zambezia Company. We also carried out a survey in May of 1998 in the *localidade* (locality) of Mutange, Namacurra District, where we interviewed a small cross-section of residents to gain information on resource use and conflict in the area. The semi-structured survey of twenty-one households included six couples where we interviewed husbands and wives separately in order to gain insight into gendered understandings of resource rights and use. For the translation from Portuguese into Chuabo, we were very grateful to have the aid of Scott's long-term assistant, Raul Amade, and his cousin, Esperança. In the bibliography, I refer to all interviews and surveys in Zambezia as having been conducted with Scott Kloeck-Jenson. Part of the findings and the methodology of that research are published in Rachel Waterhouse and Carin Vijfhuizen, eds., *Estratégias das Mulheres, Proveito dos Homens: Género, Terra e Recursos Naturais em Diferentes Contextos Rurais em Moçambique*.

Study of archival material and secondary sources both preceded and followed my fieldwork. The Middlemas archives at Hoover Institution, Stanford University, consist of dozens of taped transcriptions by Keith Middlemas, Professor Emeritus of Sussex University. Professor Middlemas made these transcriptions from notes he took during interviews with Frelimo party members, state officials, diplomats, and company managers in Mozambique just after independence. They offer much insight into government and party deliberations regarding the decision to take over private companies, and they convey the

reactions of company directors once nationalizations became a reality. They proved valuable in delineating the external pressures and internal constraints that the regime confronted during that critical period in the transition to socialism. Correspondence with Professor Middlemas clarified some of my questions about his interviews, and I am grateful to both the Hoover Institution and Professor Middlemas for making the material available to me.

Furthermore, resources at the Archivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM) and the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA) in Maputo, Mozambique, strengthened and extended the research on colonial companies that I had collected at the Bibliotéca Nacional in Portugal during the 1980s. Through the use of newspapers, journals, telephone books, and government reports, I was able to trace what had happened to some of the former colonial companies in industry, commerce, banking, and agriculture after 1975. António Sopa, the staff at AHM and the librarians at CEA generously provided sources and suggestions to aid me with my work. In addition, a wonderful collection at the AHM of the iconography dating from the socialist period until the present offered a pictorial guide to how the government enacted socialism, what issues the regime considered the most important, and how it visually constructed these issues for the populace. I am thankful to those who worked with the collection, particularly Maria das Neves G. Cochofel, for showing me so much of the material they had gathered. Smaller collections of indexed newspaper articles at the Mediafax office and the Ministry of State Administration, and government reports at the Ministry of Agriculture, enhanced my understanding of why socialism eroded, how privatization was adopted, and who benefitted from this change. Copies of the newspaper articles that I collected from these latter institutions between 1994 and 1998 have been deposited at the CEA library. Moreover, my study of the impact of privatization would have been immeasurably more difficult had it not been for the superb investigative reporting skills of Carlos Cardoso, who founded and edited the on-line newspaper *Metical*. The assassination of this courageous and respected Mozambican journalist in November 2000 surely has dealt a serious blow to the struggle for press freedom.

Finally, interviews, conversations, and personal communications with government officials, bank directors, company managers, and representatives of non-governmental organizations from the World Bank to World Vision have enriched my analysis of the recent transformation to a market economy. With the generous support of a Fulbright grant from January to June, 1998, I conducted interviews with managers of some of the largest and oldest companies in the country, such as Grupo Entreposto and João Ferreira dos Santos, as well as with foreign investors. I interviewed directors from the oldest to the youngest banks in the country, and spoke at length with officials from the Ministry of Agriculture (national and district levels), the Ministry of Finances, the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Tourism, and the Sugar, Cotton, and Cashew Institutes.

I talked with those national, provincial, and district government officials who were in charge of privatization in industry and agriculture.

Two major points emerged from the interviews – one about government and the other about the interaction of social forces with government institutions. The first point was the extent to which the Mozambican government "owned" the transformation. Implementing the process of privatization and enforcing the other strictures of structural adjustment required great participation by the state. State ministries, state units, state centers, state commissions, and state cabinets, organized the sale of state companies, prepared the dossiers, conducted the valuations, accepted bids, decided on the winners, and handed over the keys to companies. It was the state that confronted the problems of salaries in arrears, untrained personnel, and worker layoffs. And it was the state that monitored the new private operations, imposed taxes, and regulated firm behavior. The demands of the international financial institutions, Western donors, and a new constituency of private investors influenced the activity of government officials, but they did not determine it. These findings revealed to me that claims about the success of privatization have been quite superficial. They have narrowly noted that sales have taken place without looking at the role of government in the process or who the purchasers were.

Second, however, the interviews exposed the extent to which social groups, from smallholders to the private sector, "enfeebled," "excluded," and "empowered" the state – to paraphrase a claim made by Migdal, *et al.* – since independence. My work seeks to capture that dynamic of state-society interaction. I argue that it has not disappeared during the privatization process, not in Mozambique, and not in the rest of Africa. Some social groups have lost and others have gained from transformation, but throughout, their role has been integral to the story of how and why changes occurred the way that they did.

This study has been aided throughout by the previous work of scholars on Mozambique and the work of other scholars in the field, by the financial support of various institutions, and by the encouragement of my peers and my family. In Mozambique, I had stimulating conversations with other scholars such as Nina Bowen, Teresa Cruz e Silva, David Hedges, Arlindo Chilundo, Luis Covane, Natalina Monteiro, Paulo Mole, David Tschirley, Scott Kloeck-Jenson, Rachel Waterhouse, Ken Wilson, and those who came to the papers I presented at the Nucleus for the Study of Land and the CEA at Eduardo Mondlane University. To understand the rise of the private sector in Mozambique, I benefited enormously from conversations and interviews with Lisa Audet, Alan Harding, Louis Helling, Scott Jazynka, Américo Magaia, Raimundo Matule, António Machado, Egas Mussanhane, Arahni Sont and Fion de Vletter. Of the many government officials I interviewed or encountered, I also want to give special thanks to the director of the Cotton Institute, Erasmo Muhate, for his thoughtful comments and the unflagging support he has given me since 1994. He returned

every phone call, followed up every query, responded to every email, and shared a great deal of information on cotton with me. More importantly, the integrity and dedication he brought to his work made a lasting impression on me. His example challenged the image of the rent-seeking, venal bureaucrat that has lately become so common in the literature on Africa.

Outside of Mozambique, the work of Peter Evans, Jean-Francois Bayart, Sara Berry, James Scott, and David Stark provided the theoretical signposts to guide me on my empirical journey and I owe a great intellectual debt to their work. Reading Scott's analysis of the Tanzanian and Russian experiments with collectivization in *Seeing Like a State* resonated so closely with the Mozambique experience that it was both horrifying and exciting to note the similarities. Bayart's masterful portrayal of the networks and alliances among African elites in *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* helped me greatly to unravel the politics embedded in the privatization process of Mozambique, and the work of Evans convinced me how important the state was to this process. Finally, Berry and Scott reminded me that even those most marginalized from the political process find the means and the voice to negotiate or revise policies with which they disagree.

A Picker Fellowship, major grants from Colgate University in 1994 and 1995, and a Fulbright scholarship from the J. William Fulbright Scholarship Board provided financial support. The CEA under the direction of Dr. Teresa Cruz e Silva warmly served as the host institution for the Fulbright when I was in Mozambique in 1998. Harriet McGuire, the public affairs officer of the United States Information Service, which administered the Fulbright in Mozambique, unselfishly offered her assistance on all sorts of matters even after my departure. Furthermore, the following people and institutions – the joint Michigan State University/Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development Project; Bill Messiter, formerly of Care-Mozambique; Nina Bowen and family; and the Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin-Madison – supplied technical and logistical support for some of the fieldwork in northern Mozambique. The secretarial staff at Colgate University, particularly Cindy Terrier, gave valuable computer advice, while the reference librarians at Case Library were consistently helpful and accomodating. Ray Nardelli, Educational Technology Specialist of the Collaboration for Enhanced Learning at Colgate digitally reproduced the political poster and the company advertisements for the book's cover and for the illustrations in chapter 7. I would also like to thank António Sopa of the AHM and the companies who gave permission to reproduce the images used in the text. Two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press also provided helpful comments. I am grateful to these organizations and individuals for aiding the completion of this work.

My colleagues, students, family and friends have shared their wisdom and listened to my ideas over the years. Conversations with Eric and Jessica

Allina-Pisano, Arlindo Chilundo, Kate Christen, Allen Isaacman, Liz MacGonagle, Carrie Manning, Mary Moran, Eric Morier-Genoud, Jeanne Penvenne, Kathie Sheldon, Rachel Stringfellow, and Sheri Young intellectually sustained me on my scholarly journey and I am very grateful. I especially want to thank my dear friend, Eric Morier-Genoud, who has supported my work and encouraged my ideas in countless ways. My husband, Martin Murray, has been generous with his praise, restrained in his criticisms, and, when all else fails, lavish in his attentions, and I am most appreciative.

Moments of great joy and sorrow have accompanied the research and the writing of this book. I want to end this preface with a dedication to two of the people who have been responsible for those moments. My husband and I welcomed our daughter, Alida Claeys Pitcher-Murray, into the world on 9 September 1997. From the minute of her arrival she has brought much happiness to her two brothers, Andrew and Jeremy, and to us. In January of 1998, the three of us left for Mozambique to begin my Fulbright grant, but *en route* I learned that my father had died and we had to return to the States. Nothing prepared me for the loss of someone who had been such a constant friend and mentor my whole life. My father was always there with a bit of humor or some astute observation to help me put things in perspective, and I greatly miss our friendship. He also had a wonderful gift for holding listeners spellbound as he wove a tale of sordid intrigue or great hilarity. I miss the inflections in his voice as he worked his way towards a dramatic denouement.

I encountered that mixture of humor and humanity also in my friend and colleague, Scott Kloeck-Jenson. When my family and I finally settled in Mozambique, Scott, his wife, Barbara, and their two kids, Noah and Zoe, warmly welcomed us into their home. As people often do when they are not in their "terra de natal," we bonded quickly and spent many evenings sharing funny and sorrowful stories about our families as well as our challenges in Africa. Scott and Barbara had both worked for the United States peace corps in Lesotho and had lived several years in Mozambique, and they were as comfortable in Africa as they would have been in the US. They navigated deliberately among the disparate communities in Maputo, from the ex-patriate American community to Maputo's street artists. I learned much by listening to them and by doing fieldwork with Scott in Zambezia Province in May 1998. In the summer of 1999 I returned to Mozambique briefly to finish up some interviews. Scott and Barbara and the kids were as welcoming as ever. They were also eagerly anticipating their return to the US when Scott's tenure as project director for the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Land Tenure Center Program concluded in January of 2000.

Sadly, only a week after my return to the States, I learned that the Kloeck-Jenson family had been killed in a car accident in South Africa. Many of their friends have mourned their deaths and given eloquent testimonies to their grace,

their compassion, and their thoughtfulness. For myself, the image that I remember the most is the mischievous little twinkle Scott would get in his eyes when he had a story to spin. My father also got that twinkle and, in both men, it always foreshadowed a tale of great amusement but one from which the listeners were supposed to draw a moral lesson. It is with much appreciation and admiration for their storytelling gifts that I dedicate this book to the memories of my father, Charles Scholey Pitcher, and my friend and colleague, Scott Kloeck-Jenson.

Abbreviations and acronyms

AC	aldeia comunal, communal village
ACIANA	Associação Comercial, Industrial e Agrícola de Nampula, Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Association of Nampula
AICaju	Associação dos Industriais de Caju, Association of Cashew Industrialists
BCI	Banco Comercial e de Investimentos, Commercial and Investment Bank
BIM	Banco Internacional de Moçambique, International Bank of Mozambique
BNU	Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Overseas National Bank
BPD	Banco Popular de Desenvolvimento, People's Development Bank
BR	*Boletim da República*, *Bulletin of the Republic*
CAIL	Complexo Agro-Industrial do Limpopo, Limpopo Agro-Industrial Complex
CEA	Centro de Estudos Africanos, Center of African Studies
CEDIMO	Centro Nacional de Documentação e In formação de Moçambique, National Documentation and Information Center of Mozambique
CEP	Comissão Executora da Privatização, Executive Privatization Commission
CFM	Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique, Ports and Railways of Mozambique
CIMPOR	Cimentos de Portugal, Cement of Portugal
CIRE	Comissão Interministerial para a Reestruturação Empresarial, Interministerial Commission for Enterprise Restructuring
CPI	Centro de Promoção de Investimento, Center for Investment Promotion
CUF	Companhia União Fabril, Union Manufacturing Company
EDM	Electricidade de Moçambique, Mozambique Electricity

E. E.	Empresa Estatal, State Enterprise
EMOCHÁ	Empresa Moçambicana de Chá, Mozambican Tea Company
ENACOMO	Empresa Nacional de Comercialização, National Trading Company
E. P.	Empresa Pública, Public Enterprise
Frelimo	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Mozambique Liberation Front
GAPRONA	Gabinete de Apoio a Produção da Província de Nampula, Office of Aid to Production in Nampula Province
GPIE	Gabinete de Promoção do Investimento Estrangeiro, Office for Foreign Investment Promotion
GREAP	Gabinete de Reestruturação de Empresas Agrárias e Pescas, Office for Restucturing Agricultural and Fishing Enterprises
GREICT	Gabinete de Reestruturação de Empresas da Indústria, Comércio e Turismo, Office for Restructuring Industry, Trade and Tourism Companies
Grupo AGT	Abdul Gani Tayob Group
IAM	Instituto de Algodão de Moçambique, Cotton Institute of Mozambique
IMPAR	Companhia de Seguros de Moçambique, Insurance Company of Mozambique
JFS	João Ferreira dos Santos
JVC	Joint-venture Company
LAM	Linhas Aéreas de Moçambique, Mozambique Airlines
LOMACO	Lonrho-Mozambique Company
MG	Moçambique Gestores, SARL, Mozambique Managers, Limited
MICTUR	Ministério da Indústria, Comércio e Turismo, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana, Organization of Mozambican Women
OTM	Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique, Organization of Mozambican Workers
PDP	Programa dos Distritos Prioritários, Priority District Program
PIDE	Portuguese Security Police
PRE	Programa de Reabilitação Económica, Economic Recovery Program

PRES	Programa de Reabilitação Económica e Social, Economic and Social Recovery Program
PROAGRI	Programa de Desenvolvimento Agrícola, Program for Agricultural Development
Renamo	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, Mozambique National Resistance
SAAVM	Sociedade Algodoeira Africana Voluntária de Moçambique, African Voluntary Cotton Society of Mozambique
SAMO	Sociedade Algodoeira de Monapo, Monapo Cotton Company
SARL	Sociedade Anonima de Responsibilidade Limitada, Limited Liability Company
SCI	Sociedade de Controlo e Gestão de Participações Financeiras, SARL, Control and Management of Financial Participation Company, Limited
SDCM	Sociedade de Desenvolvimento do Corredor de Maputo, Maputo Corridor Development Company
SINTICIM	Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Indústria de Construção Civil, Madeiras e Minas de Moçambique, National Union of Civil Construction, Timber and Mine Workers
SODAN	Sociedade de Desenvolvimento Algodoeiro de Namialo, Namialo Cotton Development Company
SPI	Sociedade de Participações de Investimentos, SARL, Investment Participation Company
STM	Sociedade Terminais de Moçambique, Mozambique Terminals Company
TDM	Telecomunicações de Moçambique, Mozambique Telecommunications
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Eduardo Mondlane University
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UREA	Unidade para a Reestruturação das Empresas de Agricultura, Unit for the Restructuring of Agricultural Enterprises
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UTRE	Unidade Técnica para a Reestruturação de Empresas, Technical Unit for Enterprise Restructuring

Glossary

aldeamentos	strategic hamlets created during the colonial war by the colonial government
blocos	blocks of land especially designated for smallholder production after independence, which often corresponded to the concentrações designated during the colonial period.
cabo	chief's assistant
cantineiros	traders
capataz	overseer
concentração	designated blocks of land for smallholder production during the colonial period
conto	1,000 Portugese escudos or 1,000 Mozambican meticais
empresas estatais	state enterprises
empresas intervencionadas	enterprises intervened in by the state but not officially nationalized
empresas publicas	public enterprises
escudo	Portuguese unit of currency; 1,000 escuados equal 1 conto
FICO	I am staying
grupos dinamizadores	dynamizing groups
humu	customary Makua lineage or land chief in northern Mozambique
Lojas do Povo	people's shops
machamba	field; pl. *machambas*
mestiço	person of mixed race in the colonial period
metical	Mozambican unit of currency; 1,000 meticais equal 1 conto
muene	customary Makua clan chief in northern Mozambique
patrão	boss

portaria	government directive
privados	private commercial farmers who farm over four hectares of land. In the cotton sector, the minimum amount of land devoted to cotton must be at least twenty hectares.
regulo	chief
xibalo	forced labor

To avoid confusion, Mozambique's current administrative divisions are used when referring to places and locations in the text.