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DeOthering
Este artigo é parte de uma série de publicações de autoria da equipa de investigação do projeto DeOthering, publicado no Alice News com cadência mensal.
By Gaia Giuliani



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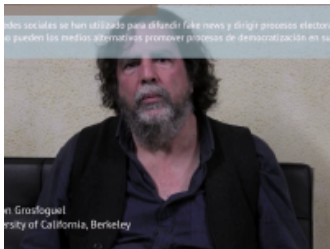
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La delicada división entre noticias falsas y flujos de información alternativos - 8/9 Ramón Grosfoguel

Durante la conferencia internacional ?Imaginando el futuro. Conocimientos, experiencias, alternativas ?(Coimbra, 7-10 de noviembre de 2018), Alice News entrevistó a los siguientes participantes y oradores: David(...)
Por Ramón Grosfoguel



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Mozambican citizens could end up paying the bill of Danish retirement

What started out as a tuna adventure hoping to make millions ended up with a \$2 billion bill for the Mozambican citizens. With the newest payment plan for the payback of the illegitimate loans to the Mozambican tuna(...)
By Drude Daverkosen

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pt Notícias Original Anti-Capitalismo Anti-Colonialismo Anti-Heteropatriarcado

Boaventura de Sousa Santos entrevista Jean Wyllys

AN Original

2019-02-28

Por Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Jean Wyllys

Boaventura de Sousa Santos entrevista Jean Wyllys após a renúncia do ex-deputado federal (PSOL-RJ) a um terceiro mandato para o qual foi reeleito, devido ao número crescente de ameaças de morte que recebeu desde a eleição do presidente Jair Bolsonaro. Deputado federal em dois mandatos, com vasta produção legislativa no reconhecimento da cidadania das minorias discriminadas, no reconhecimento dos direitos dos e das profissionais do sexo e de uma nova política de drogas, sendo autor de projetos como a regulamentação da maconha no Brasil, casamento igualitário e identidade de gênero. Foi Vice-Presidente da Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito que investigou a exploração sexual de crianças e adolescentes, e esteve na liderança da Comissão Externa de parlamentares que acompanha as investigações da execução da vereadora Marielle Franco.



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Congresso de Pesquisadores/as Negros/as: resistência e enfrentamento

AN Original

2019-03-06

Por Marcos Antonio Batista da Silva

A Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros (ABPN) é uma Associação civil, tendo por finalidade o ensino, a pesquisa e extensão acadêmico-científica sobre temas de interesse da população negra brasileira. A ABPN tem como proposta congregar pesquisadores/as negros/as brasileiros/as, que trabalham com a temática racial (não restringindo a participação de pesquisadores/as não-negros/as), com o objetivo principal de congregar e fortalecer laços entre pesquisadores/as que tratem o tema, direta ou indiretamente, ou se identifiquem com os problemas que afetam a população negra e, principalmente, estejam interessados em seu equacionamento, entre outros objetivos. Vale destacar que a Associação disponibiliza espaço para todos os Núcleos de Estudos Afro-brasileiros (NEABs), estes Núcleos fomentam uma rede de articulação nacional composta por instituições de educação superior que atuam no campo do ensino, pesquisa e extensão, estimulando, entre outras, a reflexão sobre desigualdades étnico-raciais e políticas de promoção da igualdade.



Foto do autor: ato de repúdio a atos racistas durante o Congresso

A ABPN tem organizado os Congressos Brasileiro de Pesquisadores/as Negros/as (Copenes), desde o início da década de 2000. Em 2018, participei pela primeira vez do X Copene, intitulado “(Re) Existência Intelectual Negra e Ancestral: 18 anos de enfrentamento”, ocorrido na Universidade de Uberlândia, estado de Minas Gerais, Brasil. O Congresso constituiu-se enquanto espaço de divulgação, circulação e

promoção da produção científica dos/as pesquisadores/as negros/as e de estudiosos/as das temáticas vinculadas à população negra, sob a perspectiva do diálogo entre os povos africanos e da Diáspora, com vistas aos debates e reflexões acerca da intelectualidade negra nos diferentes campos e áreas do conhecimento científico e do saber, sob a perspectiva da resistência, do enfrentamento e do combate às diversas formas de racismo, em particular, a segregação dos negros e negras nos espaços sociais e na produção acadêmica.

O X Copene teve sua programação estruturada a partir de eixos temáticos, a saber: Educação para as relações étnico-raciais; História da África e das Diásporas Africanas; Saúde da população negra. Negritudes e africanidades; Tecnologia, africanidades e inovação: conhecimento científico e saberes com protagonismo Negro; Pensamento negro, intelectuais africanos/as e da Diáspora; Identidade de gênero e feminismos negro; Literaturas africanas/afro-brasileira e linguagens descoloniais; Políticas públicas e ações afirmativas; Movimentos negros e movimentos sociais; Epistemologias e metodologias afrocentradas; Cultura, arte, memória, patrimônio afro-brasileiro e identidade negra; Meio ambiente e comunidades; Povos tradicionais de matrizes africanas; Empreendedorismo negro - trabalho desenvolvimento; Justiça, controle social e aplicação material do direito; Mídia e negritude; Juventude negra; Gestão pública e políticas afirmativas. Além de contar com diversas atividades (conferências, mesas redondas, programação cultural, minicursos, sessões temáticas, lançamentos de livros, oficinas, sessão de pôster, jornadas de iniciação científica), entre outras. Merece destaque as discussões, a saber: a implementação da lei 10.639/2003 e suas Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais e para o Ensino de História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana (A lei completou 16 anos desde a sua promulgação, porém, ainda é motivo de discussão enquanto sua aplicabilidade); as comissões da verdade da autodeclaração racial como mecanismo de proteção das políticas públicas de ação afirmativa, com recorte racial; as religiões e religiosidades afro-brasileiras; as comunidades quilombolas; o racismo institucional; as políticas de ação afirmativa; o debate sobre raça, gênero, classe.

Vale dizer que, embora, dezenas de trabalhos fizessem menção ao currículo educacional no contexto racial, apenas parte deles, abarcaram a discussão da descolonização dos currículos, em particular no contexto universitário. Observamos, também, uma lacuna de trabalhos que abordassem os Coletivos negros universitários, bem como o tema da internalização da Ciência em conexão como o contexto racial. Mas, notamos um diálogo alargado com o contexto latino-americano. No que se refere ao contexto português, observamos que ocorreu um a Mesa redonda² intitulada “Racismos e antirracismos no Brasil e em Portugal”, com as seguintes comunicações: Relato de experiência: vivências além-mar no contexto étnico-racial (Marcos Silva/CES); Racismos e antirracismos no Brasil e em Portugal (Marina Mello/Unifesp); Racismo, educação e políticas de migração em Portugal (Renisia Filice /UnB).

O Congresso incluiu ações, movimentos e políticas adotadas ou desenvolvidas para se opor ao racismo, porém, ocorreram atitudes racistas durante o evento (pichação racista em banheiro do campus universitário), como noticiado na mídia (portal³ g1). Nesta direção, a universidade; a comunidade acadêmica e público presente, solidarizaram-se e somaram forças à toda população atingida, isto é, denunciaram o racismo, e repudiaram não apenas o fato aqui tratado, mas quaisquer formas de discriminação, seja ela por cor/raça, condição socioeconômica, gênero, orientação sexual, credo religioso. Contudo, no ano de 2018, o Copene chegou a sua décima edição com uma caminhada repleta de conhecimentos e trocas enriquecedoras, que contou com aproximadamente 4.000 inscritos. A luta continua!

2). Ver: https://www.copene2018.eventos.dype.com.br/conteudo/view?ID_CONTEUDO=539

3). <https://g1.globo.com/mg/triangulo-mineiro/noticia/2018/10/17/frase-racista-e-pichada-no-banheiro-da-ufu-durante-congresso-brasileiro-de-pesquisadores-negros-em-uberlandia.ghtml>



Marcos Antonio Batista da Silva é Doutor em Psicologia Social pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP). Investigador em pós-doutoramento no Centro de Estudos Sociais (CES), Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal, onde integra o projeto Politics “A política de antirracismo na Europa e na América Latina: produção de conhecimento, decisão política e lutas coletivas. Financiamento: European Research



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The delicate divide between fake news and alternative information streams - #9/9 Shiv Visvanathan

AN Original - Fake News

2019-03-04

By Shiv Visvanathan

During the international conference “Imagining the future. Knowledges, experiences, alternatives” (Coimbra 7-10 November 2018) the Alice News interviewed the following participants and speakers David Veloso Larraz, Françoise Vergès, Ian Ifversen, João Cezar Castro Rocha, Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, Mogobe Ramose, Nilma Gomes, Ramón Grosfoguel, Shiv Visvanathan. The question posed to them was “Social networks have been used to spread “fake-news” and direct electoral processes, how can alternative media promote democratisation processes instead?” The short video interviews collected are published one per week starting Monday, November 19, 2018. Watch the interview with Shiv Visvanathan.



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On the positionality of the gaze towards migrants' mobility in the Mediterranean

AN Original - DeOthering

2019-02-26

By Gaia Giuliani

This article is part of a serial by the DeOthering project research team, monthly published in Alice News.



In many regards, looking is not a neutral action. Those who look are indeed subjects that, in the act of looking, are also impressed by what they see and interpret it accordingly. When looking, they connect their past visual and cognitive experience to what they see and, in the process, select some details over others, focus on a few less and, consequently, neglect many others. The positionality we occupy affects our individual and collective experience of seeing. Much as in the case of visual accounts of past experience as in the case of visual texts, the way in which we interpret what we see is necessarily influenced by many factors, personal and emotional ones included. However, our interpretation is also overdetermined by social *scripts*, which through iteration, as John Tagg e Judith Butler have pointed out, *produce truth*. In the case here examined, those who look are interpellated to do so, hence exert the “*right to look*” (Nicholas Mirzoeff: *The Right to Look*).

As elaborated by Nicholas Mirzoeff, the right to look encompasses both the right to look and the right to identify ourselves in what we see by means of self-representation. Take the Odyssey as an example. For decades, students have been taught to read the story of Ulysses through the eye of literary experts, whose visual codes have imposed upon us how to understand Ulysses' role in the past and present. Such codes have accordingly restrained our interpretation of the mythic journey of Ulysses within a normative grid, which invited readers to identify with the hero Ulysses and accept the meaning of love, passion, sexuality, marriage as well as loyalty of soldiers, sons and wives to their master *cum* patriarch that the myth was providing.

From this perspective, what strikes most in the cinematographic rendition of the current migratory question – of the mobility of the new Ulysses – is the complete reversal of the theme of the journey. Whereas in the *Odyssey* Ulysses' travelling stands for reconciliation and consolidation of society as funded on loyalty, in the filmic representation of new Ulysses(es) crossing the Mediterranean Sea, travelling becomes the chronotope of the subversion of the status quo. Albeit, like Ulysses, migrants too fight to reach a land where their dreams could somehow become true, they are seen neither as real heroes nor as fearless leaders.

The positionality of the object whom is looked at is here diriment. The gap between the reading of the journey of Ulysses (with whom we are invited to identify with) and the reading of the Middle Passage of postcolonial subalterns across the Mediterranean (with whom we are strongly invited to not identify with) perfectly renders the historical and semiotic distance that exists between the conceptualisation of traveling as experience and return and the reading of traveling as misery and invasion. Historically, the mobility of colonial subaltern and likewise minoritised subjects has always been considered “dangerous.” Because they embody the possibility of subverting the material and symbolic order of the status quo, their mobility has accordingly functioned as a as a trigger of *moral panic*.

From the vagabond running away from social control and harsh work discipline in the early modern Europe, to the runaway of the plantation, to the quilombolxs, to the women transgressing the strict boundaries of patriarchy and marriage, to the underclass escaping from the poor houses; from the mutinies in the slave ships to the subaltern struggles defying colonial and racial hierarchies, from the violation of spatial and symbolic segregation to the escape of queer and transgender persons from dangerous and claustrophobic places in cities and towns, from the emancipation seeking migration within and without the First World to the flight from the dangers of the ex-colonies.

All these instances recount how the border had not only obstructed passage to all those subjects who, because of their gender, race, class and sexuality, were made vulnerable to violence and death but also symbolically “constructed” them as dangerous, risky subjects. In other words, the aforesaid examples demonstrate how the border, by establishing who could pass and who could not unless under specific conditions, identified the latter as “figures of the race” (Giuliani 2016a e 2016b), – that is, potential subverters of the social, moral, political and economic status quo.



For “figures of the race”, I mean all those images that crystallise some of the meanings used to gender and racialise colonial and postcolonial bodies which, by virtue of circulating across empires and over time, have sedimented into variety of collective imaginaries. These figures have been used to describe racialized subjects and racialize those “subjected to the violence and barbarism of all forms of primitive accumulation, with its repertoire of mass murder and even genocide, kidnap and forced migration, concentration camps, torture and the whole panoply of state crime”.

Contrary to the *Odyssey*, where monstrosity refers to the malefic agents obstructing Ulysses' passage, in the hegemonic representation of the current human mobility across the Mediterranean by postcolonial and social subalterns, monstrosity refers to subaltern subjects themselves. In the latter case, we are not invited to identify with the traveller. Rather, we are exhorted to keep an ontological distance from the subject who is at the same time at risk and of risk – that is, a subject who is simultaneously victim of violence (which is both at the origin of the journey and an experience ingrained in the journey) and a criminal violating the border security of European countries. In the films telling the stories of our contemporary Ulysses(es), the hero is the subject who looks at (and does not experience) the Middle passage, whose positionality is accordingly revealed as being essentially oppositional to the one's embodied by those who come from across the sea. Furthermore, the representation of the Other who come from across the sea carries out a function which is the same as but also the opposite of that played by the mythic Ulysses. I would call this function *identification by contrast*, that is the possibility for those “who look” to define who they are or would like to be against whom is not “like them”

This short intervention, which I am currently developing with Francesco Vacchiano in a full-length article for a special journal issue on Italian post-colonial cinema [“Il senso degli italiani (e degli europei) per l'Altro che vien dal mare. Cinema, bianchezza e Middle passage” in *Imago*, 2019], represents an invite to observe with a critical eye our own positionality when we look at today migratory phenomena in general, and those taking place in the Mediterranean in particular. Specifically, it aims to solicit a critical understanding of the stories, biopolitical dispositifs and power relations that unravel in the Middle passage and that are described in the contemporary cinematic representations of mobility and landings. It is an invite for the white and European audience to reflect on what they are looking at and why and question the emotions this gaze engenders: compassion *in primis*. As in the case of the film *Fuocoammare* (2016) by Francesco Rosi, where compassion is perfectly deployed to excite our humanitarian look, this emotion cannot be completely dissociated from the *moral panic* triggered by the constructed monstrosity of the migrant.

The monster is created by the horror we are filled in when looking at the spectacle of border crossing, where the physical and symbolic border which is crossed is the one that distances the Global North from that colonial and postcolonial violence that is pretended to be located over the abyssal line(s). In fact, these are the lines that delimit the symbolic and material space of the *hic sunt leones*. They are constantly transgressed by the autonomous and radical mobility of the subaltern subjects, which in doing so troubles the biopolitical spatiality of neo-liberal and post-colonial capitalism.



The moral panic engendered by the “invasion” of the new monstrified Ulysses(es) ought to be understood as integral to the guilt we feel towards the relations of power which are rearticulated along the *abyssal line* by means of the constant reproduction of statuses of inferiority.

This sense of guilt towards postcolonial injustice entails another important feeling, which is the desire to feel absolved or be estranged from that violence. This desire coats the guilt with victimizing discourses which do not allow identification with the new Ulysses(es) but, rather, prescribe an ontological distance with the subjects-in-motion, seen as devoid of subjectivity and voice. In this regard, compassion, guilt and solidarity activate discursive dynamics and silencing dispositifs that share a dangerous familiarity with the symbolic materials that were at the very base of both the civilizing mission and the humanitarian interventions to “rescue the good savage”.

Among these discursive dynamics, suspicion plays also a fundamental role. As in colonial times, the designated recipient of the civilizing mission is the subject who is conterminously positioned as a victim and a potential subverter, that is, a monster. Such is the case in that, whether s/he refuses or “exploits” the “humanitarian” intervention (that is, an act of further conquest and subjection), s/he will be perceived as an inherent threat to the (colonial) status quo.

In conclusion, the challenges posed today by the visual representations of the Middle passage is one that has to do with the very positioning of the subject who looks. Films, like multi-prized *Fuocoammare*, among others, contribute importantly to a reflection on *some aspects* of the Middle passage. None the less, the very core issue of an analysis of those representations have to do with the complicated relation between the feelings – namely, compassion, guilt, distance, suspicion and empathy – that the “vision” of such narratives of the Middle passage engenders. The relation between the *humanitarian reason* and the symbolic and emotional labour of the *border regime* that presides over migrations stands behind and shapes those feeling. While watching, the gaze gets caught and molded, guided towards particular interpretations. Today as always, to challenge the positionality of the viewer means to bring to light the silence working of the colonial epistemology that guides our gaze and that, as in the past, essentialises – along the lines of race, gender, class, sexuality, religion and nationality – what distinguishes Ulysses (Us) from the thousands of Ulysses(es) (Them).

In other words, to question the positionality of our gaze means to enable us to unravel the biopolitical labour of the *abyssal line(s)* and the worldwide temporal and shifting ontological differentiations and distances they pose.



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Political uses of Heritage during times of Populism - Laurajane Smith

AN Original

2019-02-25

By Laurajane Smith

What are the political uses of Heritage during times of Populism?

Laurajane Smith is director for the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies within the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Australian National University. I am currently writing up a long term project that has involved interviewing over 4,500 visitors to 45 different museums and heritage sites in England, Australia and the United States. Six different genre of history museums/sites were included in this study.



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Boaventura de Sousa Santos sobre a crise na Venezuela | Boaventura de Sousa Santos sobre la crisis en Venezuela | Boaventura de Sousa Santos on the crisis in Venezuela

AN Original

2019-02-22

Por Boaventura de Sousa Santos

Boaventura de Sousa Santos sobre la inminente intervención militar en Venezuela:



Boaventura de Sousa Santos on the impending military intervention in Venezuela:



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La delicada división entre noticias falsas y flujos de información alternativos - 8/9

Ramón Grosfóguel

AN Original - Fake News

2019-02-18

Por Ramón Grosfóguel

Durante la conferencia internacional “Imaginando el futuro. Conocimientos, experiencias, alternativas” (Coimbra, 7-10 de noviembre de 2018), Alice News entrevistó a los siguientes participantes y oradores: David Veloso Larraz, Françoise Vergès, Ian Ifversen, João Cezar Castro Rocha, Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, Mogobe Ramose, Nilma Gomes, Ramón Grosfóguel, Shiv Visvanathan. La pregunta que se les planteó fue “Las redes sociales se han utilizado para difundir fake news y dirigir procesos electorales. ¿Cómo pueden los medios alternativos promover procesos de democratización en su lugar?” Las cortas entrevistas video se publican una por semana a partir del lunes 19 de noviembre de 2018. Por favor, vea la entrevista a Ramón Grosfóguel.



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Mozambican citizens could end up paying the bill of Danish retirement

AN Original

2019-02-15

By Drude Daverkosen

What started out as a tuna adventure hoping to make millions ended up with a \$2 billion bill for the Mozambican citizens. With the newest payment plan for the payback of the illegitimate loans to the Mozambican tuna company Ematum two Danish pension funds could look forward to a profit from their investments in this dirty affair. But pressure from Danish activists might end up making a difference.



It is known that 6 Danish financial institutions and pension funds were among the original lenders of controversial state-guaranteed loans to the Mozambican tuna company, Ematum. The loans were arranged by the Swiss bank Credit Suisse and the Russian bank VTB and have been revealed as a big fraud. Since the Mozambican government guaranteed the high-interest loans, it means that the local taxpayers now are likely to have to repay the loan to the foreign investors.

An auditing report from the auditing company Kroll revealed that only a small portion of the loans have been used to invest in a couple of fishing boats, which never left the harbor of Maputo. The larger portion of the money was not accounted for, which made the creditors go to the Mozambican state with a claim of the state-guarantee. The loan-guarantee was not agreed upon in the Mozambican parliament making them illegal. The affair made the Danish Government to hold back the Danish aid programs for Mozambique in 2015, where after they stopped it completely from 2016.

"It is poor people who end up paying the bill. We must have a new international agreement on debt restructuring. Today, the debt can only be spread on populations whose governments have borrowed, illegally or not. There must be a creditor's responsibility". Says Lars Koch, the political head of Action Aid Denmark, to the Danish newspaper Information.

Danish pension funds have a chance on profiting from new payment plan

In February 2016 the Danish newspaper *Information* revealed that two Danish investment companies and four Danish pension funds owned bonds in the controversial loans. The 28th of December 2018 the same newspaper could report that three Danish pension funds still own their bonds.

In December 2018, the largest Ematum creditors agreed to postpone installment payments on the loan. This gave the government a respite, but significantly increased the country's debt burden. The population of Mozambique would thereby end up repaying between \$1.7 billion and \$2.2 billion for a \$760 million loan, from which they do not receive any benefit. Meanwhile, companies who now own the debts are set to make potentially huge profits. Among those companies are three Danish pension funds.

"The agreement with the owners of Ematum bonds must be seen as an attempt to get the Mozambican taxpayers to pay for loans that others have taken up," says Ole Stage, representing the Critical Pension Customers Association in Denmark, to the Danish newspaper Information.

The recent arrestments of five persons behind the scam, including former finance minister of Mozambique Manuel Chang, and three former executives of the bank Credit Suisse, might void the loans.

Pressure from Danish civil society has influenced the investors

The publicity in 2016 resulted in the selling of the bonds from the biggest Danish investors, Sydinvest and Danske Bank Invest. Which can be considered a clever move from the investors, who this way avoid the critics from the recent developments in the case, and also pass the opportunity to take responsibility in the question of the payback of the loan after the reveal of the scam.

Three Danish pension funds still own their bonds. Two of those - PensionDanmark and Nordea Liv og Pension are expected to accept the new payment plan. They argue that their shares are so small that the selling of the bond will not affect the process. The bonds must though still be considered to be in conflict with their own responsible investment guidelines.

As a result of pressure from the 'Critical Pension Customers' network, the third pension fund MP Pension has as the only of the three funds investigated their investment loans.

"This bond investment was a mistake in the retrospect, and we have now strengthened our processes in this field, so I really hope we can avoid such mistakes in the future". The head of investment for MP

Pension, Anders Schelde, says to Information.

Furthermore, in December 2018, MP Pension decided to add the Mozambican state to their list of exclusion of state bond investments, and on this basis to divest their bonds in Ematum no later than end March 2019.

According to Vibe Johnsen from Critical Pension Customers network, citizens are becoming increasingly aware of their possibilities to influence their Pension agencies towards more responsible investments, increased transparency and other changes. They are organizing themselves, in networks exchanging information, strategizing and having success in influencing and changing investment policies and practices of the financial institutions.

Our pressure for increased accountability has, among other things, contributed to MP Pension now profiling themselves on responsibility and profit must go hand in hand and making a real effort on living up to this.

Danish pension funds also invest in Mozambican natural resources

The controversial state-guaranteed loans in Ematum are not the only interests the Danish pension funds have taken in Mozambique. In February 2018 the Danish NGO Afrika Kontakt launched a report that revealed the investment from eight Danish pension funds in the extractive industry in the Tete province. Here the Danish pension funds have investments in the damaging coalmine Moatize, which has caused water and air pollution and the displacement of 1365 households. Three of the eight pension funds have reacted on Afrika Kontakt's report, but none have fully disinvested.

However, upon initiative from the member base, MP Pension started a process of close follow up, investigation and defining a way forward with their investments in the Moatize mine, using the case as a precedent for future investment politics in similar investments.

When the Danish trade movement in the early 1990s, together with the then liberal Danish government, introduced the decentralized labor retirement schemes, the reasoning was that the member-based funds could influence on business and ensure decent investment practice for our collective savings. As the above mentioned cases show, the reality is that the main goal of the investments **is profit not people**. This time resulting in Mozambican citizens to pay for the retirement of the Danes.

On the other hand there is hope as more and more critical voices in Denmark starts influencing the investment policies towards more socially, environmentally, and financially responsible investments of the Pension Funds and holding them accountable.



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