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Centro de Estudos Africanos

The Mozambican Miner: A study in the export of labour

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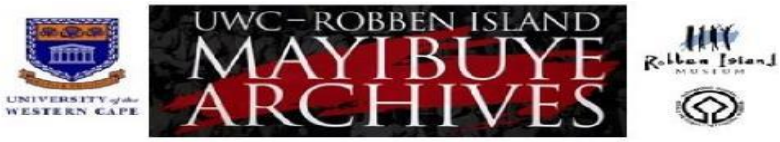

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS

THE MOZAMBICAN MINER

A STUDY IN THE EXPORT OF LABOUR

HCM-- Maputo, 1977

Marc Wuyts

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS

THE MOZAMBICAN MINER

A STUDY IN THE EXPORT OF LABOUR

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THE RESEARCH TEAM

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This project could not have been completed without the help of the following structures and services:-

- Minister of Labour
- Governor of the Province of Inhambane
- Rector of the University
- Director of the Centre of African Studies
- Governor of the Bank of Mozambique
- Ministry of Labour - the Minister's Office, Delegação Office
- Ministry of Agriculture
- D.I.N.E.C.A.
- Provincial authorities of Inhambane. We would like to thank in particular the head of the Governor's Office; the Provincial head of Mobilisation for the Party; the Provincial head of the Ministry of Labour; the Provincial Agricultural services; Provincial services of Surveying & Geography.

The field-work was enormously facilitated by the collaboration and support given by the political and administrative structures of the districts, circles and cells.

We would like to thank again for their support and assistance those people appointed to work with us from the services of Agriculture, National Administration of Roads, and the Ministry of Labour.

C O N T E N T S

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* If the graph or table itself has no page number, the number here refers to the typed page immediately before the graph.

LIST OF GRAPHS AND TABLES (continued)

MAPS

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INTRODUCTION : THE PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

This study on the extent of labour export from Mozambique to the South African mines, and the impact of the system, is important for two principal reasons.

I. Firstly, it is a fundamental aspect of the colonial economic history of oppression and exploitation. In the later colonial economic history of this country there is no process which generated more exploitation of Mozambican labour or more distortion and under-development of the economy than the export of migrant labour. Although mine recruitment has been limited by law to the three southern provinces of Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo, the effects of the export of labour have permeated every aspect of the political economy of the entire country.

II. The second reason for the importance of a study of migrant labour grows out of, but needs to make a historical break, with the first, and is thus the more important reason by far. The system of migrant labour which was entrenched over many decades poses important and immediate questions for the destruction of the colonial economy and the formation of a socialist society. In other words, it is a central problem of the transition period.

The historical roots and impact of migrant labour should form part of a longterm project. There would be many aspects to such an investigation. A history of the labour recruitment which was organized by the South African mines with the collusion of the Portuguese colonial state would involve not only those aspects of the actual organization of the recruiting process that this Report refers to, but the process of penetration and control of peasant societies which led to the system of migrant labour being initially induced by force, but later becomming economically self-reproducing. This would involve a study of the social formations of Mozambique and the impact, in different periods, of the Portuguese colonial state. It would have to analyse the differential impact of these processes of colonial penetration within specific societies and in different regions of the south.

The export of mine labour is also part of the history of the working class of this country, of its formation, and growth, of the very specificity of this class of worker-peasants,

which is a matter we refer to later. This could and should form a study in itself.

A study requires to be done on the effects of mine labour on the health of Mozambican migrants. Records going back many years are available on the illness and injury of miners, and the derisory system of compensation operated by the mining industry.

There are the financial and more technical aspects. The wages of migrant labour have played a large part in subsidising the balance of payments and contributing to the country's foreign exchange. We have dealt with aspects of this issue in a separate Memorandum, but the area is by no means exhausted of analysis.

The ideology of migrant labour which played its part in the reproduction of the system of labour export needs to be studied. Propaganda disseminated by labour recruiters that enlistment by young men for the mines was proof of manhood has been internalised within the labour-exporting society, and to this day migrant labour is often described as a residual 'tradition'.

This study deals only in passing with the historical and other aspects mentioned above. This is not because history is not important. On the contrary. The historical research of migrant labour is to form part of the continuing longer-term work of the Centro de Estudos Africanos. But it was considered urgent to concentrate on those aspects of the export of male labour which have the most immediate policy implications for the government and the people of Mozambique.

The Question of Transition

FRELIMO is engaged in the reconstruction of the Mozambican economy and society in order to lay the basis for the social organization of production. These tasks include of necessity the ending of the system of migrant labour and its export outside the country. Of the policy imperatives and objectives there is no question. FRELIMO has repeatedly committed itself to the ending of migrant labour.

But an economic process as old, as deeply-laid and as widespread as mine labour export can be dismantled only when it is analysed in all its implications.

Migrant labour is a colonial vestige but it is not one that can be combated on the ideological plane alone, by an appeal to the political committment of the migrant. This is to dismiss the system of migrant labour as an act of will by a host of migrant workers. It is to miss the essence of a deep-seated economic system that has permeated the political economy of the countryside of southern Mozambique. Migrant labour was part of the penetration of the money economy, when

the social formations of Mozambique were subordinated to the purposes of the spread of capitalism. This penetration left no corner of rural agriculture untouched. The coercion of the colonial state undermined the reproductive base of the peasant economy, and in turn this undermining of the productive base forced the peasantry to seek wage work. Eight decades of the system of migrant labour made it a structural necessity for rural producers living under colonialism.

The flow of migration is conditioned to a certain extent by more severe agricultural crises, but, on the whole, despite contingent variables of this kind, it has remained remarkably stable and constant over the years from 1895 onwards and especially from 1902 to 1977, as the records analysed in this Report show.

Of the total Mozambican work force, 25 to 30 per cent is exported outside the country. (See below the Note on the Statistics).[1]

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1. The Problem of Statistics
Statistics of wage employment in Mozambique present problems, due to the fact that various statistical sources provide data which is inconsistent. Thus: the 1970 Census gives the distribution of the Total of Active Population as 2,873,822. This figure possibly includes workers absent on wage employment outside the country i.e. miners in South Africa, but this is not explicitly stated and has to be deduced (see below). The breakdown is as follows:

Agricultural sector		454,385
Mines		123,772
Manufacturing industry		155,996
Construction		81,468
Services		
Hotels/commerce	82,482	
Banks	5,919	
Transport	62,724	
Domestic service	126,138	
Public service	97,823	375,086
		1,190,707

This total in wage employment constitutes almost 80 per cent of the active male population, and is probably a considerable over-estimate. Furthermore, these statistics are certainly at considerable variance with the industrial statistics which give a work force of 85,050 for 1970, which figure is probably far closer to reality than the general census. However, the agricultural statistics for 1967 (the last year when figures were published) gives a total of 129,000 workers in agricultural wage employment, which is almost certainly an underestimate.
(Continued on following page)

The ending of this labour export is part of the creation of a material base for the construction of socialism. The re-integration of this work force within an autonomous system moving towards socialism could take two forms, which are complementary and combined:

(1) the re-integration of formerly exported labour in the agricultural sector. Forms of transformed agriculture are critical here. This is because the prior system in fact continuously generated and reproduced a labour surplus for the mines. Transforming agriculture raises fundamental questions, which we can only pose, about forms and methods of such transformation.

(2) the use of the workforce and the skills it acquired in Mozambique's industrialisation programme in the industrial transport and mining sectors.

The economic priorities of the first part of the transitional period are formulated in the Economic Directives adopted by FRELIMO's Third Congress. Contingent policy decisions will be made within the political structures of FRELIMO and the Government. The purpose of this study is to collect and analyse evidence on the extent and the effects of mine labour in order that this system can be more effectively combated by a socialist alternative.

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1. (Continued from previous page)
But a more realistic assessment of the agricultural workforce would have to account for the fact that much of it is seasonal labour only, (and very badly paid).
The general census probably under-estimated the country's active population by about half a million. A rough estimate would therefore put between 20 and 30 per cent of the population in wage employment. (This is high for the region : Tanzania is less than 15 per cent; Rhodesian Africans constitute 16 per cent). Of this total in wage work, perhaps 35 per cent was employed in the agricultural sector, only 10 per cent in manufacturing, less than 10 per cent in construction, over 10 per cent in mining, though here the vast majority are working outside Mozambique. In fact, of the numbers employed in mining, of the census total of 123,772, only 6,800 are employed in Mozambican mines. In 1969 there were about 7,000 Mozambicans in the Rhodesian mining industry, and in 1970 there were 113,000 Mozambicans in South Africa's mining industry. Thus a very substantial part of the workforce was absent in South Africa up to the end of the colonial period and even in the midst of the Mozambican economic boom of the 1970s.

The study concentrates, thus, on two principal aspects:

A. An analysis of the labour flow to the mines in the period 1902 to 1977, though with special emphasis on the later period; and an investigation into the character of the mine labour force.

B. An investigation into the peasant economy from which mine labour has been recruited.

As the Notes for Field Investigation[1] issued to our Research Brigades stated, the two sides of the study are intimately connected. This is because the miners are, by law, migrants. Behind every miner is a family household in the peasant economy. Primitive accumulation in Southern Africa has not relied throughout on the separation of labour from the means of production, leaving it with no other means of subsistence than the sale of its labour-power. Rather the system has depended on the maintenance, and the re-structuring to varying degrees, of pre-capitalist relations. Thus individuals are not proletarianised for permanent wage labour but the communities from which they come are under pressure to send the men of working age out to labour.

The Peasant Base

The extent and impact of mine labour export must therefore be measured not in the individual work choices of individual migrants nor in statistical totals. Rather it must be seen in the impact on the peasant economy. This research project accordingly tried to trace the extent of mine labour export from various regions and the pressures behind it, and it tried to question whether there were any discerible correlations between the extent of mine labour and the condition of agricultural production. In other words, did peasant households from different regions respond differently to the possibilities and pressures of mine wage labour? And, within peasant communities in a specific area, did peasant households of differing economic conditions, poorer or somewhat better-off, react differentially?

This opened up an important area of peasant investigation: What is the extent of peasant differentiation in the countryside? And to what extent does participation in the wage economy, via mine labour and mine wages, explain and contribute to these differences?

There were two possibly discernible trends. One was that mine wages served as a means to purchase consumer goods and thus merely to reproduce the family; that the impact of

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1. See Appendices.

wages had become indispensible in the process of reproduction because agriculture itself had been so diminished or undermined that it could no longer support the family. The importance of money wages for reproduction of the family would thus be an important index to the extent of regression of peasant agriculture. The second trend was that mine wages were used not merely for consumption needs, but that remittances were fed back into agriculture. In other words that the mine wage system was the source of a certain degree of domestic agricultural innovation and growth. The kinds of questions formulated and the evidence collected are dealt with more fully in the chapters dealing with the Peasant Base.

Throughout we attempted to keep in mind the larger questions which could inform planning in the transition period :

To what extent and under what conditions can the agricultural economy absorb labour formerly exported on a large and regular basis? In other words, during the transition period, how should the economy best cope with what will be, in the immediate period, a phenomenon of labour surplus in the economy?

Since migrant labour has been the most important part of the penetration of the money economy, how will its phasing out in the countryside affect the series of other activities, in the petty commodity sector, of artisan skills and trades and services which grew and were stimulated by the money economy?

The Mine Labour Force

The study of the mine labour force investigated several aspects. Interviews with miners were used to construct employment histories. How many contracts had been worked? Had there been other industrial work experience? How did these miners fit into the work process? What skills had they acquired? (How could these skills be mobilised in the transformation of the Mozambican economy is the obvious extension of that question).

The regularity of mine contracts also raised questions of class analysis. In many cases successive contracts were interrupted by extremely temporary stays in the countryside. Are these peasants or workers or both? How to deal with the specific instance, under the conditions of migrant labour, of the proletarian-peasant? What is the consciousness of this class? Did it, between mine contracts, regard itself as 'unemployed' or simply 'back home'? Where would this class of workers, with considerable experience of proletarianisation, take its place in the struggle alliance of workers and peasants for a transformed Mozambique? We revert to these issues in subsequent chapters.

The Research Team and its Methods

The Centro de Estudos Africanos, (section which deals with contemporary problems), comprises 8 staff-members, all of whom except the Director of this Project were engaged in full-time teaching in various faculties of the University throughout the six-month period of the Project.

The initial perspectives of the Project were established during a weekly Seminar which studied the impact on Mozambique of South African capitalism, beginning with attempts at the periodisation both of the South African and the Mozambican political economies, and proceeding then to discuss the character of capital and labour within the mining industry, and the making of a Southern African labour supply, and especially a Mozambican one. Subsequent sessions of the Seminar evaluated the existing, mostly bourgeois, literature on migrant labour and the literature on peasant economies in labour reserve areas, including such material on Mozambique as has been produced.

Concurrently with the Seminar, members of the Research Team searched archives and Ministry records, especially in the Institute de Trabalho (Ministry of Labour), and conducted interviews with representatives of labour recruiting organizations in order to build as comprehensive a background picture as possible. The analysis of the labour flow to the mines and related material on mine labour is based on official statistics of WENELA, which are deposited with the Instituto de Trabalho, and on additional material supplied by WENELA on request.

In preparation for a study of the peasant base, the Research Team acquired from the Ministry of Agriculture the original questionnaires completed during the agricultural censuses of 1965 and 1973. These were extensively re-analysed for the areas of Inhambane selected for field investigation.

Two questionnaires were used on the project, one for interviews with miners, and the other as part of the investigation of peasant households. The preparation of the questionnaires was done through collective working group discussion, and the miners' questionnaire was subsequently tested for use in preliminary interviews with miners.

In all 358 miners' questionnaires were completed. These included interviews conducted by the team during successive visits to WENELA compounds and recruiting stations in Ressano Garcia, Xai Xai, Alta Maé in Maputo and Maxixe, and also miners' interviews conducted in the Inhambane countryside with ex-miners or miners at home in the intervals between contracts.

In addition a shorter version of the miners' questionnaire was used in interviews of a larger sample of 716 miners altogether. The interviews with the miners were conducted

over a period of four months, from June to September 1977. As will be seen from the copy of the miners' questionnaire in the Appendices the investigation concentrated on the frequency and length of contracts, and thus on material for the construction of employment histories, on the acquisition of work skills, as well as miners' family committments and their earning capacities, and the uses to which mine wages were put after successive contracts.

The selection of areas for field research took place after reconnaissance visits in both Gaza and Inhambane provinces and after discussions with members of the political and administrative structures there. The field research could take place only in mid-July, when students, teachers and administrative staff of the University are organised in Brigades to carry out tasks of national reconstruction. During 1977 this period of Brigade work lasted five weeks, from 10 July to 14 August. It meant that the field research, except for periodical visits to mine recruiting and repatriation centres, was restricted to this period.

The scope of the field investigation was also heavily restricted by the size of the Brigades allocated to the Project. The great majority of the members of the University Brigades were delegated to work in Gaza Province, on the recently constructed communal villages (aldeias comunais) which had been founded after the flooding of the Limpopo Valley during February. For the reasons that our Brigade force was limited to 27 members, and that the transport and other logistical support facilities able to be offered by the administration of Gaza Province were already taxed to their limit, the Centro de Estudos Africanos project was concentrated on Inhambane Province.[1] General information about the Province and its agricultural condition is contained in the chapters on the Peasant base.

Within Inhambane Province, the Project selected five areas within which Brigades were located. They were:

1. Quissico-Zavala - two cells within the circle of Canda and the cell of Mindu in the circle of Zavala

2. Pembe - The cells of Como, Sefane, Vavate and Zacanha

3. Homoine - the cells of Meu and Machava

4. Cambine - the cells of Buvane and Maimela

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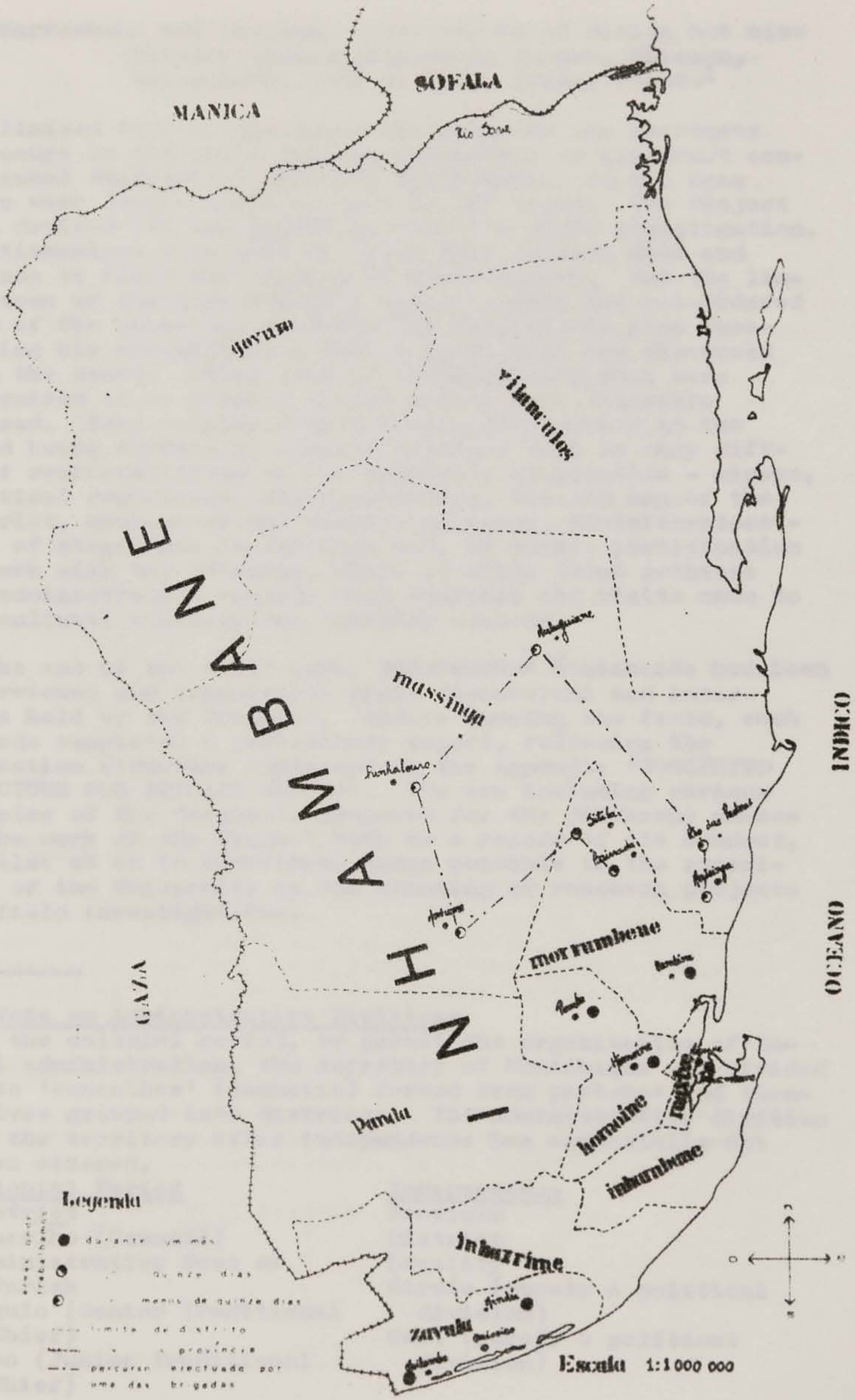
1. The questionnaires used by the Brigades in Gaza Province included questions on migrant labour.

LOCALIZAÇÃO DAS ÁREAS ONDE SE EFECTUOU TRABALHO DE CAMPO



5. Morrembene and Massinga - the circle of Sitila but also briefer investigations in Mavume, Chicomo, Muluguiana, area de Gumo, Queme, Tevele[1]

The limited size of the research teams and the shortness of tenure in the field made it impossible to construct conventional statistical sampling procedures. In any case these were judged inappropriate to the study. The Project Team devised its own guidelines for its field investigation. Questionnaires were used in order that certain data and methods of field work should be systematised. But the limitations of the questionnaire method - that the pre-ordered form of the questions prevents the interviewer from questioning his assumptions - were acknowledged and discussed from the start. Other ways of investigating what were recognised to be complex social issues were therefore devised. They consisted of a preliminary period in the field being devoted to open discussions with as many different representatives of the community as possible - miners, political organisers, school-teachers, the old men of the district, members of the women's movement, administrators - also of attendance at meetings and, at times, participation in work with the peasants. Where possible local archives and administrative records were searched and visits made to agricultural stations and training schools.

By the end of the field work, 372 Peasant Households had been interviewed and innumerable group discussions and interviews held by the Brigades. Before leaving the field, each Brigade completed a preliminary report, following the suggestion structure contained in the Appendix 'SUGGESTED STRUCTURE FOR BRIGADE REPORT'. (We are including various examples of the documents prepared for the different phases of the work of the Project both as a record of its conduct, and also so as to contribute where possible to the experience of the University in the planning of research projects and field investigations.

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1. A Note on Administrative Divisions
In the colonial period, to permit the organisation of local administration, the territory of Mozambique was divided into 'concelhos' (councils) formed from parishes and themselves grouped into districts. The administrative division of the territory after independence has essentially not been altered.

Colonial Period	Independence
District	Province
Concelho (Council)	District
Administrative Post or Parish	Locality
Regulo (Senior Traditional Chief)	Circle (purely a political division)
Cabo (Junior Traditional Chief)	Cell (purely a political division)

In this Report the Brigade reports have not been reproduced in full. Sections of them have been incorporated in the text, and instances of some of their detailed investigations are offered. This was judged necessary in order that the main report should be as comprehensive and at the same as coherently organised as possible. The full Report will be available to students in the Centro, and for teaching purposes.

The Brigades or research teams came out of the field in mid-August. The next stage of the Project involved the analysis of both the miners' and the peasant household questionnaires (about 800 in all, not including smaller samples of a more limited character); discussion in seminar of the reports written by the Brigades; the organization of the statistical material; the preparation of a scheme for the production of a Report; and the writing of the Report itself. These tasks were performed over a period of six weeks from August 22 to September 30. Once again all the members of the team except the Project Director and one other member had fulltime teaching committments. Some deficiencies in the Report could be attributed to the conditions under which it had to be produced. Other weaknesses will be due to more analytical failings and the Centro de Estudos Africanos hopes that this Report will prompt serious but comradely criticism which will lead to an improvement in its future work.

Sources and References

Where possible explanatory footnotes have been placed on the relevant page. General attributions to a growing volume and quality of work on migrant labour, on mine labour in particular, and on the effects on the peasant economy, are listed in the general Bibliography at the end of the Report.

A note on the currency equivalents

Throughout the Report wages and deferred pay are given in Mozambican currency of escudos and contos (1000 escudos). The equivalents are as follows, as of September 1977:

R1 - 38.5 escudos
£1 - 58 "
US$ - 33 "

PART I

THE EXPORT OF LABOUR

BACKWARD CAPITALISM AND BACKWARD COLONIALISM

The use of the colony of Mozambique as a labour reserve, exporting labour outside the territory where it fueled centres of South African capital accumulation, is one of the dominant characteristics of the Portuguese colonisation of Mozambique in the late 19th and throughout the 20th century. It is also a continuation of the dependent character of Portuguese colonialism and Portuguese capitalism throughout their history.

A detailed periodisation[1] of Portugal's occupation of Mozambique has yet to be produced. But it is clear that from the fifteenth century onwards the activities of Portuguese mercantile capital, through the trade in gold, then in ivory and then in slaves, were unable to fuel processes of primitive accumulation which would consolidate a Portuguese capitalist social formation and a Portuguese metropolitan bourgeoisie. On the contrary, Portugal's weakness within the world system and her subjection to unequal international competition blocked her transition from merchant to industrial capital.

Thus in Mozambique, in the period 1785 to 1870 the Portuguese state had occupied itself with collecting customs duties along the coast and with the mono-export in slaves. By 1870, at the height of the imperialist power rivalry in Africa and the consolidation of British imperialism in the southern African region, Portugal could exploit her colonies only unevenly and by proxy.

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1. These summary remarks on the periodisation of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique are based on a seminar presentation to the Centro de Estudos Africanos during April 1977 by Nogueira da Costa and Luis de Brito. For the later period (see the following page) this material is based on a draft paper by Luis de Brito 'O colonialismo portûgues desde os finais do seculo até 1930'. Work on the periodisation of Mozambican industrialisation by D. Wield is now in progress and has been part-published as 'Some characteristics of the Mozambican economy particularly relating to Industrialisation'. (Mimeo)

Accordingly in the period of the Chartered Companies, Portugal sub-contracted her colonial exploitation in the north of Mozambique to British, French, German and other international capital. Under the system of Chartered Companies, the Portuguese government leased out a great part of Mozambique by granting concessions to private foreign capital to administer huge tracts of the colony. Thus the Nyassa Company established in 1891 by largely German capital had jurisdiction over an area of 190,000 km; the Mozambique Company established in the same year by British and French capital, controlled a concession of 155,000 km; and the Zambesi Company established in 1892 by French capital, together with others like the Societé du Modal of 1904 and Britian's Sena Sugar Estates, constituted a major sector of the colonial presence.

At home the Portuguese economy was archaic and bankrupt. In the colonies the shortage of Portuguese capital resulted in heavy reliance on British, European and, later, South African capital. This meant that the Portuguese colonial system lacked the capacity to valorise the economic and labour resources of the colony. In the past slaves had been used not for production but for sale as export commodities. The prazos, far from being agricultural estates, had in fact been installed to guarantee the circulation of commodities in regions crossed by trade routes. So, too, with the turn of the 19th century, Portugal's more secure physical presence in the south - after the defeat in 1895 of the Gaza state - led in small part only to the organisation of forms of labour exploitation within the colony. The immediate response to the defeat of the rebellion of 1897 had been to profit by the export of labour. For this was the time of the establishment and rapid early growth of the South African mining industry. This dictated co-operation up to the hilt with the South African economy.

Even in later periods, as from 1929 onwards, when the Chartered Companies had been dissolved and attempts were made to assert the interests of the Portuguese ruling classes, and, for instance, to induce Mozambican peasants to grow cotton and other raw materials for Portuguese industry, these attempts at economic assertion could be carried out only with the co-operation of British-based multi-national capital and within the framework of continuing integration of the Mozambican economy within that of South Africa and, to a lesser extent, that of Rhodesia.

Beginning just before, but increasingly rapid after 1945, and particularly 1954, there was a growth of Portuguese capital in Mozambique. This capital was dominated by the large monopoly groups which had come to exercise increasing influence over the Portuguese state. At one and the same time these monopoly interests extended their presence and yet they opened the colonies to a new phase in the entry of foreign capital. The period saw growing industrialisation, but it was an industrialisation dominated by the export sector, and one

with emphasis on the consumption demands of a growing settler population.

In this later period, even as Portuguese capital grew stronger, the striking trend was Portugal's loss of her export market to her own colony, Mozambique. Whereas in 1947 of total Mozambican exports, 31.7 per cent went to Portugal and in 1960 this had increased to 40.03 per cent, imports to Mozambique from Portugal fell in this period:

1947	35.22 per cent
1960	28.6 per cent

Portugal's loss of ground in the Mozambican economy in the 1960s and the 1970s illuminated the two cardinal characteristics of the Mozambican economy which have been consistent throughout the historical phases of Portuguese colonialism:

(1) The continuing dependence on foreign capital.

(2) The role of Mozambique as a service economy within the Southern African region. These services comprised the provision of railway and harbour facilities for exports and imports from South Africa and Rhodesia and, centrally, the function of Mozambique as a labour supply area. It will be seen in the following pages that the barter of labour for transport service facilities was by no means incidental but was in fact the axis of Portuguese-South African collaboration in the exploitation of Mozambique. Without the sale of labour the trade deal would not have been possible, and the extent and the persistence of labour exports (see earlier the calculation that between 25 and 30 per cent of Mozambique's wage labour was exported) is a central determinant of the character of Mozambique's dependence.

The colonial structure of the Mozambican economy was accordingly the outcome of a double dependence. On the one hand it was the product of dependence on a relatively backward capitalist economy constituted by the Portuguese colonial power. At the same time it was subordinated to the needs of the Southern African economic complex. It was this latter integration which became increasingly the predominant aspect of the structure of the colonial Mozambican economy. The productive forces of Mozambique were shaped not according to the needs of capitalist development in Portugal, but according to the needs of capitalist accumulation in Southern Africa. Portugal played the part of rentier, deriving the major source of income from invisible trade, and speculating on the sale of the labour-power of its African work-force.

A TWO-STATE SYSTEM

It was with the establishment of the gold mining industry on the Witwatersrand that labour export from Mozambique came to be organised on a huge and systematic scale. Before that, Mozambican labour had migrated to the Natal sugar

plantations, and to the diamond fields of Kimberley, but this flow of labour had taken place before the Portuguese colonial state had established its hold over southern Mozambique - south, that is, of the River Save.

The mining revolution in South Africa required heavy capital inputs and large and sustained supplies of cheap labour. Within South Africa gold mining interests intervened actively in state policy on order to create a cheap controlled labour force from which could be guaranteed rapid capital accumulation. At the same time the mining industry explored territories in Africa to its north, and even as far afield as China and other parts of Asia, in search of social formations where wage labour had not yet become generalised and where forms of cheap labour-power could be derived.

Mozambique proved to be the critical labour supply area in the formative years of the gold mining industry. The foundations of that industry coincided with the defeat of Gugunyana in 1895, the subordination of the Gaza state, and the imposition over a large part of southern Mozambique, of military government under which harsh and punitive measures were used to collect taxes and maintain colonial order. Now the Portuguese colonial presence could be extended beyond the leased areas of the north, beyond the trading posts of Inhambane and the fort of Lourenço Marques, and the way was open for the Portuguese administration to co-operate with South African mining interests to route labour to them and to profit from this trade in labour.

This co-operation was institutionalised in state-to-state treaties for the sale of the labour force. The mining industry needed long-term and sustained arrangements for the supply of cheap African labour. The Portuguese colonial state calculated on a continuing source of revenue and on assistance in building and maintaining the territory's infrastructure.

The Mozambican labour exodus to the mines was officially formalised for the first time in 1897. The Regulamento of that year constituted the first of a series of international agreements with the South African authorities.

APPENDIX I is a detailed chronology of these successive agreements and Conventions and of their content. It records the specific changes made from time to time on matters of length of contract, proportions of miners' wages which are deferred for payment within Mozambique; ceiling labour targets of variously 80,000 to 100,000 miners a year; and measures to be used for the control of the labour.

The labour export had thus, since 1897, been formally organised and controlled by the two state contracting parties. The Portuguese colonial government was guaranteed an income from the traffic in labour. This guaranteed income in turn gave the colonial state an enduring vested interest in continuing and enlarging the trade in labour. Structures were

improvised on both sides of the border to organise and supervise the movement of labour. A Portuguese Curadoria was established on the Witwatersrand to control the labour on the mines and the cash transactions between the two states.

The terms of the deal between the Portuguese colonial state and the South African mining industry, and thus an important faction of that country's ruling classes, persisted for the eight decades. In essence the transaction remained unchanged. It consisted of the exchange of a fixed quota of mine labour in return for the guaranteed routing through Mozambican ports and railways of a fixed percentage of goods to and from the Witwatersrand. Relatively minor changes apart, the series of international agreements entrench the following principles:

1. The mine labour has to be migrant. Each and every miner has to be repatriated on completion of his period of service, which is contractually fixed.

2. WENELA is guaranteed a labour recruiting monopoly. The Modus Vivendi of 1901 included a secret agreement between WENLA and the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique which was negotiated with the knowledge and consent of the then Transvaal government. It was this secret agreement which gave WENELA its monopoly. The Transvaal had the right to veto applications of labour agents seeking permission to recruit in Mozambican territory. Non-WENELA agents were simply refused licences. This WENELA monopoly over exported labour continued until 1965. In that year the Portuguese administration invited tenders (within the closed circle of administrators) for the establishment of three private labour recruiting bodies. Ostensibly the purpose was the control of clandestine labour to South Africa.[1]

In practice the establishment of three additional recruiting bodies enabled private Portuguese business interests to capitalise on the flow of labour. Three private recruiting bodies were licenced: ALGOS, ATAS and CAMON. They recruit

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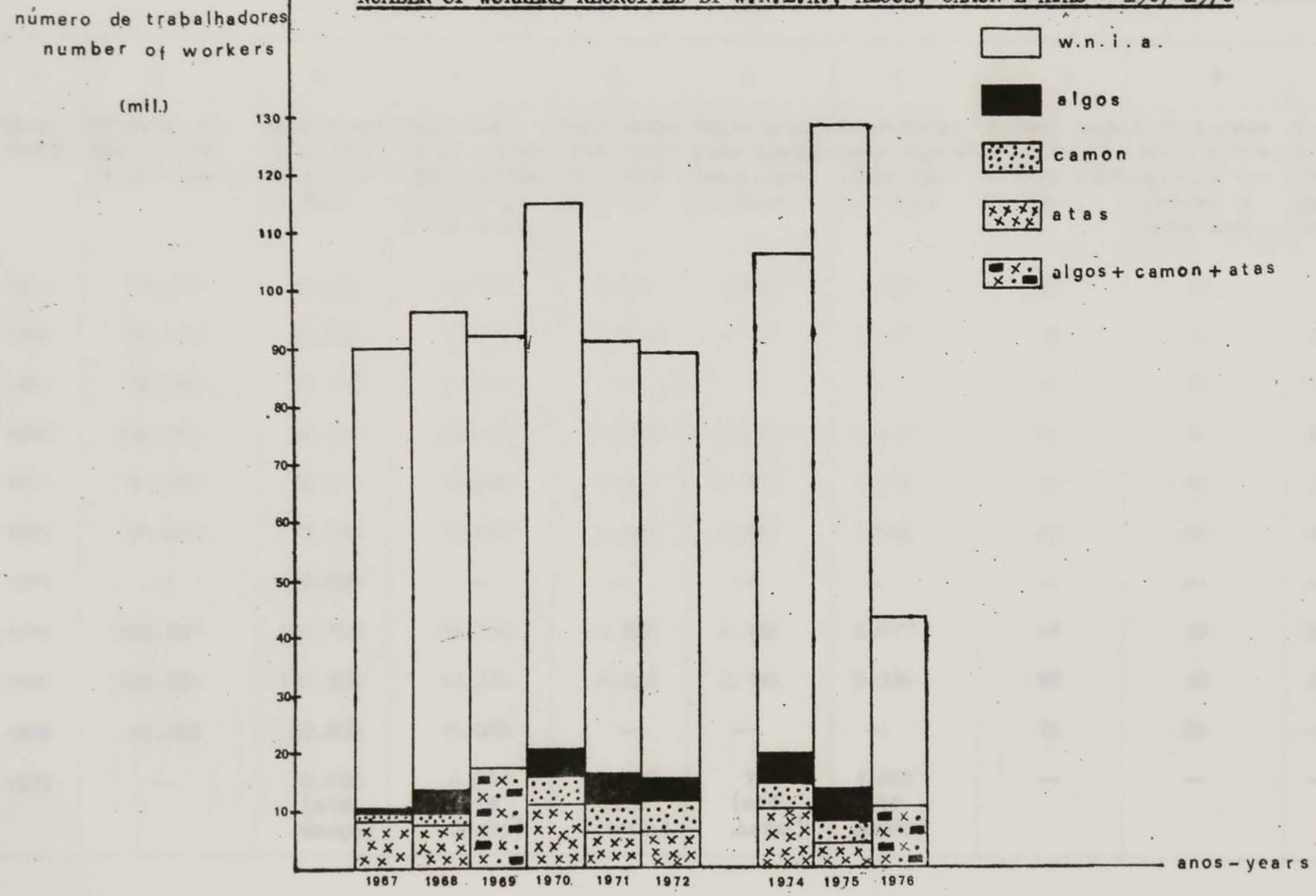
1. There has always been substantial illegal migration into South Africa, though controls in recent years have reduced this. The great majority of Mozambicans illegally in the country were agricultural workers in Natal and the eastern Transvaal. There were also flows of workers seeking mine work but not through WENELA channels. Until the mid-1960s the offices of the Curadoria had authority to legalise the worker by issuing him a passport so that he could formally contract to a mine; in more recent years the miner illegally in South Africa has had to return to Mozambique.

NÚMERO DE TRABALHADORES RECRUTADOS PELA W.N.L.A., ALGOS, CAMON E ATAS - 1967-1976

NUMBER OF WORKERS RECRUITED BY W.N.L.A., ALGOS, CAMON E ATAS - 1967-1976



DISTRIBUIÇÃO PERCENTUAL DE TRABALHADORES RECRUTADOS PELA W.N.L.A., ATAS, CAMON E ALGOS NOS ANOS 1967-1976

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS RECRUITED BY W.N.L.A, ATAS, CAMON e ALGOS 1967-1976

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Anos/ Years	Nº total de trab./Total nº of workers	Recrutados pela WNLA/ Recruited by WNLA	Recrutados pelas outras agências/Recruited by other agenc.	Recrutados pela Atas/ recruited by Atas	Recrutados pela Camon/ Recruited by Camon	Recrutados pela Algos/ Recruited by Algos	% Recrutada pela WNLA/ % recruited by WNLA	% Recrutada pelas outras agen./% recruited by other agenc.	% recrutada pela - % recruited by - Atas, Camon, Algos, em rel. a 4,- in rel. to 4		
									Atas	Camon	Algos
1967	90.059	79.463	10.596	8.221	1.555	820	88	12	77	15	8
1968	96.119	82.506	13.613	7.920	1.856	3.837	86	14	58	14	28
1969	92.704	75.425	17.279	—	—	—	81	19	—	—	—
1970	115.391	94.525	20.866	11.066	5.488	4.312	82	18	53	26	21
1971	91.727	75.517	16.210	6.041	4.991	5.178	82	18	37	31	32
1972	89.612	73.735	15.877	6.381	5.551	3.945	82	18	40	35	25
1973	—	74.689	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1974	106.937	87.169	19.768	9.923	4.168	5.677	81	19	50	21	29
1975	128.381	115.309	13.072	4.520	3.184	5.368	90	10	34	24	42
1976	43.488	32.803	10.685	—	—	—	75	25	—	—	—
1977	—	8.825 (até Março)	4.684 (até Junho)	2.490 (até Junho)	709 (até Junho)	1.485 (até Junho)	—	—	—	—	—

labour for mines which are not affiliated to the Chamber of Mines - mostly platinum and some coal mines - and for agriculture, especially on the Natal sugar fields. Since 1972 the system of deferred payment has been operated by these recruiting organisations, though the scales for immediate and subsequent payment are somewhat different from those operated under the WENELA system. The principal difference between the two recruiting systems is that though under WENELA the miner, except for his contractual right to reject a maximum of three mines (under more 'normal' recruitment conditions than at present) has no further say oy r his allocation, under the ALGOS, CAMON and ATAS system the worker who signs his contract in Mozambique is attested to work for an employer chosen or stipulated at that point. Returns on labour recruiting, as in the case of WENELA, are regularly furnished to the Ministry of Labour (Institutu de Trabalho). These, as shown in the Graph of Recruited Labour, are a rather low proportion of the total exports from Mozambique.[1]

3. Labour recruiting has, for the greater part of the period, been restricted to areas south of latitude 22° south.

For a while, from about 1903 to 1913 the Niassa Chartered Company, then failing in its other economic enterprises, became itself a supplier of labour to the mines. In 1908, for instance, there were 764 men from Nyassa working in South Africa. After 1908 when the Company converted into Niassa Consolidated and had an input of South African mining capital, it intensified its labour recruiting operations and regularly delivered labourers to WENELA at the coast. But after May 1913 recruitment north of that latitude was prohibited. The prohibition did not mean that there could be no recruits from areas to the north. Labourers could move south of the 'line' and 'offer' themselves on contract to WENLA stations there. It did mean that WENELA could carry out no active recruiting operations in the northern provinces.

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1. Recruitment of agricultural labour has been made more difficult in the recent period. In terms of labour regulations laid down in mid-1977 in South Africa, Mozambican agricultural workers will be allowed to renew their 18-month contracts only if they have been previously employed on a regular basis prior to 1 July 1972. Workers who took up employment after that date will be allowed to complete their contracts, but will then be repatriated. It is estimated that in mid-1977 there were about 16,000 Mozambicans employed in agriculture in the eastern Transvaal alone. After the promulgation of the ruling, about 4,000 were estimated to have become subject to repatriation when their 18-month permits expire. Star, 4 June 1977.

WENELA records show the origins of labour north of this latitude for the years 1902 to 1913. After that date, labour which came from areas north of the River Save were recorded in WENELA's Progressive Comparative Statements of Output[1] according to the recruitment station where it was attested, and all WENELA stations are located in the southern provinces. Only a scrutiny of the individual contract forms, and of the record books kept unofficially by some WENELA sub-managers would reveal the actual home origins of contracted miners. Certain numbers of men from the northern provinces have continued to move south to contract for mine labour, though the overwhelming labour supply has been from the three southern provinces.

4. Wages and working conditions have been controlled by the two governments contracting parties and were imposed on the labour recruited under their agreements.

It was the existence of vast catchment areas of tied labour which enabled the mining companies, operating through their monopolistic labour recruiting body, to force reductions in the wages of mine labourers in the early years of the industry, to undermine the resistance of African workers in South Africa to these reduced levels, and to maintain consistently low levels of wages over decades.[2]

In later Agreements some attention was devoted to the nominal forms of 'protection' which the Instituto de Trabalho was to exercise over the workers. Contracts had to be signed in the presence of administration officers and deferred wages paid out under their supervision. The offices of the Curadoria in South Africa's mining centres were supposed to make regular inspection visits to mines and compounds. But the essential terms of employment and wages and working conditions are non-negotiable by the work force.

5. The minimum period of enlistment for a Mozambican contract worker has been twelve months, renewable to 18 months. (See Appendix I for changes in the length of contracts over the years). Inbetween contracts there

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1. This is monthly return of all labour recruited.

2. Prior to the Boer War competition for labour between mine-owners and farmers created conditions under which African workers refused to work for less than R5 a month; after recruiting had been institutionalised in Mozambique and other parts of Southern Africa, WENLA was able to reduce the wages of mine labourers to R3 a month in 1901. See Graph for the changing wage structure of African labour.

is a compulsory period of six months return home.[1]

Though successive agreements have somewhat modified the minimum and maximum contract periods, labour migration from Mozambique has throughout been organised without reference to the demands of the agricultural cycle. A minimum contract period of 12 months means that the migrant cannot time his departure or his return, nor the length of his absence, in order to integrate wage work into the production activities of the peasant household.

6. For the mining industry, the contracting of Mozambican labour for such long periods means that more surplus value can be extracted for the overhead costs of a single contract. In other words, Mozambican mine labour had been consistently the most exploited of the contingents of labour used on the mines.

7. The colonial state in Mozambique derived revenue from mine labour not from any productive investment of this labour but merely from its sale. This has made it a passive recipient of labour fees, a rentier state, and a service economy.

At various times the Conventions have provided for the payment to the colonial state of a capitation fee for each recruit. There has also been provision for the Portuguese government to recover taxes from its subjects working on the mines, which ensured a vacuum-tight method of tax collection. Clearly, though, the principal source of state revenue from the sale of mine labour has been through the compulsory system of deferred payment of a fixed percentage of the miners' wages. Under certain clauses of the Convention, these sums of deferred payment were transferred to the Portuguese state in the shape of gold valued at a special premium price. This system was due to end in 1977 when South Africa revalued her gold reserves in consequence of an amendment to the Articles of Agreement with the International Monetary Fund. (See the special Memorandum on this subject).

8. This service role of the rentier state has made the Mozambican economy susceptible to the crises of the South African economy, and the strategies and vagaries, both economic and political, of its ruling classes. This sensitivity to the cyclical changes in the periodisation of South African capital has been demonstrated

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1. For specialised grades of workers, like medical orderlies, compound 'indunas' and 'tribal representatives' (all terms used within the system of mine labour control) contracts may be extended to two years with the agreement of the Curadoria authorities. (Incidentally, the Curadoria has become the Mozambique Delegação in the recent period.)

by the fate of Mozambican mine labour during the depression of the 1930s, and at the time of the present recession, and also within the present changed political climate of Southern Africa.

WHY MIGRANT LABOUR?

Over a prolonged period of time, then, Mozambique-generated surplus in the shape of living labour, has been exported to the South African economy and accumulated there as capital. The process has produced the markedly uneven development that is characteristic of the Southern African sub-system.

In South Africa, the development of the mining industry - the cornerstone of South African capitalism - consisted of a rapid process of concentration and centralisation of capital. This capital was accumulated on the basis of a system of migrant labour drawn from the wider Southern African region. The early monopolisation of the mining industry created the conditions for the setting up of a carefully planned and institutionalised monopoly control of the recruitment of migrant labour. This monopoly was strengthened by state-to-state agreements with supplier states to guarantee the stability and continued reproduction of this labour force. Thus, the migrant labour system constituted and continues to be the foundation of the accumulation of capital in the mining industry.

We can therefore only fully grasp the particularity of South African capitalism by analysing the system of migrant labour, for this is the specific nature of the exploitation of labour power in this system.

A considerable literature[1] now exists on the origins and developlent of South African capitalism, and as a central part, on the role and importance of migrant labour as the cornerstone of this particular form of accumulation of capital. It is not our purpose here to summarise or enter into this debate, but rather we shall attempt to present briefly some of the essential arguments as to why migrant labour constituted the source of the accumulation of capital in this industry.

As Marx has shown in his analysis of Capital, the development of capitalism in essence consisted in the historical process of the creation of the proletariat. Thus, a class of people was created which is totally divorced from the means of production and left with no option but to turn their ability to work - their labour power - into a commodity to earn a living. To assure the continued reproduction of the working class, the value of labour power has to be such that it allows not only for the reproduction of the worker's ability to work from day to day, but also for the reproduction of his family (since his children constitute the future workers). Thus in other words, the value of

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1. See Bibliography

labour power is determined by the value of the basic necessities which the worker and his family need to furnish present and future labour power. It follows that the surplus value appropriated by the capitalist is limited by the value produced by labour power on the one hand and the value of labour power on the other. Historically, the bourgeoisie has always attempted to reduce workers' wages below the value of labour power, and did so through excessive lengthening of the working day, heavy women's and child's labour, etc. But inevitably, such attempts came into contradiction with the necessity to reproduce continuously the working class. Only through reducing the value of labour power itself resulting from the increasing productivity of the worker, could capital seek its expansion without threatening to deplete its life source.

The imperialist expansion of capital and its consequent integration of the oppressed nations in the international division of labour shaped by the requirements of finance capital, relegated the production of cheap raw materials to the working masses of the oppressed nations. Thus for example, within the international division of labour South Africa became a centre of the gold mining industry.

This industry required the formation of a working class and one of a very specific character. A system of migrant labour was created which distinguished itself from the working class of developed capitalist societies not primarily in that it migrates over long distances, but principally in that this class of workers never was completely divorced of its ownership of means of production. The migrant worker continued to own land and instruments of production, and hence continued to be able to produce part of his subsistence requirements as derived from these means of production. This allowed the capitalist producer to buy the labour power of this worker-peasant below its value, since part of the subsistence requirements of the worker and his family continued to be produced out of his peasant base which remained outside the sphere of capitalist production. Thus, pre-capitalist forms of production were made to subsidise the accumulation of capital by allowing the extraction of additional surplus value resulting from buying labour power below its value.

Obviously, such a system can only operate if the process of production, distribution and consumption inherent in the pre-capitalist social formation is broken up in part so as to generate surplus labour to be provided in the form of migrant labour to the mines. This partial destruction of the pre-capitalist modes of production was initially achieved through the use of extra-economic coercive means such as appropriation of the better land and relegating the population to land reserves where the production base is insufficient (e.g. the S.A. Bantustan); the imposition of taxes; and forced labour as well as through economic means such as the destruction of indigenous crafts due to the importation of commodities (e.g. capulanas, hoes and other instruments of production).

The weakening of the economic base of the peasant society

due to the extraction of labour power from it on the one hand, and the creation of new consumption habits on the other, gradually turned the migrant labour system into a system reproducing itself and one of economic necessity. Thus, as to the former, the changing division of labour as between men and women in the peasant economy (the men being set free for wage labour), the reduced access to land in some instances and the dependence on buying instruments of production as commodities, all these blocked the development of productive forces and made these communities dependent on income from migrant labour. As to the latter, new consumption habits of which alcoholism consciously induced by the bourgeoisie to assure a docile and addicted working class played no minor role, as well as the introduction of textiles and other consumer goods which furthered the dependence on migrant labour income. Thus, capital was accumulated on the basis of partially destroyed and partially reproduced pre-capitalist modes of production. The latter subsidised the former and thus allowed for extra-surplus value to be extracted.

Footnote

There is a good deal of literature on this process in South Africa itself and in other Southern African labour-supply areas. Thus Colin Bundy in 'The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry' writes "Much of South Africa's history revolves about the transition of a majority of her people - the rural African population - from their pre-colonial existence as pastoralist-cultivators to their contemporary status: that of sub-subsistence rural dwellers manifestly unable to support themselves by agriculture, and dependent for survival on wages earned in 'white' industrial regions and on 'white' farms." Bundy's study demonstrates the emergence of an African peasantry in about the 1890s in the Transkei, but then its decline within four decades. He writes "This process was a necessary component of, and not separate from, the process of capitalist development in South Africa." But this process led, in the case of the Transkei, to a rapid dimunition in the productive capacity of the peasants. That in turn, because it depleated the intensity of economic activity within the peasant areas, reproduced the necessity for more migrant labour.

Wolpe, citing the South African case again, has written of how "The production and reproduction of the migrant labour force thus depended upon the existence of a rough equilibrium between production, distribution and social obligation in the Reserves - the level of production in the Reserves together with wages more or less sufficient to keep the (historically determined) subsistence requirements of the migrants and their families, while land tenure and famial community relationships ensured the appropriate distribution of the Reserve product. This equilibrium was, however, inherently fragile and subject to irrestible pressures."

Footnote (continued from previous page)
(Wolpe, Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa : From Segregation to Apartheid.) Later studies of the Transkei have argued that while it was possible to identify pre-capitalist modes of production within that region and within these modes are 'structured by the dominance of the capitalist mode of production and its imperatives'. The evidence points to the fact that the greater part of all rural households are dependent for their reproduction on the sale of their labour-power. That the peasant and redistributive division of labour 'has been superceded by a capitalist division of labour, with the male as wage labourer, and the woman (unpaid) as reproductory labour.'

WHY FOREIGN LABOUR?

We have tried to explain in the previous section how, in the early development of capitalism in South Africa, based on the gold mining industry, labour drawn from pre-capitalist formations had been crucial to the rate of surplus value. These pre-capitalist societies were by no means only those within the geographical boundaries of the South African state, like the Transkei and other reserve areas. On the contrary, labour drawn from outside those boundaries has been a continually significant factor in the process of capitalist accumulation in South Africa.

GRAPH shows the composition of the Mine Labour Force from 1904 to 1976, and clearly demonstrates the territorial origins, at different phases of the industry, of the African labour force. Accompanying the Graph is the set of statistics from which it was compiled.[1]

GRAPH shows the flow of Mozambican recruiting during the years 1902 to 1977 and also the standing force of Mozambican labour on the mines for that period. The two cannot correspond, of course, because the Mozambican mine contract is for a minimum of twelve months, the majority are for even longer periods and thus from one year to the next the recruiting figures will be less than the total labour force then in the mines.

The pattern of mine labour supplies over 75 years, from 1902 to 1977 demonstrates two distinct but related trends:

I. The differential proportions, within different periods, of South African and foreign labour, and the changing sources of foreign labour supply.

II. The fact of the remarkably stable and consistent character of the flow of Mozambican labour.

Viewed historically over longer than half a century, there have been certain rises and falls in the supply of Mozambican and other foreign labour. These must be interpreted according to two different but again related events. The first consists of the changes within the South African economy itself. On the whole, as demonstrated in the graph and the comparative statistics, the larger ebbs and flows of Mozambican mine labour, as seen in the more marked movements of the graph, relate to changes within the dominant economy of South Africa. At the same time, though to a lesser extent, the pattern of supply also relates to certain internal changes in Mozambique.

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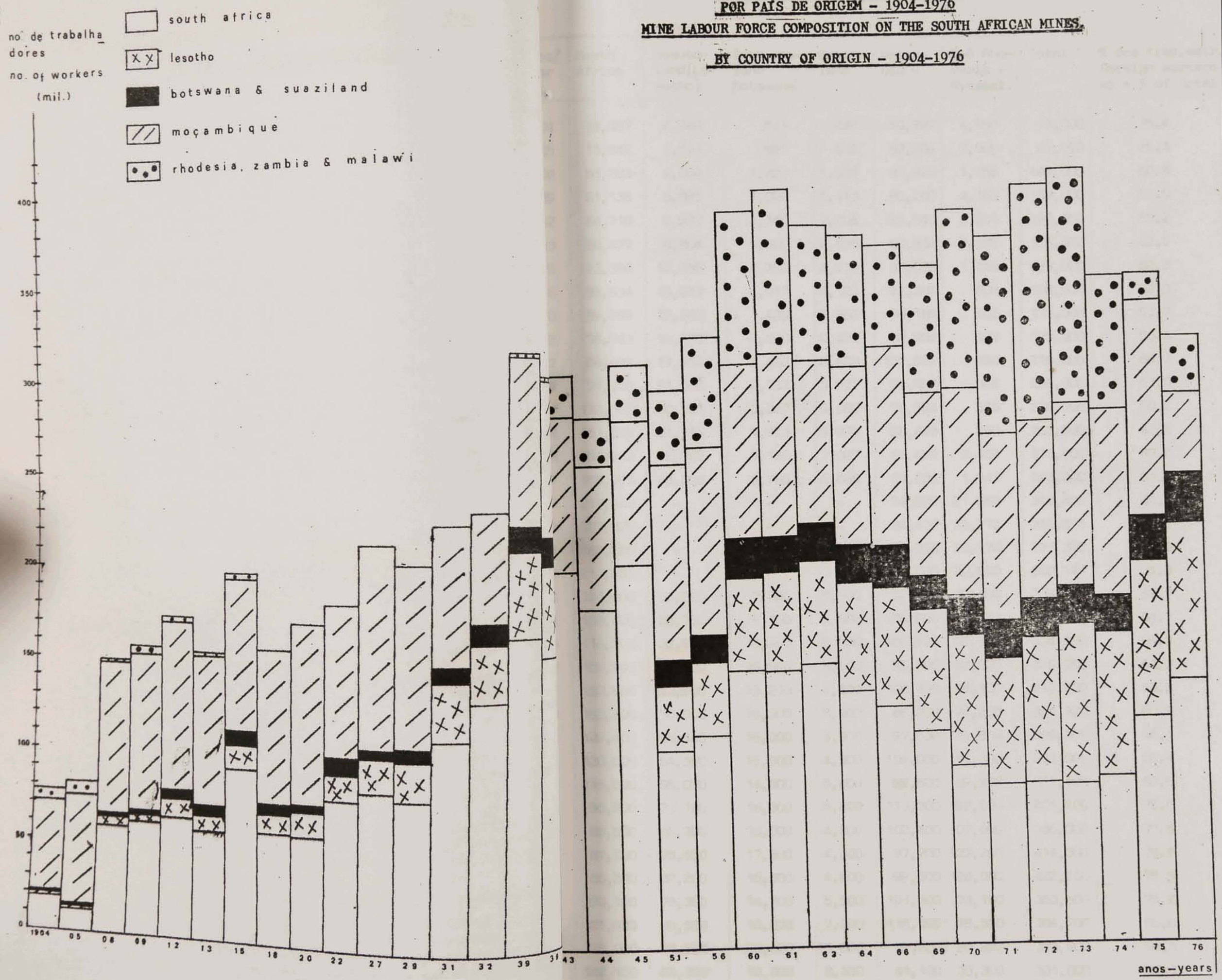
1. We are indebted for the statistics to the work of the Warwick Research Project of Martin Legassick and Duncan Innes and to their paper 'Capital Restructuring and the South African State: the case of foreign labour'. (Mimeo, 1977)

COMPOSIÇÃO DA FORÇA DE TRABALHO NAS MINAS DA AFRICA DO SUL POR PAÍS DE ORIGEM - 1904-1976

MINE LABOUR FORCE COMPOSITION ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINES, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN - 1904-1976



COMPOSIÇÃO DA FORÇA DE TRABALHO NAS MINAS

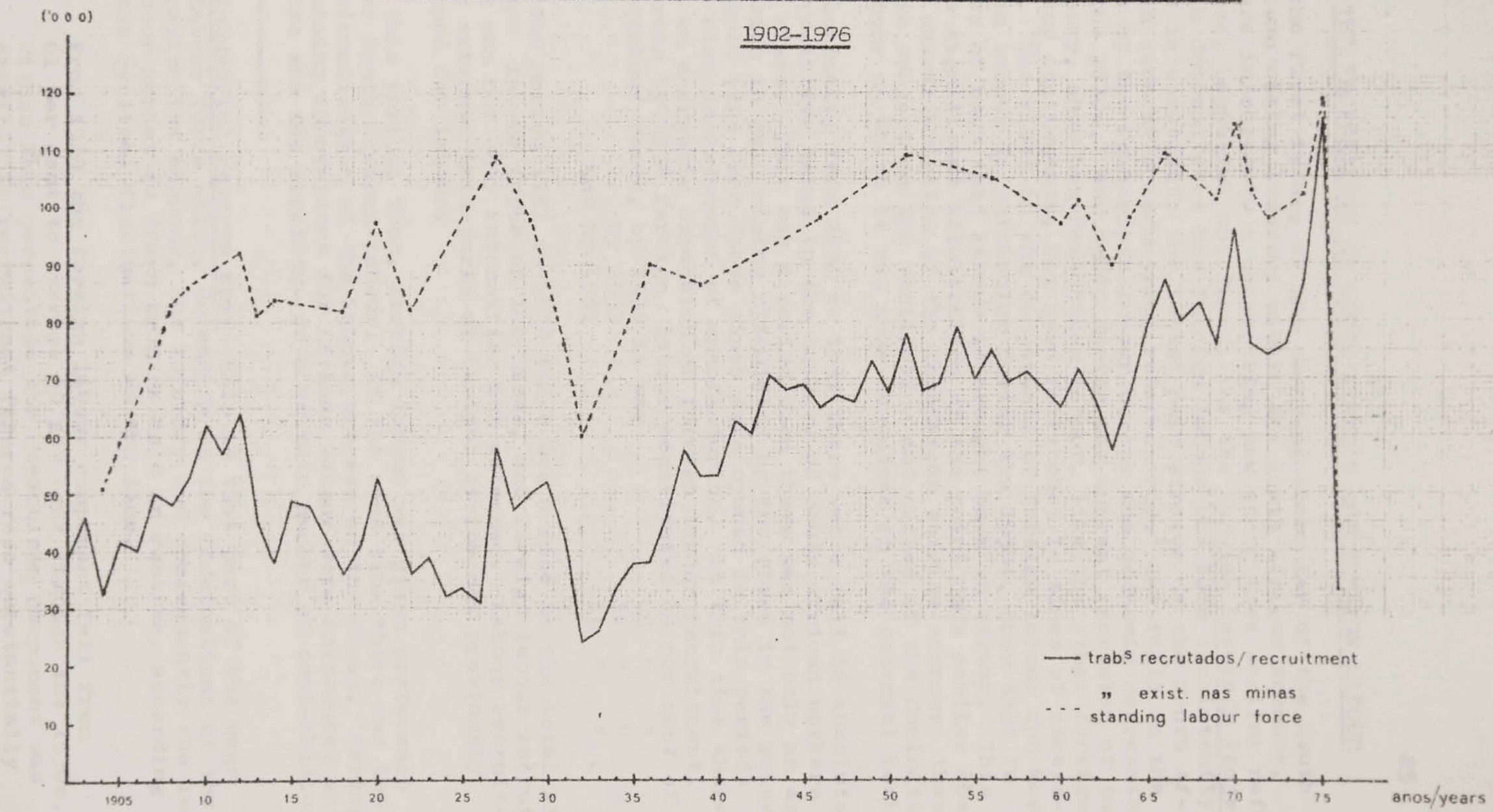
COMPOSITION OF MINE LABOUR FORCE

os/ ar	South Africa	Basuto-land(Le-sotho)	Bechuana-land (Botswana)	Swazi-land	Moçam-bique	N+S Rho-desia + Nyassal.	Total	% dos trab.estr. Foreign workers as a % of total
04	18,057	2,240	531	492	50,997	4,550	77,000	76.4
05	11,842	1,571	591	639	59,284	7,005	81,000	85.4
08	58,303	4,604	1,221	1,509	81,920	1,266	149,000	60.8
09	61,135	3,895	1,020	1,413	85,282	4,160	157,000	61.0
12	64,710	9,970	1,146	3,705	91,546	2,941	191,000	57.2
13	58,497	8,804	1,800	2,898	80,832	2,077	155,000	62.2
15	93,396	12,355	2,950	4,910	83,338	1,148	198,000	52.8
18	59,534	10,349	1,817	4,123	81,306	805	158,000	62.3
20	59,269	12,680	1,435	2,802	96,188	605	173,000	63,7
22	78,983	14,475	2,690	5,472	80,959	403	183,000	56.8
27	84,495	17,264	1,483	3,655	107,672	430	215,000	60.7
9	79,950	21,586	2,337	3 977	96,657	389	205,000	61.0
1	112,548	30,781	3,367	5,062	73,924	316	226,000	50.2
2	131,692	31,711	4,963	5,872	58,483	280	233,000	43,5
6	165,933	45,982	7,155	7,027	88,499	3,402	318,000	47.8
9	155,398	48,385	8,785	6,686	84,335	1,941	323,000	51.9
2	214,243	–	–	–	74,507	21,656	310,406	31.0
3	207,379	–	–	–	84,478	23,213	315,071	34.2
4	185,658	–	–	–	78,950	26,770	291,378	36.3
5	210,485	–	–	–	78,806	30,856	320,147	34.3
5	126,000	38,200	7,000	5,500	96,300	32,400	305,400	58.7
1	108,000	35,700	9,100	5,600	106,500	41,200	306,100	64.7
5	116,100	39,900	10,400	5,400	102,900	59,800	334,500	65.3
0	150,900	51,400	16,000	5,600	95,500	82,800	396,700	63.3
1	150,900	53,900	13,200	6,500	100,200	89,100	413,900	63.5
3	153,800	56,500	15,300	5,800	88,700	74,200	394,300	60.9
1	139,400	58,500	16,000	5,500	97,500	71,800	388,800	64.1
5	130,500	64,300	19,000	4,300	109.000	56,300	383,000	65.9
9	116,500	65,000	14,800	5,000	99,800	69,900	371,100	68.8
0	96,900	71,100	16,300	5,400	113,300	98,200	401,200	75.8
1	86,500	68,700	16,000	4,800	102,400	107,800	386,000	77.6
2	87,200	78,500	17,500	4,300	97,700	129,200	414,300	78.9
1	86,200	87,200	16,800	4,500	99,400	128,000	422,200	79.5
.	90,100	78,300	14,700	5,500	101,800	73,100	363,500	75.2
.	121,800	85,500	16,600	7,200	118,000	15,500	364,700	66.6
.	170,000	85,500	26,000	13,000	79,000	20,882	393,800	56.8
.	142,100	85,300	18,800	8,300	44,100	30,300	331,000	57.1

RECRUTAMENTO E FORÇA DE TRABALHO MOÇAMBICANA EXISTENTE NAS MINAS

FLOW OF MOZAMBICAN RECRUITING AND STANDING FORCE OF MOZAMBICAN LABOUR

1902-1976



THE PROPORTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AND FOREIGN LABOUR

On the first issue, of the changing character of the South African mining industry within the South African economy, we are indebted to a penetrating new study (see earlier reference, Legassick and Innes, for the Warwick Research Project) which demonstrates how foreign labour has been consistently used to constitute the lowest paid stratum of the South African economy's industrial reserve army.[1] The falls in the size of the Mozambican labour during the economic depression of the 1930s,[2] and again during the current recession of that economy, show how Mozambican labour, like the other foreign labour contingents, has been retrenched in times of recession. The rises in the components of foreign labour and Mozambican labour in particular during the 1950s, show that in times of boom this labour is brought back on stream. This is a significant illustration of the point made earlier about the characteristics of the Mozambican service economy: that it is subject to the vacillation and crises of the dominating economy on which it was made dependent in the colonial period.

By contrast, from 1936 to 1951 there was a fall in absolute and relative terms in the numbers of South African workers on the mines. This was a period when there was not only an expansion in gold mining stimulated by the rises in the price of gold (the Free State mines were opened in this period) but also an expansion of manufacturing. At this time there was an energetic expansion of foreign labour recruitment. Whereas by 1932 foreign labour constituted 43 per cent of the labour force, by 1936 it was 48 " "
by 1939 52 " "
and by 1951 65 " " .

In the period 1951 to 1970 there was a rise in the total African labour force on the mines, and foreign labour recruiting was not only intensified but extended. Labour recruiting extended into parts of central Africa not previously tapped for labour.

In this period, then, foreign labour was given preference over South African labour. At the same time there was the rationalisation of the labour process on the mines. Certain training innovations for African labour were introduced and there was the creation of a certain number of semi-skilled

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1. Industrial reserve army: This is that part of the wage labour force which, depending on the fluctuations of the capitalist economy, the industry and consequently the labour market is drawn upon or held in reserve, according to the cyclical fluctuations at the time.

2. From 1929 the foreign labour component fell from 61 per cent to average 50 per cent through the 1930s. Within this percentage the Mozambican component was static. SA recruitment figures rose substantially and in absolute terms and in proportion. (Legassick and Innes, op.cit.)

black operatives, especially on the new mines in the Orange Free State and Klerksdorp areas which were more capital-intensive. In the period 1964 to 1973 the foreign labour component continued to mount until it had risen from 64 per cent to 80 per cent of the total labour force.

It was after 1974 that the foreign labour component began to be heavily reduced. This is dealt with in the next chapers which discuss changes within the mining industry and its effects on Mozambican labour in the post-1974 period.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE FLOW OF MOZAMBICAN LABOUR

The early period of the gold mining industry, from 1888 to 1913 was the period during which the Chamber of Mines, and its labour recruiting body, WENELA, created a sub-continental supply of cheap labour. What is striking is the strength and effectiveness of WENELA as a labour recruiting organisation. it will be seen that it had the capacity to tap labour when it was needed and to turn off that supply with equal promptitude. The recruiting instructions to its network of WENELA stations were acted upon efficiently and rapidly. Beside a labour recruiting organisation of such power, government administrations were weak reeds. It took initially perhaps a decade for the system of labour recruitment to be well centralised, but when this was done, the organisation fulfulled its labour targets and rendered its complements of men to the mines with unfailing reliability.

Initially, when recruitment from Mozambique was not yet centralised, perhaps the greater part of the labour exodus across the border into the Transvaal had been clandestine. This movement of labour had been heavily escalated by the measures invoked by the colonial government in the wake of the 1895 rebellion and the destruction of the Gaza state, and also by the rinderpest epicdemic of 1896-1898 which decimated cattle herds in the southern provinces. Private recruiters and labour touts battened on the exodus and organised it. No detailed account has yet been written of the early methods of recruitment, though recent research[1] into Southern Mozambique describes how recruiting was conducted by 'runners'. These worked for White or Asian recruiters and were employed to go from one settlement to another seeking prospective recruits for the mines. The runners or recruiting police were identified by their red hats and some had a uniform resembling that worn by the administration police. They carried hippo hide whips. They received a per capita payment on their results. They carried safe conduct passes issued by the administration, though in 1912 this system was ended because of complaints by Portuguese administrators that their own authority was being abused by the coercive methods of these labour recruiters. By then Negocias Indigenas had been in operation for some years trying to meet the internal labour needs of colonos who were unable to pay wages competitive with those offered by the Rand mines, and on whose account the colonial state conscripted forced labour via the local administration and the chiefs.

But by 1912 when certain limitations were placed on the activities of runners and recruiters, the pattern of labour migration had been well-established. It had initially been induced by force, after the conquest of southern Mozambique and

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1. Young, Sherily, J., 'Changes in Diet and Production in Southern Mozambique 1855-1960', Mimeo, 1976.

the depradations of the Portuguese colonial administration. In a fairly rapid period of time the movement of labour had become self-reproducing. Rural producers no longer had any measure of real choice. Either they were subjected to raids for forced labour or they contracted to work across the border.

Our chapter on the Penetration of the Money Economy sets out some of the economic pressures which propelled men into the labour market. Mine work in South Africa was the largest opening. The absence of employment for Africans in southern Mozambique and the consequent 'attraction' of mine work is graphically described in a Report on Native Labour Conditions[1] prepared for the Transvall Chamber of Mines by one of its agents in 1922. In essence this Report argued, 'no improvement in general conditions can be expected under the present system.' The Report gave some instances of the conditions of labour, most of them drawn from the northern areas under the administration of the Chartered companies. But during 1921 and part of 1922 in the south, 'some 2000 natives were employed for months on the road between Chai-Chai (sic) and Xinavaan. All this labour was unpaid and barely fed. In some cases the natives even had to provide their own hoes, which cost about five shillings, and were worn out in Government service. Throughout the whole province roads had to be maintained in repair by the local natives without payment; and actually other government service was also forced and unpaid in most Posts'.

The fact that before the Boer War about 80,000 labourers or three-quarters of the total labour force on the mines were from Mozambique[2] and that at that time Mozambican workers were spending an average of three years underground[3] establishes that the industry was in fact virtually founded on Mozambican labour.

After this initial period, the most striking characteristic of the continued flow of the Mozambican labour force has been the stability of supply and the consistency of numbers, especially from the late 1920s (after the signing of the Mozambique Convention).

A vast area of research remains to be done on the regulation of this labour supply especially in the period between the two world wars when, with the exception of sudden dips in the depression years and a sharp rise to 107,000 in 1927 and 96,000 in 1929, the standing force of Mozambican labour stood at a more or less constant 80,000.

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1. Report on Native Labour Conditions in the Province of Mozambique, 1922, South African Labour Bulletin, July 1975.

2. Transvaal Labour Commission, 1904, page 28. According to F. Wilson, Labour in South African Gold Mines 1911-1969, from 1896-8 Mozambican labour constituted 60.2 per cent of the mine labour force, and in 1906, 65.4 per cent.(Page 70)

3. ibid. pages 4, 20, 246

In the period after the African mine strike of 1946, which was the most intense period of class struggle in the industry, foreign labour comprised 59 per cent of the total African work force. The mines adopted a policy of trying to forestall further labour unrest by recruiting less completely proletarianised, that is, more foreign labour.[1] This is the period when foreign labour supplies were diversified. In the same period Mozambique labour supplies rose.

WENELA records show that energetic efforts were made to step up recruiting in Mozambique. This was done to the extent that medical standards of recruits (the Chamber of Mines has always prided itself on its attention to scientific standards of physical examination) were lowered. A WENELA circular of 8th July 1946 read[2] :

MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF NATIVES

As a result of my recent visit to the East Coast areas, accompanied by the General Manager and the subsequent visit to Ressano Garcia of the Association's Chief Medical Officer, Dr. ---------, the conclusion has been reached that in many cases the medical examination of recruits is too rigid. The physical standard required has not been lowered but Medical Officers and particularly Representatives should exercise common sense when judging "borderline cases" a large number of whom are at present being rejected unnecessarily. This not only means a loss of potential labour to the mining industry but the very fact that this type of native is turned back, greatly assists in spreading dissatisfaction against us and is a contributing cause to the increase in the flow of clandestine emigration. I hope the following notes will be of some assistance to you all:-

DEFINITE REJECTS:

Under Age: These should be judged by appearance and not by any record of age in the native's possession.

Flabby muscles and loose skin: When this occurs in older boys it has been found that extra feeding will not build up the native's physique. On the other hand when it occurs in a young man due to under-feeding, a week ot ten days good feeding will show remarkable results. Such a native should put on 4 to 5 lbs.

Defective Development: Long, thin, young natives, with correspondingly long thin legs, even though they are over 20 years of age and scale over 108 lbs should not be sent.

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1. Legassick and Innes, Warwick Research Project study, see earlier reference.

2. WENELA D.M.'s Circular No. 19/46

During 1950 when the drive for foreign labour was still in full swing, the WENELA General Manager came on a propaganda tour of Mozambique WENELA stations. Following the tour the stations were notified[1] under the heading 'Propaganda' that a supply of WENELA Soap Tablets was being sent for propaganda purposes:

> Every effort is to be made to stimulate recruiting so that we may not fall below the figure for 1946, the lowest output since 1940. This (1950) has been a difficult year.

In 1950 WENELA stations were notified that they had to submit regular monthly reports on recruiting results and prospects, on crops and the value of crop sales, on weather and road conditions and on relations with the administration. They had also to report on new ideas to stimulate recruiting.[2]

In January 1953, recruiting targets were established for each camp (recruiting station) and a prize, the Camisola Amarela was instituted[3]. The circular sent to all district representatives in Gaza read as follows:

RECRUITING

> I know that the Field Staff always offer their best in their work. However, I realise, too, that there is a certain monotony in routine work and to stimulate interest in recruiting this year I thought it would be useful if a spirit of friendly competition were aroused among the various Camps. With this object in view, I have established a target for the annual output of each camp. At the end of the year the camp whose excess above the target, expressed as a percentage thereof, is greatest will receive the "Camisola Amarela".
>
> For this purpose, the results reflected in the December Comparative Statement will determine the output of each camp for the year. If enough enthusiasm is displayed in the scheme, it is my intention to bring it to the notice of the General Manager.

Targets for 1953

Maxixe	8,500	Manjacaze	6,000
Penda	2,300	Chibuto	4,400
Massinga	5,600	Xinavane	1,600
Morrumbene	3,900	Guijá	3,000
Funhalouro	1,800	Macia	5,500
Vilanculos	2,600	Magude	1,400
Inharrime	2,550	Manhiça	1,800
Vila de João Belo	5,600	Matola	2,400
Alto Chengane	1,200	L.Marques	2,800
Zavala	3,600		

Trans.ends

1. WENELA Circular
2. WENELA Circular
3. WENELA Circular No. 2/53, Ref. L.M.Circular No. 1/53

The Camisola Amarela seems to have produced results. In October 1953 WENELA stations were advised that the General Manager had approved a money prize:

CAMISOLA AMARELA

With reference to my circular No.2/53 of the 17th January, 1953, I have pleasure in advising you that the General Manager has decided that an amount of £60 will be paid as a bonus to the camp winning the "Camisola Amarela". It is anticipated that the normal division of this amount will probably be £35 to the Representative holding the Recruiting Licence for the winning camp and the balance of £15 divided among the members of the native staff concerned. In certain circumstances, however, where there is an exceptionally long native staff, a greater proportion of the bonus might be paid to them.

The Camisola Amarela competition[1] was still being operated in 1961 when new targets for 1962 were announced. Camps with targets of 2,500 men had been placed in Section A, and the remaining camps were in Section B for which a minimum target of 1,000 had been established. This circular advised:

"CAMISOLA AMARELA"

I have pleasure in informing you that the winners of the "Camisola Amarela" for 1961 are as follows:-

SECTION "A" ... CHIBUTO ... 108.8
SECTION "B" ... A.CHENGANE ...126.4

In due course, the Staff of these two Camps will receive the prize of Esc.4,000$00 each awarded by the General Manager.

The targets for 1962 are shown on the attached list. From this, it will be noted that camps with targets of 2,500 and over have been placed in Section "A", the remaining camps being placed in Section "B", for which a minimum target of 1,000 has been established.

Divisional Agents will already have given i structions to Representatives as to the recruiting procedure to be adopted during the first quarter of 1962. In order to ensure that a proper standard is maintained for purposes of the "Camisola Amarela" for 1962, there will be a deduction of five recruits from the output of any camp in respect of each recruit rejected at Ressano Garcia on account of Rejection on Medical Grounds.

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1. WENELA Circular No. 35/53 Ref. L.M. Circular No. 31/53

During the 1950s when the recruiting of foreign labour was in full swing, medical standards were re-examined. Thus a WENELA circular of 30 November 1953[1] stated:

> Kindly notice that until further notice any native who is blind in one eye as a result of a mining accident may be forwarded for work on the Gold mines without prior reference to this office provided the native is otherwise fit for work. On his arrival at the Johannesburg compound arrangements will be made for his allotment, if possible to the mine on which he was injured, or if this is not possible, to some other suitable mine. Likewise a Native with a bone scar on the lower leg may be forwarded without reference to this office provided the scar has healed and provided the Native is otherwise fit.

Also in 1953 minimum rates of pay and a progressive service increment scheme which had been implemented, were brought to the attention of Mozambique stations. The service increment scheme required the worker to return on contract within a stipulated period of time. WENELA offices were notified that they could condone late returns if they were satisfied that "the native's extended absence is justified by the explanation offered". It was important, the circular[2] added, that "natives who suffer hardships under the Service increment scheme should not be penalised".

In 1958 the WENELA stations were making a special effort to recruit for coal mines. Thus a circular dated 18 June 1958 stated[3]:

COLLIERY LABOUR

> A letter received from our district Manager reads:
>
> "During his recent visit the General Manager stressed the need for additional Natives for work in the coal mines, where the system of entrenched minimum rates of pay and the progressive service increment scheme apply in the same manner as they do on gold mines. ...
>
> As you know, during the short time he was at Chai Chai, Mr.------ was able to verify that natives from your Division do go to the Collieries and at Gulelene he discovered that the new Induna there, is an ex-colliery native.
>
> Accordingly, Representatives should be instructed when preparing gangs to ask all natives present whether any of them wish to go to work on the collieries where the pay conditions are similar to those on the gold mines.

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1. WENELA Circular No. 40/53
2. WENELA Circular dated 8 June 1953
3. WENELA Letter No. 79/58

A note should be made in the "Remarks" column of the copy of the "Relação" sent to Ressano Garcia of any native offering himself for such work or of any native in possession of a service increment certificate issued by a colliery.

Representatives should supervise personally the interrogation of natives as to whether they would like to work on the coal mines."

In October 1958 the drive to recruit as extensively as possible was still on. Thus a circular[1]:

PROPAGANDA - CALICO SALT BAGS

You will shortly receive a quantity of Calico Bags which are to be used for the distribution of salt to Native women. It is considered that a present of salt will be a useful propaganda item for use when Representatives are camping out.

Salt should be bought in quantity and the bags filled (1/2 Kilo each) shortly before actual distribution. The cost of the salt purchased for this purpose should be debited to "Expenses Head Office - Propaganda - General".

In 1962 WENELA stations were notified[2] to restrict recruiting as far as the gold mines were concerned. 'Natives for coal mines' could still be accepted freely.

OUTPUT

I write to advise you that the present recruiting restrictions, in so far as gold mines are concerned, are to continue. On the other hand, Natives for coal mines can be accepted freely.

It is noted that some Representatives are doing more travelling than is called for, under present conditions --------. From this it follows too, that as less contact will be made with Chiefs, etc., the distribution of cash presents will likewise be reduced.

The drop in the standing force of Mozambican labour on the mines in 1963 reflects the results of this instruction. Later in the 1960s the figures climb again, and continue to do so, into the ~~1970~~s. In 1973 WENELA found itself embarrassed by the flow of recruits, caused by drought conditions.[3]

RECRUITING

I confirm my telephone instructions of the 13th instant. As the flood of labour from all quarters continues -

1. Circular D/M. No.20/58 dated 9th October 1958.

2. WENELA Circular I.E. No. 6A/62, dated 16 April 1962.

3. WENELA Circular No. 13/73, dated 27 February 1973.

probably owing to drought conditions - the Manager (Moçambique) has instructed that certain restrictions will have to be introduced in order to reduce the present flow.

Accordingly, the following measures should be introduced forthwith:-

1) No re-engagement applications should be submitted until further notice.

2) A stricter physical standard must be enforced. Border-line cases among novices should be told to report back in June.

3) Old men and those who have not been to the mines during the last three years should not be accepted.

From 2 and 3, it is clear that only recruits who are 100% fit should be sent forward.

It is hoped that these restrictions will not remain in force for too long. However, failure to carry out these instructions implicitly could result in more drastic restrictions being applied.

The instruction to restrict recruiting had to be repeated with emphasis the following month[1]:

LABOUR SUPPLY

I transcribe hereunder the contents of a letter received from the Manager (Moçambique), which are self-explanatory:

"In connection with our recruiting orders for the month of March, the General Manager has written as follows:-

"The severe drought that is being experienced in most areas at present, coupled with a falling-off in the demand from other quarters, has given rise to an exceptionally heavy influx of labour to the gold mines. As a result, the ability of the mines to accept more labour is very limited, and men who do not measure up to all the standards for mining work, even if only temporarily, and for whom jobs have to be found on the surface, have become an embarrassment. I have, therefore, to request you to be careful to see that the recruits you send forward for employment on the gold mines in March, 1973, all satisfy the age and physical standards LAID down for mining work. The total number of recruits must not exceed 5,000 and it may be necessary for me to instruct you to keep the output below this figure.

The coal mines are in the same position as the gold mines and you will find this situation reflected in the orders you receive for the collieries in due course.

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1. WENELA Circular No. 13/73, dated 27 February 1973

In 1973 the foreign labour component reached an all-time high of 80 per cent. But after that the proportion of foreign workers on the mines was reduced. This was the result of far-reaching changes within the mining industry which produced in turn a radical change in its labour recruiting policies.

CHANGES IN MINING IN THE 1970s

There is rather thorough documentation on the changes in the mining industry in the recent period, and the various factors which have contributed to these changes. These we summarise below :

1. Until the 1970s goldmining was considered to be a declining asset. This was transformed by the international agreement to revalue gold at market prices. As a result mining profits rose high and there was a considerable increase in the value of funds available for accumulation and re-investment.

2. There had been a continuing decline in the South African complement of African mine workers. The dependence on foreign labour had increased. But this had occured at a time of spectacular changes in the politics of Southern Africa, and changes which brought into question the continued survival of white minority exploitative regimes, and more immediately still, the degree of reliance which the mines could place on their regular contingents of foreign labour.

3. During 1973 there was a wave of African strikes including ones on the mines, and other forms of worker resistance. In the period 1973-5 there were in all 33 cases of worker resistance on the mines, some of which involved Mozambican miners. As Clarke [1] has written :

> These conflicts affected producer interests in two important ways: firstly, production levels dropped and costs rose as confrontations spread; and secondly, a 'bleeding' of labour supply took place as repatriation rose, strikers were dismissed and disciplinary action and 're-allocations' were necessitated.... The industry was totally unprepared for these sudden and large-scale conflicts which were made all the more serious by the high gold price. Among a host of other factors, the conflagrations were strongly related to low wages and the high degree of social control necessitated under compound conditions. The 1972-75 'wage reform' although begun before the compound violence escalated, would thus probably have in any event been necessary in some measure to re-stabilise the situation.

4. Thus the rise in the price of gold and worker unrest made it possible and necessary to pay higher wages to African miners. Without higher wages there was no possibility of drawing South African workers away from secondary industry and into mining - until, that is, the economic recession

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1. D.G. Clarke, Contract Labour from Rhodesia to the South African Mines, A study in the international division of a labour reserve, Cape Town, Saldru Working Paper No 6, page 11-12

speeded the propulsion.[1]

5. The production of a changed labour force was also closely connected with, and a result of, increased mechanisation on the mines. While South Africa's deep mining technology is probably the most advanced in the world, it is an industry which is heavily labour-intensive, needing constant supplies of cheap African labour. As long as the price of gold was fixed there was a tendency to rely on cheap labour and to move rather slowly towards increasing capital investment. This was not true, however, for all mines. While lower-grade ore and lower productivity mines relied on cheap labour, newer, higher-productivity and more mechanised mines, principally those controlled by the Anglo-American Corporation, instituted higher levels of technology. Thus as early as 1962 Anglo-American had broken with the labour policies of the Chamber of Mines and had urged higher wages to step up South African labour recruitment so that it could have a more stable labour force among which it could institute a different wage structure on its higher productivity mines.

With the rise in gold prices plans for mechanisation were accelerated. The paragraphs below describe some of the advances in mechanisation, for these have important effects on the quantity and the quality of the labour force, and on the subsequent changes in labour recruiting and wage policy instituted by the industry.

Mechanisation

Certain mechanisation had already shown effects in the mines by 1975. For instance, Goldfields Consolidated of South Africa Ltd. reported an increase of productivity of 11.5 per cent underground employee over 1974.[2] A mine belonging to Joint Consolidated Ltd. in 1975 had increased production despite a labour reduction of 20 per cent in the mine. This was done by introducing scrapers for loading the ore (instead of hand lashing), mono-rail cars which required one worker rather than the two previously required, and mono-rope conveyors, used for carrying the mineral out of the mine. They were means to cut down unskilled labour near the mining, or stope, face. This was combined with more efficient management systems and maintenance systems and by bringing white miners into management planning so that they could see the importance of working as a team and the role of their team leaders. Courses for the training of African aides to white

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1. A press report (Star 25 January 1973) wrote that labour recruiting agents reported that the flood of men seeking work 'was up 25 per cent compared with January 1972....' With the better-paid jobs at a premium thousands of Blacks are being forced to offer their labour at the gold mines. The immediate cause for the 1973 pressure of job-seekers was a severe drought in the Transkei.

2. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, November 1974, p.II.

craftsmen were begun and some African miners have acquired skills in, among others, boilermaking, fitting, electrical work and welding.[1]

The President of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. A.W.S. Schumann stated in 1975 that the total value of capital equipment used underground by the gold mines was less than R250 million. He expected that equipment to the value of more than R1000 million would be purchased during and as a result of the R150 million research programme over ten years.[2]

Much of the research and trials are taking place at or near the mining face (the stope face). "About 40 per cent of the Black labour force is employed there and mechanisation is of great importance in reducing the Black labour force and improving productivity."[3]

Trials are well advanced on one man mono-rail systems, on mono-rope systems that transport timber, sticks, and concrete bricks right to the stope face. Lightweight drills are in operation which eliminate the need for an assistant to the machine operator.

On the stope face drilling is being mechanised in two different ways. One is to improve drilling for dynamite blasting. The other is to eliminate the dynamite and to use rock cutting systems.

Anglo-American was introducing large mechanised drilling machines (costing R100,000 each).[4] These machines are operated by three Africans under a white supervisor and achieved record drilling depths per shift on their first trials in 1974. Another mine (Carltonville) improved efficiency 50 per cent by using short hole drilling.

The major research and development activity is in non-explosive methods of rock-breaking. The whole system of the mine is based on the periodic dynamiting of the rock. One group of miners is drilling holes in the rock in which the dynamite for blqsting will be placed, while on the other face miners will be clearing the rubble from the blast. Both sorts of work must be finished at the same time for optimum efficiency, and then the next face is dynamited.

Already trial equipment is being used which avoids dynamiting. One method is drag-bit rockcutting i.e. to cut a 25mm slot about 150 mm into the rock face. This slot helps the removal of the rock-breaking with pneumatic or hydraulic picks. This is the most advanced method but others are being tried, particularly the impact ripper-mechanical system for ripping open the ground, and the swing hammer miner. All these three

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1. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, July 1975, and Mining Survey, April 1975.
2. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, July 1975, p.31
3. ibid. page 16 Quote of Joint Consolidated's head of Industrial Engineering Department.
4. ibid. November 1974, page 80.

machines perform best in ground which is pre-stressed and fractured, as in the case in the deep mines where the effect of pressure has been to fracture the hard quartzite rock.

Another development is more suited to shallow mines. It is a system of boring the gold reef with a rotating bore called a raise borer. These machines are also used to make small shafts in the galleries near the stope face. They cost anything up to R750,000.[1]

These methods by themselves are well tested and can increase the mining rate considerably. The problems have been in mechanisation of other parts of the stope process, i.e. mechanisation of roof bolting, laying tracks, automatic waste packing for stope support, and so on. Experiments are well under way with mechanised conveyor belts to move the rock from a blast site. Some are armoured and move automatically into the stope before the blasts to catch the rock as it falls after the blast. The rock which is not on the conveyor belt will be lifted onto it by a plough which is moved up and down the face alongside the conveyor. It is estimated that these conveyors could increase productivity on the stope face three times. In March 1976 a spokesman of the Chamber of Mines research department said[2] that capital invested in stope faces then was about R100 million, which was about R3 million per principal mine. Mechanisation of the stope face would average at least about R7 million per mine. It would also involve high training costs and a build-up of the semi-skilled African work force which would necessitate a stable work force.

It is these changes in the technology and the deployment of the work force in the industry, together with increased worker militancy, and also, importantly, the South African economic recession which led to widespread African unemployment in that economy, which led to changed wage policies in the mines. There were changes in job grading and wage differential systems. This led to more African workers being categorised semi-skilled.

The changes in wage levels are seen in the Graph. In the period beginning with the 1950s and again in 1969 African wages had risen.[3] This was a period of chronic labour shortage but also of the beginnings of the rationalisation of the labour process and the introduction of training schemes for some African workers especially on the more capital-intensive mines. But the wage rises in this period were considerably outstripped by the rises in

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1. Times, 2 May, 1977.

2. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, March 1976, page 17.

3. For details of the wage rates in this period see F. Wilson, Labour in the SA Gold Mines 1911-1939, pages 178-9.

MINE WAGES (MINIMUM & AVERAGE) 1910-1976

EVOLUÇÃO DOS SALÁRIOS (MÍNIMO E MÉDIO)

ENTRE 1910-1976

ANOS	SALÁRIO (POR TURNO)	
	MÍNIMO	MÉDIO
1910	-	18c
1911-16	-	20c
1921-30	-	22c
1931	< 17c	22c
1936-41	-	23c
1943	< 18c	23c
1946	22c	29c
1948	24c	29e
1949	27c	29c
1951	30c	36c
1956	30e	43e
1961	30e	48c
1964	34c	-
1966	-	59c
1969	40c	65c
1971	42c	-
1972	50c	81c
1973	72c	R1.10
1974	R1.60	R1.78
1975	R2.20	R3.00
1976	R2.50	-

the post-1973 period. By June 1976 the industry was paying a minimum rate for underground work of R2.50 a shift.

The changes in wage rates had an immediate impact on the source of labour supplies. The number of South African workers on the mines rose rapidly. This was accompanied by an absolute fall-off in the numbers of contracted foreign workers, which trend is continuing.

It is clear that there were limits to mechanisation of the industry. The new methods will seriously diminish but they will not break the dependence of the mines on a large supply of African labour. But newer, richer more capital-intensive mines will follow a distinctly different pattern from the older lower-grade ore mines. Within the work force, there will be the introduction of growing differentials in wages and skills.

Two of these factors will affect Mozambican mine labour in the immediate period:

1) the overall reduction in the use of foreign labour.

2) differentiations within the African work force and the reliability on more experienced and skilled workers.

These factors are reflected in the conditions of Mozambican labour after 1974.

PART II

THE MINE LABOUR FORCE

Mozambican Mine Labour after 1974

1975 was a peak year for WENELA recruiting, The figure for recruits was 115,309. The highest previous recruiting total had been in 1970 when 94,825 men had been attested. The 1975 recruits included 19,589 novices, that is, men contracted for mine work for the first time. The novices constituted 17 per cent of the total number of recruits. (1)

This unprecedented recruitment of Mozambican workers followed the decision in April 1974 by President Banda of Malawi to suspend the recruiting of all Malawian mine labour. That decision had been taken in the wake of the crash of a WENELA aircraft near Francistown in Botswana in which 72 Malawian miners were killed. The suspension decision meant not only that new recruits did not arrive from Malawi but that Malawian workers already on the mines opted to go home before their contracts had expired. The number of Malawian workers on the mines fell from 130,000 early in 1974 to 182 in May 1976 (Financial Mail 8.10.76). The mines were reported at this time to be operating with only three-quarters of their underground manpower requirements.

Together with the labour from Mozambique that of Malawi (recorded under the category Tropicals or North of Lat. 22° in the official statistics of the Chamber of Mines) had constituted the largest and most reliable source of labour from outside South Africa. From the middle of the 1960s until the end of 1973 Mozambican and Malawi labour together made up between 30 and 40 per cent of the labour force, After the Mozambicans, Malawian mine workers served the second longest contract periods. It was not until mid 1977 that the flow of Malawian labour was restored, following the conclusion of a new agreement with WENELA and the approval of revised contract terms. (2)

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1) See Graph of the percentage of Novices to Experienced workers

2) Under the new agreement covering Malawian workers, after 13 weeks of employment, 60 per cent of the basic wage is retained and invested on behalf of the worker through WENELA with the Reserve Bank of Malawi for payment to the miner on his return in accordance with terms and conditions laid down by the bank.

PERCENTAGEM DE TRABALHADORES SEM EXPERIÊNCIA ADMITIDOS

PELA W.N.L.A. NOS ANOS 1961-1977

PERCENTAGE OF NOVICES RECRUITED BY W.N.L.A. DURING 1961 1977

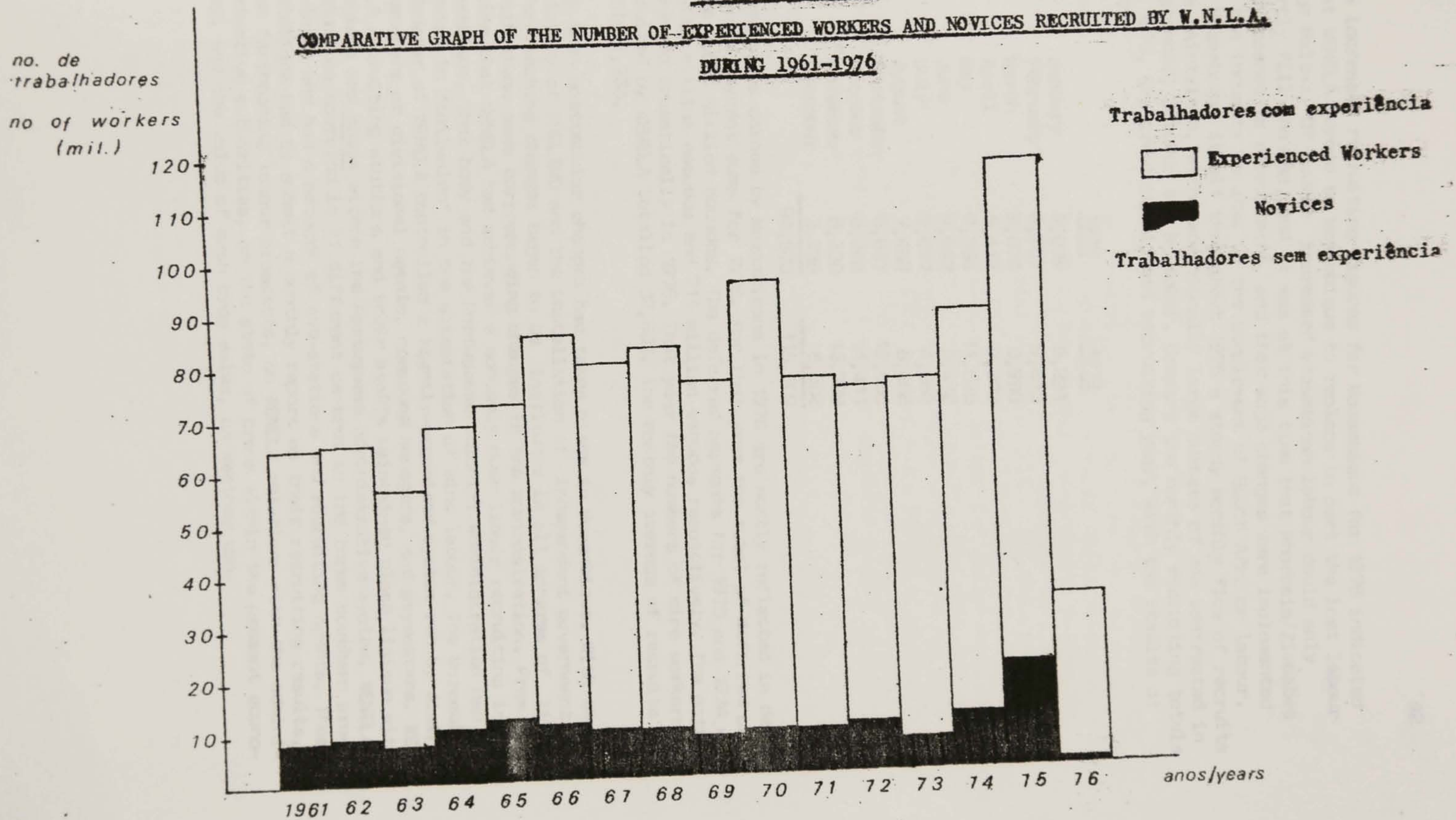
NOS/YEARS	NºTOTAL DE TRAB. RECRUTADOS PELA W.N.L.A. /TOTAL NºOF WORKERS REC. BY W.N.L.A.	Nº.DE TRAB.SEM EXPERIÊNCIA Nº OF NOVICES	PERCENTAGEM DE TRAB.SEM EXPERIÊNCIA PERCENTAGE OF NOVICES
1961	64 145	8359	13
1962	64 941	8509	13
1963	56 780	7019	12
1964	68 503	10185	15
1965	72 902	11859	16
1966	85 203	10574	12
1967	79 463	9466	12
1968	82 506	8910	11
1969	75 425	7586	10
1970	94 525	8386	9
1971	75 517	8006	11
1972	73 735	8983	12
1973	74 689	5840	8
1974	87 169	10445	12
1975	115 309	19852	17
1976	32 803	735	2
1977 Até Março Until March	8 825	470	5

GRÁFICO COMPARATIVO DE NÚMERO DE TRABALHADORES COM E SEM EXPERIÊNCIA RECRUTADOS PELA W.N.L.A.

NOS ANOS 1961-1976

COMPARATIVE GRAPH OF THE NUMBER OF EXPERIENCED WORKERS AND NOVICES RECRUITED BY W.N.L.A.

DURING 1961-1976



The increased recruiting figures for Mozambique for 1975 indicated that WENELA turned to Mozambique to replace in part the lost labour from Malawi. Of course increased Mozambican labour could only partly fill the gap, and it was at this time that Rhodesia/Zimbabwe was opened to recruitment, and that wage changes were implemented in the industry to step up the complement of South African labour. In Mozambique itself throughout 1975 a steady monthly flow of recruits was maintained, with exceptionally large numbers of men contracted in September, October and November. Compare the monthly recruiting totals of 1970, the previous highest recruiting year, with the results of 1975:

	1970	1975
January	7,079	8,291
February	8,207	9,613
March	9,070	8,980
April	8,412	9,872
May	9,384	11,626
June	9,542	6,412
July	9,097	4,662
August	7,459	8,368
September	8,647	12,055
October	8,248	14,411
November	6,230	13,729
December	3,938	8,502
	94,525	115,309

Mine wages earned by Mozambicans in 1975 are mostly reflected in deferred payment sums for 1976. For that year the total of deferred pay was 1,652 million escudos. The deferred payments for 1975 and 1974 were 1,200 million escudos and 711 million escudos respectively. The pattern changed dramatically in 1976. That year the numbers of mine workers recruited by WENELA totalled 32,803. The monthly average of recruits was only 2,733.

By then spectacular changes had taken place in Mozambique. With the victory of FRELIMO and the installation of independent government, far-reaching changes began to be instituted in all spheres of life; with these came corresponding changes in the administration. From the time that WENELA had achieved a monopoly over labour recruiting in Mozambique, that body and the Portuguese colonial administration had operated in "collusion" in the attestation of mine labour. The Mozambique Manager of WENELA controlled a tightly-organised system run by district managers or divisional agents, compound managers, and paymasters. WENELA recruiting stations and their staffs maintained close liaison with chiefs and cabos within the Portuguese administrative system. WENELA stations operated in 21 different centres in the three southern provinces and had a network of sub-stations and recruiting agents. These stations had to submit a monthly report on their recruiting results, on forthcoming labour prospects, on WENELA relations with the administrative authorities, on the state of crops within the peasant economy, and the value of cash crop sales, on weather con-

ditions and road conditions, on the health of the "natives", and on ideas to stimulate recruiting.(1) In the mid-1950s a record system had been installed in the principal Johannesburg WENELA compound which retained a complete history of all natives going forward to the mines.(2)Target figures for recruits were set for the various recruiting divisons or camps. Stations which best exceeded the target received an annual prize, known as the Camisola Award, which had been established to encourage a spirit of friendly competition between the camps'. The WENELA General Manager personally inspected the Mozambique stations from time to time. When recruitment lagged, "propaganda" was stepped up.(3) Recruiting targets were adjusted to labour supply requirements within the industry. Medical standards required of recruits were raised and lowered as the labour demand rose and fell. All this required not only highly efficient organisation within the labour recruiting organisation itself but also close liaison and collaboration between that body and the Portuguese administration. Not only recruiting but the immigration facilities connected with it were in fact centralised within the WENELA stations; as WENELA signed up a recruit the processing and issue of his passport was virtually automatic: the immigration officer was required merely to append his signature.

During 1975 as the Transitional Government made way for the installation of a Frelimo government in power, the new government prepared to print and issue its own passports, and to reorganise the issue procedure. The old stock of passports was in any case exhausted and during this interim period immigration offices were empowered only to validate existing passports for a limited period of time. By the time the new passports were ready to be issued, local immigration offices were no longer authorised to issue travel documents in any but four approved centres: in Maputo itself, in Xai-Xai in Gaza Province, at Maxixe in Inhambane Province, and at Ressano Garcia where the main WENELA border camp operated. These control measures were instituted for important security reasons. They restricted the powers of all but a limited number of immigration officers and thus censured tighter control of the flow across the borders. Additionally, Pafuri, on the Rhodesian border which, together with Ressano Garcia, had been one of the two principal entry and exit points for recruits, was in the war zone; the passage of mine recruits had automatically to be suspended, and from March 1976 onwards no further recruits passed through this border camp. This control of immigration procedures meant effectively that all but four of the previous 21 WENELA recruiting centres could no longer operate.

It was October 1976 before the new system was fully instituted.

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1) WENELA Divisional Circular No 23/50 dated 3 October 1950, following the general Manager's tour, September 1950.
2) WENELA Circular dated 22 October 1956.
3) WENELA Circular dated October 1958 re issue of salt bags to "native" women.

In the four-month period from June to September that year not a single Mozambican went to the mines from Gaza or Inhambane. The flow through those WENELA centres was one way only, as men returned after their contracts, collected their deferred pay and went home.

The following were the recruiting figures for 1976:

Jan	4,406
Feb	2,581
March	2,863
April	2,641
May	1,289
June	763
July	1,824
Aug	1,730
Sept	1,763
Oct	2,844
Nov	5,755
Dec	4,344

Recruiting figures from Gaza and Inhambane dropped heavily, even came to a standstill. Thus in April only 124 men were recruited from Gaza, there were no recruits from either Gaza or Inhambane during the months of June to September, and in October there were only 427 recruits from Gaza and 1,150 from Inhambane. At the end of January 1976 the standing total of Mozambican mineworkers on the mines under WENELA contracts had been 114,385. By the end of December of that year the total had dropped to 48,565.

This reduction in the complement of Mozambican labour recruited during 1976 altered the geographical origins of foreign mine labour on the mines. Until 1975 the mines had placed extremely heavy reliance on three countries for their labour supply from outside South Africa. Between them Malawi, Mozambique and Lesotho provided in 1973 as much as 91 per cent of the total foreign labour complement (Malawi: 37 per cent, Mozambique: 28 per cent, and Lesotho: 28 per cent). After the withdrawal of Malawi workers, Mozambique and Lesotho remained primary suppliers, and in mid-1975 their combined total comprised 53 per cent of the foreign labour supply, with the Mozambican complement slightly up, to 29 per cent. It was in this period that Rhodesian labour was brought in to help make up the shortfall from Malawi. With the drop in Mozambican recruits Rhodesian recruitment was stepped up during 1976. (1)

1) D.G. Clarke, Contract Labour from Rhodesia to the Soth African Mines: A Study in the international division of a labour reserve, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit. SALDRU Working Paper No. 6, Cape Town, October 1976.

It was at this time that the Chamber of Mines must have reviewed its stategy for the supply of Mozambican labour. Within the Mine Labour Organisation (1) careful long-term supply projections are made annually. Decisions are taken about the numbers of recruits to be obtained from each established recruiting area. Targetted totals are matched to expected production needs. The purpose of this planning is to inform key officials within the industry and to provide guidelines for the MLO's own decisions about labour supply(2). The MLO Budget and Objectives for 1977 applied a country limit of 30,000 to Mozambique. This was within a total recruitment level of 466,000 African workers for that year.(The 1976 figure had been 453,000).

Thus. by October 1976 when the new Mozambican passports were ready for issue to mine recruits and the WENELA camps, though heavily reduced in number, began to resume more normal operations, the South African Chamber of Mines had devised a new policy towards Mozambican mine labour. That month the Mozambique Manager relayed to his district offices a set of instructions he had received from Head Office: Applications for underground employment could be accepted for a stipulated list of mines, fourteen in all. The fourteen included Hartebeesfontein, West Driefontein, Durban Deep, St. Helena and Blyvooruitzicht. Each of these mines had laid down a figure for a weekly complement of Mozambican recruits. Hartebeesfontein was prepared to accept 890 workers per week, Blyvooruitzicht 700; Durban Deep 300; Winkelhaak 250; Western Areas and its Elsburg Section 1,000 between them. In other words no novices were eligible for recruitment and nor were workers with previous experience on other mines generally acceptable. The same system for the curtailment of labour recruit appears to be operating in Swaziland. According to the World of 14 July 1977 the cutback in the recruitment of Swazi miners is due to the SA recession, but it only affected new workers; men in possession of bonus certificates from the mines were assured employment. In June 1977 only 787 Swazi were accepted by the mines compared with 1,403 in June 1976.

The weekly allocations to particular mines were in addition to mineworkers in possession of valid re-engagement certificates. Since from this period onwards the contracting of Mozambican mine labour was made entirely conditional on the possession of engagement certificates it is essential at this juncture to explain the system.

1) MLO is the new name for WENELA, and was adopted in the period when the "Native" in Witwatersrand Native Labour Association became impolitic in independent Africa. The change of name from WENELA to MLO took place about 15 years ago. Recently the recruiting organisations has become known as TEBA.

2) D.g. Clarke, The South African Chamber of Mines: Policy and Strategy with reference to Foreign Labour Supply, University of Natal, Pietermatitzburg Development Studies Research Group, DSRG Working Paper No. 2, April 1977.

The Re-Employment Certificate

The Re-Employment Guarantee and Early Return Bonus Certificate is a system operated by mines affiliated to the Chamber of Mines to give workers, being repatriated after the statutory contract period, an incentive to return to the same mine. The system has operated for a number of years, though it was up-dated and somewhat amended in November 1975. The exact form of the certificate has varied with time and with the region of labour recruitment in which it is operated.

The certificate "For issue to an East Coast Labourer" (though this form is probably now in disuse) states:

> "The undermentioned employee to whom this certificate is issued, if he applies to return to the issuing mine for underground employment within a period of EIGHT MONTHS from
>
> (the issuing date is inserted)
>
> and provided that the mine if open to the engagement of labourers at that time, will be re-employed on underground work and will be entitled to the basic rate of pay he was receiving when he left that mine and in addition the service increment for which he may have qualified. In the event of the issuing mine being closed to re-engagement at that time and not wishing to re-engage im, he will be entitled to the privileges of this certificate on such other mines as may be designated by the MLO from time to time". (our emphases)

Other Re-employment Guarantee Certificates vary their formulation somewhat:

> "At the discretion of the mine concerned, this certificate may be issued to an employee on the termination of his service with any mine, a member of MLO (WENELA) only if he was employed on Underground occupations for not less than 45 weeks during that service. If the employee to whom this certificate is handed and whose identifying details are given hereon, applies to return to the issuing mine for Underground employment within a period of EIGHT months from (the date of issue) he will be re-employed on underground work and will be entitled to the basic rate of pay he was receiving when he left that mine as set out hereon, and the service increment, if any, for which he may have qualified."

Some of the certificates record a considerable amount of details about the miner, including his record of service number, his pass or reference bock number, particulars of his father, his left thumb

impression, his matrial status, his children, his educational years, the year he first worked on the mines, particulars of his work group, his daily rate of payment, the dates of his previous spells of employment, the number of underground shifts he completed, the basic rate of pay he received at the time of discharge, the service increment for which he may qualify and even particulars of his rating in aptitude testing.

In other words the certificate - which Mozambican miners refer to as the BONAS - or Bonus Card - is a record of the mine employment experience and skill of the individual worker. Its particulars are recorded in the computerised data bank now maintained by the Chamber for all its employees.

It is important to note that the issue of the re-employment guarantee is entirely discretionary. An employing mine may issue such certificates as it judges fit. Furthermore the certificate does not guarantee re-employment, since this is offered only provided that the mine is open to the re-engagement of workers, or that other mines are prepared to take the holder.

The possession of these certificates became the critical factor in the contracting labour from October 1976 onwards when the instruction sent to WENELA offices in Mozambique states that these certificates would "for the time being at least" (our emphasis) continue to be honoured by the issuing mines. The quota figures for the various mines would be varied and up-dated weekly by telex every Friday, but the figures quoted would stand and new figures would be added when there were additional labour orders. It had to be emphasised the circular pointed out, that recruits could be engaged only for the mines listed. If they do not accept employment on one or other of the mines mentioned above, they will immediately be sent home, and therefore there is no point in their proceeding further if they are not prepared to engage on one of the mines listed.

By the beginning of 1977 this new restrictive instruction was changed. Head office notified its Mozambique offices that there had been an "unprecedented influx of labour" that year. From 7 February 1977 until further notice "only holders of valid repeat valid re-engagement guarantee certificates may be engaged and forwarded". No novices were to be contracted. Miners holding expired or invalid re-engagement certificates would not be accepted, except as part of special orders.

By February 1977, then, only experienced miners were eligible for recruitment. An instruction of 23 February 1977 repeated: "Novices are not to be engaged under any circumstances until further notice". In most cases mines were prepared to accept only holders of valid re-engagement certificates that is, miners had to present themselves for re-employment with certificates that certified that no longer then eight months had elapsed since the end of their previous contract. In addition certain stipulated mines were prepared to accept holders of expired certificates but only to

the extent of the number of recruits they ordered week by week. Thus Durban Deep would accept only its ex-employees to the extent of its orders. Western Platinum Mines was prepared to take expired certificates provided they were held by machine or spanner operators. Marievale would accept the holders of certificates who had worked for other Union Corporation Mines. The highest orders for labour were from Blyvooruitzicht, but they had to be spread over several weeks at not more than 200 a week. Orders for coal miners dropped like a stone. A very few coal mines, like Phoenix Colliery, Witbank Consolidated and Tweefontein placed some orders for labour but these were extremely low, under twenty men at a time in some instances. Anglo-American coal mines excluded Mozambican coal miners altogether except for very exceptional orders, as from Coronation Colliery (1), when they could not dispense with the services of experienced Mozambican coal miners like Torkar drivers, coal cutting machine and electric drill operators.

The policy of the Anglo-American Corporation of phasing out Mozambican labour was of course far more generalised than this. Between them the mines owned by Anglo-American carry the largest African labour complement - 110,000 African miners in 1974 out of a total of 255,000 employed by the seven mining groups affiliated to the Chamber of Mines. It is Anglo-American mines which carry the highest local labour complement and which led the field in 1970s with the strategy of raising mine wages in order to lure South African workers back into mining. Anglo-American's foreign labour has been drawn chiefly from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. In 1974 this mining group employed the smallest percentage of Mozambican labour: 16 per cent compared with the 25 per cent employed by Rand Mines, 26 per cent employed by Goldfields mines, and 24 per cent employed by Anglo-Vaal mines (2). According to some miners interviewed during the course of this investigation, miners ending their contracts on Anglo-American mines are not being issued with re-engagement certificates. This would have the effect not only of making them ineligible for re-employment on the mines owned by that mining group, but would disqualify them for re-employment altogether.

The decision to take miners holding re-engagement certificates only had an immediate and large-scale effect on recruiting. But for the workers that did qualify, the telex orders for minelabour towards

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1) Coronation Colliery, which mines high-grade steam coal and operates the Bank colliery which supplies blending coke to Iscor, is an Anglo-American mine. Phoenix is owned by Tavistock (JCI) which recently embarked in an expansion programme, but Phoenix production was cut back in the last six months of 1976; in any event its orders for Mozambican labour were sometimes for only five men at a time.

2) Financial Mail 7 June 1974.

the end of February 1977 looked fairly promising, at least from those mines which were continuing to recruit Mozambican experienced labour. By March, however, the WENELA offices were advised that there had been some "confusion here on orders for recruits" and a number of telex orders were cancelled. A number of mines were not prepared to accept any Mozambican labour. They included

East Daggafontein
S.A. Lands
Goldfields Proprietary
Vlakfontein
City Deep

The list of mines that continued to contract Mozambican labour during 1976 and 1977 is rather diverse. They are owned by different mining groups; they mine variously high grade, medium grade and low grade ore; they have varied life expectancies, though none, apparently, over 20 years; they have installed mechanisation to varying degrees. What they have in common for the greater part is the fact of their previous reliance on Malawian labour. Thus, of these six largest mines taking Mozambican labour in this period, four had been seriously affected by the withdrawal of Malawian labour. For this reason and some others, as in the case of Western Deep Levels (see below), making it difficult for them to obtain dependable and large quotients of long-term contract labour, they have continued to order Mozambican labour.

The mines are the following:

ERPM (owned by Barlow Rand) had been heavily dependent on Malawian labour had experienced serious Malawian unrest at the end of 1974. This is a mine that dates back before World War I, has a 10 to 20 year life expectancy, mines low grade ore,. has a low level of mechanisation, and receives state aid.

Blyvooruitzicht (also owned by Barlow Rand) started in the late 1930s but also has a low, 10-20 year life expectancy, though it mines relatively high grade ore and has a relatively high level of mechanisation.

Durban Deep (another mine of the Barlow Rand group) started in 1898, has a 10-20 year life expectancy, a very low grade ore, and receives state aid. More than 40 per cent of its workforce had been drawn from Malawi.

Hartebeesfontein (owned by Anglo-Vaal) mines a relatively high grade ore, and was heavily dependent on Malawian labour. It has a life expectancy of under 10 years,

Stilfontein (one of the four mines of the General Mining Group) mines an average grade ore, and had drawn more than 40 per cent of its workforce from Malawi.

Randfontein Estates (owned by Johannesburg Consolidated Trust), started in 1974, has a life expectancy of over 20 years, high grade of ore and is highly mechanised. (1)

The one Anglo-American mine that has continued to contract Mozambican labour in this period is Western Deep Levels. Started in 1962, with a life expectancy of over 20 years, and a relatively high grade of ore, this is the deepest and possibly the most highly mechanised mine. But because it is a very deep mine it is extremely hot for underground working conditions and it is a highly unpopular mine. Given a choice in terms of the WENELA contract, miners generally opt for mines other than this one. Confronted with shrinking employment openings and thus no choice, Mozambican miners have little option but to sign on for Western Deep Levels, and Anglo-American's policy of dispensing with Mozambican labour seems to have gone by the board in this instance. Incidentally ERPM which is also an old, very hot and unpopular mine has been going out of its way to make openings for Mozambicans and has been issuing new Re-employment Certificates, sometimes through the post, to ex-employees whose certificates have already expired.

Throughout 1977, then, there have been restricted openings for Mozambican mine labour. No novices are acceptable. Many mines will employ only their ex-employees. Re-engagement certificates which have expired are honoured by mines only when they have need of additional labour orders. Some mines, probably those principally belonging to the Anglo-American group, are not issuing re-engagement certificates to Mozambican workers who finish their contracts, except in special cases like that of Western Deep Levels which has labour recruiting difficulties. This means that the pool of bonus holders is shrinking. Many of the re-engagement certificates expired during the period in 1976 when the new immigration administrative processes were being set up, and when recruiting came to a standstill in the two provinces of Gaza and Inhambane.

Many of the miners who applied for work at the Maxixe WENELA Depot and others in mid-1977 appeared to be holders of expired bonus cards. According to the clerks of the WENELA offices, orders for labour from specific mines willing to waive the clause requiring return within the eight month period are filled in a matter of a day or two, even when the orders are for very specific skills. But the great majority of workseekers are turned away.

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1) This is the only new mine, started after the stoppage of Malawian supplies and at the time of writing we have no information on the sources of its labour supplies from outside South Africa.

Despite this, miners have continued to present themselves at WENELA recruiting stations throughout this period. At the Maxixe camp there are as many as 400 to 500 queuing each Monday morning in the hope of job offers; the number is slightly, but not much less, on the remaining days of the week. In the Xai Xai compound during the last few weeks of 1976 a crowd of miners protesting at the shortage of jobs prompted the WENELA officials to call in the administration to calm them. The news has now spread that ovinces are not engaged at all. But experienced miners, many with bonus cards that have expired, continue to make their way regularly to WENELA offices. Some, rejected in one province, travel to another to try again. An instruction from the Instituto de Trabalho dated Dec. 1977 permits a miner to be contracted in the province of his birth only.

In this period of restricted orders the WENELA head office in Maputo began to allocate the weekly orders for jobs on a pro-rata basis to the various WENELA stations. In Gaza itself, when the weekly WENELA quotient was about 500, the administration itself decided to control the weekly intake by allocating employment places as follows:

Xai Xai	80
Bilene	60
Limpopo	40
Guija	20
Massingire	20
Chokwe	60
Manjacaze	110
Chibuto	105

These allocations were said to be based on the locality's estimated agricultural condition and thus the need and demand for wage labour.

It was also in this period of previously unknown job scarcity that the camp at Ressano Garcia was reproved for "sending forward recruits with obviously forged or bogus engagement cards". A certain traffic in the precious certificates had begun, but it had little prospect of succeeding with the careful checks instituted at the Mozambican and Witwatersrand sides of the labour contract process.

By the end of August 1977 the recruiting total for the year stood at 25,561. The recruiting figures by month were as follows:

January	4,218
February	3,240
March	1,367
April	3,825
May	4,086
June	2,938
July	2,529
August	3,358

If the monthly recruiting average of 3,195 is maintained for the rest of the year this will produce an annual complement of 38,342 Mozambican mine workers recruited, which would exceed the MLO quota of 30,000 for 1977.

By the end of August 1977 the standing total of Mozambican labour on themines amounted to 43,477.

The Chamber of Mines' future strategy on Mozambican labour is clearly predicated on a number of factors. These include the decisions explained earlier to achieve:

1. the reduction of the proportion of foreign as against South African labour in the mines.

2. a policy of maximising the number of labour supplier-states around South Africa and of distributing the demand for foreign labour across them.

3. a decision, in which the Anglo-American Corporation has taken the lead, to reduce dependence on Mozambican labour sooner rather than later for fear of FRELIMO's capacity to pre-empt the labour-supply decisions of the South African mining industry.

4. a decision, initiated by the South African Government, in a legislative measure , which authorises that government to revalue its gold at the free market price. This revaluation of SA gold holdings, to be done with the approval of the IMF, will cancel out the gold premium payments made for Mozambican labour.

   As pointed out elsewhere the effect of this system of premium payments in gold for Mozambican labour has been that the average Mozambican miner cost the mining industry R 2,300 by comparison with the cost of other labour of R 800.

The effect of the revaluing of SA's gold holdings and the effective cancellation of the special gold clause of the Mozambique Convention will make Mozambican labour competitive with labour drawn from other supply areas.

It is not clear at the present time of writing whether the range of considerations other than the financial behind behind Chamber of Mines Labour recruiting strategy will serve to encourage or discourage WENELA recruiting of Mozambican workers.

The present complement of underground workers on the mines is reported by WENELA sources to be variously between 102 and 106 per cent of labour requirements. With the return of Malawian labour, which on a number of mines, especially the low grade ore mines, appears to have been used in competition with Mozambican labour, it is possible that the Chamber of Mines will try to play off the one state against the other. This would be consistent with its general strategy towards supplier-states in the sub-continent.

Within Mozambique the restricted recruiting policy of the Chamber of Mines has produced some very distinct effects.

1. It has constituted a very special Mozambican labour force whose work experience and acquisition of skills only makes them eligible for re-employment.

2. It has set up contradictions within the Mozambican working class, between this experienced work force and others.

It is with the character of the Mozambican mine labour force and the emergence of this special labour force that the next portion of this Report deals.

A PROFILE OF THE LABOUR FORCE

In order to investigate the character of the mine labour force the Project undertook two sets of interview investigations. The first set was bqsed on the Miner's Questionnaire. In all 368 miners or ex-miners were interviewed. These interviews took place in WENELA compounds among miners freshly recruited and on their way to South Africa, and among 'repatriates' (the WENELA trade term for miners who have served their contracts and are on their way home). During the field investigations in Inhambane Province, the Miner's Questionnaire was also used at the level of the measant household where there were men present who were ex-miners or who were at home between contracts, and at mass meetings where miners or ex-miners were present. The second set of interview investigations consisted of a smaller set of questions put to miners present in compounds or at mass meetings. There were five questions in all:

Age of miner
Number of contracts worked on the mines
Year of first contract
Year of last contract
Length of period of each contract in months/shifts

In all 716 miners were asked these questions.

Both sets of interviews provided the basic information needed to analyse:

The average number of contracts worked
The average length of contracts
The span of working life spent on the mines over a succession of contracts, in other words a work profile of the Labour force.

The longer interviews also provided data on:

The social characteristics of miners (marital status, extent of polygamy, number of dependents, and number of generations involved in mine labour)
Earnings by mine workers
Work histories, and the acquisition of skills and experience.

The longer questionnaires also provided information on the use of mine wages in the peasant household. This data will not be analysed in this chapter, but is part of the discussion of the role of the migrant's wages in the peasant economy. In this chapter we are concerned with the mine labour force as such: with a profile of the worker-peasant as <u>worker</u>.

Some social characteristics of Mozambican mine labour

From the biographical information collected on the Questionnaires it was possible to establish:

The marital status of mine recruits

Of a sample of 368 men, only 36 were single, that is approximately 10 per cent. Of this sample 23 men had two wives, and only six had three wives. The extend of polygamous marriages can thus be seen to be extremely limited.

Dependents

The questionnaires included a great deal of information on the sizes of nuclear families and the extent of less immediate family dependency on the wages of the miner, i.e. grandparents and parents, cousins and nephews and nieces. The average miner supported 4.2 persons on his wages.

Generations

Of the sample of 368 miners interviewed 91.1 per cent were sons of miners, that is, were second generation miners themselves. Of the miners over the age of 50, 84 per cent had fathers who had been miners, that is, they constituted a third generation of miners. (In the Pembe field research, the Brigades interviewed old men who had worked in the mines before the beginning of World War I, and who recounted how they had used hand-hammers to make holes for dynamite blasting.)

Other industrial experience

Although this information was incomplete in many of the Questionnaires it was clear that many miners had other industrial experience. This included work on the railways, in mechanical workshops, in some factories, as well as domestic service, and, of course, on chibalo. These aspects are reflected in the selection of Miners' Work Histories.

FREQUENCY AND LENGTH OF CONTRACTS

As we have already analysed in a previous section, the essential characteristic of migrant labour consists not so much of the fact of labour migrating over long distances, but principally that the migrant labourer is never completely divorced from his means of production. The migrant labourer remains rooted in the peasant economy which thus constitutes in part the material base of his and his family's existence. The creation of this class of worker-peasants obviously has far reaching implications on the peasant base in terms of the division of labour within the family as regards to agricultural work. It results, too, in the distortion of the production forces on the land because of the extraction of surplus labour for the mines.

The degree to which the peasant economy is interferred with by migrant labour will depend on the average length of contract of the miner and the frequency of contracts in the lifetime of the peasant-worker. Indeed, the length of contract on average will indicate whether the miner can participate or not in the yearly agricultural work cycle, while the frequency of contracts in the worker-peasant's lifetime will indicate to what extent the worker-peasant has been proletarianised, i.e. to what extent his own working activity has been divorced from agriculture and to what extent his family is dependent on his wages to supplement their subsistence and cash-crop income. Obviously, the process of proletarianisation is a complex social phenomenon which cannot be reduced to mere quantitative indicators, and in this section we shall be concerned to present these indicators only. A tentative analysis of the nature of this class of peasant-workers will be attempted in the concluding sections of this report. It will have to take into account both the character of the mine labourer and the peasant base from which he sprang.

The Ebb and Flow of Migrant Labour

In this section we shall briefly summarise the main results of the analysis of the mine labour questionnaire with respect to the frequency with which mine labourers tend to go to the mines in their working lifetime. Our surveys give us two distinct groups of worker-peasants which need to be analysed separately: (1) holders of valid bonus cards who have been re-contracted and were interviewed at the WENELA compounds in Maputo, Ressano Garcia and Maxixe before returning to the mines, and (2) those interviewed in the districts of Inhambane, many of whom no longer hold a valid bonus card. The former are representative of the present-day work force at the mines, while the latter give us more an impression of the work history of worker-peasants in Inhambane province.

Holders of valid bonus certificates interviewed at WENELA compounds

Out of a sample of 127 miners for which complete information was available to us, we found that on average they spent 49 per cent of their active working life[1] in the mines.[2] The average miner of this category thus spent virtually half of his working life (above the age of 18) away from his family. This means that, for example, a miner of 50 years old who spent 49 per cent of his working life in the mines, would have done ± 13 contracts of an average of 15 months each, while a miner of 60 years old would have done nearly 17 contracts. If we furthermore consider the time interval between the first contract and the end of the last contract, we find that in this time span the miner, on average, spent 32 per cent at home inbetween contracts as against 68 per cent in the mines.

To illustrate the importance of this, as a first approximation, we could say that on average the worker-peasant holder of a valid bonus certificate remained at home 7 months only inbetween contracts.[3]

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1. For definition of active working life, see appendix I to this chapter.

2. See definition of index 1 in appendix 1

3. This is arrived at through a rather crude estimate which proceeds as follows:

Since we consider the time span between the beginning of the first contract to the end of the last contract, it follows that for every n contracts there are n-1 in between home periods. Now since in this period the average time spent on the mines constituted 68 per cent as against 32 per cent at home in between contracts, one could argue that,

time spent on mines = 68% of total span
average contract = 15 months

thus, total time span = $\frac{15\ n}{.68}$

and, time spent in between contracts = $\frac{15\ n}{.68} \times 0.32$

from which it follows that average time spent in between any 2 contracts (x) will be,

$$x = \frac{0.32\ n}{0.68(n-1)}\ 15$$

but this could imply that the larger the number of contracts, the less the time in between any two contracts. This obviously unlikely result springs from the fact that 0.32 and 0.68 are themselves averages computed on the miner's information about his large range of contracts. Therefore, as a first approximate correction for this, we could suppose that the average for a given number of contracts as regards to distribution between time on mines and at home, is equal

to $\frac{0.32(n-1)}{0.68\ n}$, and thus, $x = \frac{0.32}{0.68}\ 15 = 7$ months.

The table below gives the percentage frequency distribution of the time spent on mine labour as a percentage of active work life.

Mine labour time as % of total working life time	% of workers interviewed
0 - 9%	1.9%
10 - 19%	10.4%
20 - 29%	10.4%
30 - 39%	16%
40 - 49%	15.1%
50 - 59%	17.9%
60 - 69%	10.4%
70 - 79%	5.7%
80 - 100%	12.3%

As we can see only 22.7 per cent or less than 1/4 spent less than 30% of their active working life on the mines, which implies that more than 3/4 of the miners spend more than 1/3 of their working life on the mines. Furthermore, more than 1/4 of the miners spent nearly 2/3 or more of their working life on the mines. This means that, for example, a miner at the age of 60 who spent 2/3 of his working life on the mine did 22 contracts of ± 15 months each, - cases which we frequently encountered during field research. A miner of 35 years old, would already have done 9 contracts of 15 months each. Finally, 61 per cent of these miners spent more than 40 per cent of their active working life on the mines. To acquire a clearer perception of the degree to which these worker-peasants are tied to mine labour, we must consider that the active time spent on the mines does not include the time taken in the miner presenting himself for recruitment, the journey to and from the mines and the necessary rest period after finishing a contract. If we assume that, for example, 5 months is a minimum period for these activities, we would find that the miner who spent 40 per cent of his time at the mine, is in fact tied into this process of movement to and from the mines for an even greater proportion of his working life. So, for example, a miner of 40 years old who spent 40 per cent of his working life on the mine would have done 7 contracts (of 15 months each) and he was involved in the mine labour flow for 52 per cent of his work life.

Worker-Peasants in Inhambane province

Before embarking on the analysis of our results obtained from miner's interviews in Inhambane, it sould be pointed out that these also include holders of valid bonus certificates and thus are not completely distinct from the ones discussed above. Rather it is a question of difference in

focus, since in the previous section we were mainly concerned with the present day work force, and in this section we centre more on the general characteristics of worker-peasants as they spring from that particular peasant society.

Of all 145 worker-peasants interviewed in Inhambane (of whom 46 were from the district of Zavala, 22 from Pembe (Homoine district), 45 from Sitila (Morrumbene district) and 32 from Cambine (also Morrumbene district), we found that on average they spent 42 per cent of their working life actively engaged on the mines. At this average, a worker-peasant would have done 4 contracts (of 15 months on average) by the age of 30, about 7 contracts, by the age of 40, 11 contracts by 50 years old, and 14 contracts by 60 years old. In the time span between the beginning of the first contract and the end of the last (which constitutes on average 75 per cent of their working life), the peasant-worker on average spent 56 per cent at the mines and 44 per cent at home. This implies as a first approximation, that the average worker-peasant remained 12 months at home in-between any two contracts of 15 months.

In terms of a more detailed frequency distribution we obtained the following results:

% of active working life spent on mine labour	% work force interviewed
0 - 9%	2.1%
10 - 19%	9%
20 - 29%	15.2%
30 - 39%	20.7%
40 - 49%	20%
50 - 59%	12.4%
60 - 69%	13.8%
70 - 79%	4.2%
80 - 100%	2.8%

From this table we can deduce that only 25 per cent of the total labour force interviewed spent less than 30 per cent of their active working life on the mines. While, at the other end of the scale one-third of the miners spent more than one-half of their active labour time on the mines.

Thus, a random sample taken among worker-peasants in Inhambane province clearly illustrates that the great majority are considerably tied up in mine labour and the hardships of migration. On the basis of this information we can conclude that about two-thirds of these workers are engaged in mine labour and the accompanying process of migration for

for more than one half of their working life. This is a clear indication of the extent to which mine labour has historically become the principal economic activity of the peasantry.

This is the overall picture of the areas we surveyed in Inhambane province, but within the province we observed significant variations as to the importance of mine labour in the overall economic activity. Thus, the average time spent on the mines as a percentage of active working life varied from 50 per cent for Canda (in Zavala), 46 per cent in Sitila, to 42 per cent in Cambine and 36 and 39 per cent respectively for Pembe and Mindu (in Zavala district). This variation obviously depends on factors such as the quality of the land available and the availability of water, forms of colonisation in the area during the colonial period, and the relative strength or weakness of the peasant base.

The Average Length of Contract of the Mozambican Miner

The agreements made between the Portuguese colonial state and the South African state in 1964 specify that a normal contract period consists of 12 months which can be extended by another 6 months. Thus, unless in exceptional cases the Mozambican miner normally worked for a period between 12 and 18 months. In our study we tried to determine more precisely the average length of contract of the Mozambican miner. To do this we used three different estimating procedures. Two of these were derived from information obtained from WENELA as regards the standing force on the mines and the monthly number of recruits. The third method method was based on information obtained from interviews with miners.

a. Methods based on information obtained from WENELA

Here we used two methods of estimation, one derived from Duncan Clarke's research and another which uses a simple iterative procedure.[1]

The results we obtained on the basis of the standing force of Mozambican labourers at December 31 over the years 1969

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1. Method 1: Let X_{12} be the standing force of Mozambican labour on the mines at December 31 of a given year, and x_i, $i = 1...12$ be the monthly number of recruits sent to the mines in that year. Then,

$$\text{the average length of contract} = \frac{12}{\sum_{i=1}^{12} x_i / X_{12}}$$

Method 2: Calculated as total number of months necessary such that number of recruits during these months equals the standing force at the end of the last month.

to 1976 are listed in the table below:

Average Contract Period in Months

Year	Method 1	Method 2
1969	15.9	15.7
1970	14.4	15.3
1971	16.3	16
1972	15.9	16.3
1973	16	16
1974	14	15
1975	12.3	12.6
1976	15.8	13

Average: Method 1: period 1969-76 : 15 months
1969-73 : 15.7 ≅ 16 months

Method 2: period 1969-76 : 15 months
1969-73 : 15.9 ≅ 16 months

Note that after independence, and especially in 1975 the yearly average dropped. This is probably due to the historical event of independence itself, since thereafter the average went up again.

In conclusion according to both methods, the average length of contract is probably nearer to 16 months, and within the range of 15-16 months.[1]

Interviews with miners

Interviews with miners gave us detailed information about the number of contracts worked by each miner and the length of each contract. The results of these interviews are listed below for miners interviewed at WENELA compounds:

Compound	No. of miners interviews	Average length of contract
Alta Maé and Rossano Garcia	215	16.5
Maxixe	92	15.1
Total	307	16.1

1. In the previous section we used the lower limit, i.e. 15 months, in order to illustrate examples.

These results confirm the results of the previously explained methods that the average length of contract is likely to be 16 months, and within the range of 15-16 months.

Conclusions

From the above analysis we can deduce that migrant labour historically became deeply rooted in the peasant economy. This is reflected in the long average length of contracts of about 16 months and the considerable part of the worker-peasant's life spent at the mines. The advantages of these for the South African mining industry are clear:

a. the overhead cost of recruiting and transporting the miner drops considerably as a percentage of total labour cost, the longer the contract period at the mines. Mozambican labour gave the South African mining industry a distinct advantage over all other sources of labour.

b. long contract periods and high frequency of the individual miner's contracts reduce training costs and guarantee a stable and higher level of productivity. This again has always been a distinct characteristic of the contribution of Mozambican labourers.

Seen from the Mozambican side, the picture is very different. It meant that a large part of this labour force not only became more and more divorced from actual participation in the agricultural production cycle (where the burden fell almost completely on the women). It also meant that work on the construction of houses, storage places, water pits, etc. which was traditionally done by men was increasingly left to artisans paid from the wages of migrant labour. This will be shown in the discussion of the peasant economy.

This dilemma of the proletarianised peasant - the migrant worker-peasant - can best be summed up in the following quotation by a peasant interviewed in Homoine district: "I am a worker and I cannot do without a paid job. Everyone here has been to the mines - our grandfathers went. I do agriculture when at home because the wages are never sufficient for a decent life. But there is no security in agriculture because you cannot control the rains."

Explanation of Indices

Our first concern here it to determine which part of his working life the worker-peasant actually spends on the mines. In this respect, the average number of contracts worked on mines would not give us a clear indication since such numbers would vary with different age structures of the mine labour force as well as be dependent on the average length of contracts on the mines. The data collected in our miners' questionnaires allows us,however, to specify a clearer measure of mine labour time as a percentage of working life time since it provides us with:

1) the age of the miner
2) the number of contracts worked on the mines
3) the length of each contract worked on the mines.

The latter two elements allow us to compute for the majority of miners interviewed the exact number of months (and thus years) spent on the mines. We then need a definition of the working life of the miner so as to be able to correct for different ages of miners. To do this, we assumed:

1) That, except in exceptional cases, the minimum age of the novice-miner is 18 years. (This used to be the age at which taxes had to be paid which was one of the factors which led to mine labour.)
2) That, except in exceptional cases, the maximum age of mine work is 60 years.

On the basis of these assumptions, we can then define the length of the active working life of the miner as the difference between his age (if below 60, otherwise 60 is used) and the minimum age of the novice-miner of 18 years.

We can now define our index 1 which gives us a fairly accurate measure of mine labour time as a percentage of working life time by dividing the number of years spent at the mines by the length of the active working life of the worker-peasant. This index is independent of age and length of contracts since both factors have been taken into account in our calculation.

A few examples may clarify the construction of index 1:

a. Suppose we have the following enformation about a miner,
age: 30
no. of contracts : 6
length of contract in months, 8, 18, 18, 14, 14, 16
from this we can compute,
Years spent at mines : 86 months = 7.17 years
Active working life time : 30-18 = 12
and thus, Index 1 = 0.60, or 60% of his active working time was spent on the mines.

b. Consider now another miner with the following history.

age: 75
no. of contracts: 11
length of contracts in months: 18,18,12,12,14,15,8, 9,16,10,15

we can compute,

Years spent on mines : 147 months = 12.25
Active working life time : 60-18 = 42
Index 1 : 0.29 or 29% of active life spent on the mines.

The examples show that only considering the number of contracts may be misleading. What interests us here is to know the extent to which the worker-peasant has been engaged in mine labour as part of his active working life.

Index 1 gives us only the percentage of working life spent on the mines, and hence, does not provide information about the process of ebb and flow to and from the mines. Indeed, as we have seen, the migrant labourer goes and comes, migrates and returns, and between any two contracts he remains at home, but for how long? Does the ebb and flow take place as only part of his life cycle and thereafter he remains at home, or is it a more continuous process? And what time does he spend, on the average, at home inbetween two contracts? To obtain some indication of this, we need to construct another index which will allow us to specify which part of his lifetime is occupied in this process of migrating and returning. To do this we need the information given by the miners' questionnaires on year of first contract and year of ending of last contract. Subtracting the former from the latter, yields us the span of time in which the worker-peasant was engaged in this process of ebb and flow to the mines. Subsequently dividing this span of mine labour flux by the active working time gives us index 2 - the part of working lifetime actively involved in going to and coming from the mines, including the working time at the mines.

Finally we can define index 3 as one minus the ratio of index 1 over index 2. This index gives us that part of the period stqrting from the first contract up to the end of the last contract which is spent at home.

THE WAGES OF MOZAMBICAN MINERS

This study has not investigated wage levels and their relative importance as cash income in the peasant economy for the whole period of the export of mine labour. This would be part of a larger long-term study. Here we are concerned with the more recent levels of earnings by mine workers and with the problems and contradictions which may arise in the period of transition to socialism.

Changes in wage levels since 1962

The major problem in determining average earnings for miners in that the only exact information available consists of the WENELA returns on deferred payments made to Mozambican workers from year to year.[1] Deferred payment, as laid down in the 1964 Agreement, consists of 60 per cent of the earnings of the worker after the first six months of the contract. Thus after the first six months of the contract the worker receives only 40 per cent of his wages at his workplace, and the remaining 60 per cent is paid to him in a lump sum when he arrives back in Mozambique at the WENELA recruiting station where he attested. The advantages of the system to the Portuguese colonial state consisted of the following:

1. It quaranteed that this lump sum payment flowed into the country as foreign exchange, and exchange which, furthermore was made in gold.
2. Since it prevented the worker spending all his wages in South Africa, it meant that this income constituted a demand for commodities produced in or circulating in the colony and Portugal.
3. Since the deferred payments were transferred month by month and were frozen in a bank account until the worker's return, the worker was in fact providing credit without interest to the colonial financial system and the colonial state.

Given the sums of deferred payment paid each year, the total numbers of workers who completed their contracts that year, and the assumption of an average length of contract of 16 months, the average cash earnings of the average worker can be estimated. This is done for the period 1962 - 1977 in the

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1. Since the deferred pay is only a percentage of the total wage earned, more complete calculations would have to take into account (1) monies brought back in cash and changed from Rand to Escudos at the border; records of these exchanges are available but we have not been able to analyse them; (2) monies sent home by the worker during his contract term either through the post or carried by friends and relatives; (3) monies spent on the purchase of goods in South Africa.

Table below:

Average Deferred Pay and Average Earnings per worker and per contract (in escudos)

	Deferred Payment /worker contract	Average Earnings /worker contract	Average monthly earnings
1962	1434$21	3824$56	239$00
1963	1464$50	3905$33	244$00
1964	1504$73	4012$61	250$80
1965	1883$71	5023$20	313$95
1966	3113$09	8301$44	518$80
1967	3887$80	10367$36	647$96
1968	3920$86	10455$52	653$47
1969	4104$27	10944$64	684$04
1970	4351$23	11603$20	725$20
1971	449$29	11864$64	741$54
1972	4541$23	12110$00	756$88
1973	5695$74	15188$64	949$29
1974	9130$50	24348$00	1521$75
1975	13388$00	35701$28	2231$33
1976	17263$78	46036$64	2877$29
1977 (Aug.)	27703$50	73876$00	4617$25

As can be deduced from this table, the period before 1965 was one of extremely low paid labour, whereas during the latter half of the 1960s and up to 1972, wages began to rise, though they remained at relatively low levels.

As a result of the strikes of African miners in 1973 and other developments internal to the mining industry, the mine-owners were forced to grant considerable wage increases.[1] This has led to the impression that mine labour has become a highly lucrative occupation. But as can be seen from our calculations, even at its peak in 1977, mine workers still received a wage of only approwimately 4 1/2 contos a month for work which is notoriously hard and dangerous to the worker's health. It was this 4 1/2 contos which represented a 500 per cent on 1973 levels!

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1. By June 1975 the industry's minimum shift rate exceeded the 1972 levels by 50 per cent. (By June 1976 the minimum shift rate was R2.50.)

The Spread of Wages

As we have already shown in a previous section of this report, not only have wages risen rapidly in the most recent years, but there was also a marked increase in wage defferentials between different categories of mine labour. To get some impression of these differentials in earnings, we selected a sample of our miners' Questionnaires which included those miners returning from their last contract in the 1976/7 period and whose information on deferred payments was reliable. This sample gave us 235 miners. The table below shows the frequency distribution of this sample with respect to sums of deferred pay:

SPREAD OF DEFERRED PAYMENTS [1] FROM MINE LABOUR

Deferred Payments	% of work force
1000$00 - 5000$00	15.75
6000$00 - 10000$00	15.75
11000$00 - 15000$00	18.70
16000$00 - 20000$00	15.75
21000$00 - 25000$00	8.10
26000$00 - 29000$00	7.20
30000$00 - 40000$00	11.10
41000$00 - 50000$00	3.00
51000$00 - 70000$00	3.80
71000$00 - 100000$00	0.85
+100000$00 -	0

Sample size 235 miners

This survey shows that one half of the workers interviewed earned less than 15000$00 in deferred pay, while the pay of three-quarters ranged below 25000$00. At the other end of the scale about 5 per cent of the work force was paid between 50 to 100 contos. Thus the majority of these workers were in the lower paid strata, while about one quarter were spread over the higher paid groups, of which one fifth, or 5 per cent of the total were receiving the highest rates of payment. It appears, too, from our data that the ratio of the highest to the lowest earnings is markedly high, ranging from about 100 contos down to 5 contos or less. [2]

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1. Refers to deferred payments received in 1976/77 period.

2. It should be taken into account, however, that the lowest pay bracket includes workers who for one reason or another, often illness, interrupted their contracts. The actual spread of earnings would thus be somewhat less marked than shown here.

Conclusions

The following conclusions could be drawn from this data:

1. The restriction on the numbers of recruits contracted by WENELA since the latter half of 1976, which allows only bonus certificate holders to be employed, occurred at a time when wages had risen considerably. This accordingly created conflict between those worker-peasants who can still contract for mine work and those who are ineligible. Among other ways this conflict has been reflected in the suggestion that since bonus cards are restricted, they should be more fairly distributed. This suggestion, raised at several levels, takes no cognisance of the fact that the bonus system is calculated to contract experienced workers only and that the card is a record of the specific work experience and skill of the holder.

2. Another set of contradictions arises from the system of wage differentials introduced on the mines. The majority of Mozambican miners appear to range within the lower paid strata of the mine labour force, constituting unskilled or some semi-skilled workers. The wages they bring back in deferred payment do not on average exceed 25 contos, which is equivalent to a monthly wage of 4200$00. Taking account of the fact that the lower brackets of the table listed above include in part miners who due to illness or other reasons broke their contracts, it is most likely that these workers brought home between 15 to 20 contos in deferred payment on a normal contract length of 16 months. This would correspond to a monthly wage of between 2.5 and 3.5 contos. Such money would mainly be spent on consumer articles and some instruments of production for agriculture such as ploughs and cattle, also for tools for certain artisan trades. A smaller fraction of the labour force consists in the main of two distinct groups. These are (1) the more skilled workers and (2) the supervisors who earn considerably more. For that five per cent group of the labour force whose earnings are in the 50 to 100 contos range, this would correspond to monthly wages of between 8.5 to 17 contos or more. The artisan aides and other semi-skilled workers earn considerably more than the unskilled workers. On the other hand they can hardly be considered to be a 'labour aristocracy', for such a category could not meaningfully be used to denote a strata of workers who are by law repatriated every 18 months from their place of work. When it comes to the supervisors of labour, variously termed 'boss-boys', 'indunas' and 'tribal representatives', these are of several kinds. Some are labour supervisors on the job, helping to organise the gangs of miners delegated to specific parts of the work process. Others perform a policing role, acting as agents for the compound managers and the mine authorities in general, and preserving 'law and order', and ensuring the 'tribal' territorial segregation of the work force which continues to be used by the mines as a powerful agency of social division and thus control.

The two latter groups, the more skilled workers who have received some training and have acquired in many cases some considerable extent of skill, and the labour supervisors, or sergeant-majors of the mining compound and the underground work gang, are certainly the miners who receive the highest wage payments. They are sometimes taken to be representative of all miners, and this fuels the myth of the rich miner bringing back large sums of money, and money that has been 'quick and easy' to earn. This, as is seen from our calculations, is far from the truth.

WORK EXPERIENCE AND SKILLS

The proper place for a detailed study of the growth of specialisation of the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers is, necessarily, at the place of work. There are probably no successful or detailed studies that have been undertaken away from the work place and the work process itself. The reason is that away from his machine the worker cannot easily describe the operations he does and the functions he carries out, either the routine functions or those special functions that make him into a skilled or a semi-skilled worker.

In interviews undertaken with mine workers on this Project, miners who were asked about their work did not think that they could explain this away from their machines or tools for the understandable reason that they did not believe that the investigator would understand how a mine works. Only after long explanations and, usually the use of paper and pencil for diagrams could a worker explain his routine and non-routine duties in the mine.

Detailed studies of the work process would normally begin in the mine with a total breakdown of all functions and all the purposes of a particular function. A vehicle mechanic, for instance, would have to perform a series of tasks, from checking the specific gravity of a battery, to adjusting spark plugs, to dismantling a cylinder head, to replacing a whole engine.

In our brief study we have been unable to do detailed job descriptions such as this. What we have tried to do are the following:

1. To show the relationship between skill and wage on the mines. It seems that the higher paid miners either have certain technical skills or they have a function of control of the work force.
2. To examine the relationship between school education level attained in Mozambique and skills used in the mines.
3. To discover the range of jobs which Mozambicans perform on the mines. It is clear from all the material available, especially in the recent period, that the African miner is no longer part of the undifferentiated work force of earlier times. The Mozambican miner himself is not a one-task labourer, but can perform a range of tasks on the mines. Our interviews revealed over 70 different jobs being performed by Mozambican miners.
4. To discover in general the level of skill attached to these jobs is again not easy. Even in the same job in the same mine the level of skill or semi-skill is determined by the extent to which the white artisan or miner decides

to use his team of African labour. To give an example: one type of white miner would teach his aides to stop the machine when it goes 'clunk' and the light goes on, while another would explain the trip-switch operation when the crusher machine is in operation and what to do to clear it when it jams.

According to information acquired from a former official of an Anglo-American mine, different artisans train their aides in very different ways. Some would do no more than use the aide as a surgeon uses a nurse ('Foreceps, clamps'), while others might get down to teaching the whys and the hows. So two African miners working as artisan aides could have totally different skills. Accordingly the skills of these artisan aides could vary according to the method of training, according to the relation between white and black miners in a particular work gang or performing a specific function, and according to the attention being paid in a particular mine or mining group at a specific period to the upgrading in skill and technical competence of a semi-skilled class of African operatives. In recent schemes for the intensified training of African semi-skilled miners, it has been recognised that language is crucial. Anglo-American mines, for instance, have introduced both a language requirement for inclusion in training schemes and a series of job-specific vocabularies.

We must make it clear at the outset that when we use the term 'skill' or 'semi-skilled' worker in this study, we are using it in a strictly comparative sense. This is for two reasons. The first is that in the South African mining industry the skilled labour force is constituted by white miners. All skilled workers have been white workers and until very recently most semi-skilled jobs were held by whites and restricted to them.[1] The white labour force has accordingly constituted a sort of labour aristocracy. This is because their monopoly of skills has been entrenched in the law.

It is only since the increased capital intensity of the mines, which brought greater mechanisation, that the role of the African labour force as purely manual labourers has to an extent been extended. We have discussed some aspects of the changing role of the African labour force in an earlier section. The second reason for using skill and semi-skill in a comparative sense only is that we do not wish to suggest that miners who have been trained and have acquired a certain measure of skill in a mine can necessarily and immediately take up equivalent work in Mozambique. On the other hand it is clear from our interviews that since the changes in the division of labour in the mining industry

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1. In 1960, according to Wilson, Labour in the South African Gold Mines, p.55, of the African workforce, 67 per cent were in unskilled work, 20 per cent in semi-skilled work and 11 per cent in supervisory work.

of the 1970s in particular, many Mozambicans have acquired skills and industrial experience which will be indispensable in Mozambique. The problem is how best to discover, categorise and use these skills, and on this matter we make certain suggestions towards the end of the Report.

Levels of Work Experience

We have not managed to obtain enough data to give a complete breakdown of each job function. But from a general examination of the job structure into which African miners are fitted it appears that those earning above R3 a day begin to be allocated slightly more differentiated work tasks. These workers fit into Grades 4 to 8 on our Chart.

Within these higher grades of workers receiving higher wages rates are included the 'indunas' and the mine police. The 'indunas' or tribal representatives act as the agents of control of the management; so, obviously, do the mine police force. The 'boss boys' or 'team leaders'[1] are also in the higher paid bracket and these are the foremen serving as intermediaries between the white miners and their teams of African workers. 'Boss boys' themselves acquire varying degrees of skill and organisation experience depending on the work function they supervise.[2] Depending on seniority these workers are grouped into Categories 5 and 8. Grade 8 is the highest paid grade. Included in Grade 8 are the senior training instructors. These are clearly the miners with the most expertise, since they have to pass their knowledge on to trainees. Grade 7 includes senior 'boss-boys' in stoping. This is a rather specialised job operation and is accordingly better paid, at the minimum rate of R5 a day. Grade 6 is the category into which most artisan's aides are grouped. These include boilermakers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, brick-layers and smelters and mechanis' aides. They are strictly auxiliary workers to the white miners but, as indicated earlier, they could acquire relatively more knowledge and job experience.

Grade 4 includes other team leaders and gang supervisors, but also drivers of heavy machines. These include loco-drivers,

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1. The vocabulary used in the South African mining industry is a reflection at the language level of the subordinate position of the African miner. The terms are insulting : they refer to Africans as 'boys', whether 'boss boys' or 'pipe-boys' (see the description of jobs in Grade 3 in particular. In recent years the vocabulary has been somewhat revised. Thus 'boss-boys' have become 'team leaders'.

2. Wilson op.cit., page 20, 'Although difficult to document, there is little doubt that, because of the rigidity of South African caste system, many 'boss-boys' are considerably more skilled in mining than some of the (white) men above them.

TRABALHOS NAS MINAS E SALÁRIOS CORRESPONDENTES

(PAGAMENTO EM RANDS POR TURNO/DIAS)

MINE WORK RELATED TO WAGE GRADES

(PAYMENT IN RANDS BY SHIFT/DAY)

STEP 8 R6.15 a day	Senior Training Instructor
STEP 7 R5 a day	Senior 'Boss-boys' in Stoping
STEP 6 R4.95 a day	Artisans' Aides (boilermakers and fitters, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, brick-layers, smelters)
STEP 5 R3.90 a day	Senior 'Boss-boy'
STEP 4 R3.40 a day	Loader-drivers, loco-drivers, hoist-drivers, gang-super-visors
STEP 3 R3 a day	Stoping teams (machine and spanner boys, cheesa boys, lashers and trammers)
STEP 2 R2.65 a day	Belt-minders, timber construction, pipes and tracks, untrained loco guards
STEP 1 R2.50 a day	Labourers: sweeping, transport, tipping, pumps, store, etc. etc.
Surface workers R1.80 a day	

CATEGORIAS DOS MINEIROS *

MINER'S GRADES *

Grau de Escolarização Level of Schooling	VII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I	Trans à sup Surface Workers	Outras qualif. Other qual.	TOTAL
Sem escolarização Without schooling	5	9	15	37	36	29	15	19	1	12	178
1º classe	1	4	3	4	6	7	4	0	1	6	36
2º classe	1	6	7	10	14	9	7	6	1	4	
3º classe	3	2	5	10	9	10	4	4	1	7	55
4º classe	0	6	3	7	5	2	0	0	0	1	24
TOTAL	10	27	33	68	70	57	30	29	4	30	358

* Categoria/Grade VIII- Instrutores, induna / Instructors

" " VII - Chefes de equipa de escavação / Senior Boss-boys in stoping

" " VI - Artifices ajudantes de mecânica / Artisans aides in engineering section
Supervisorses de transporte (p.e. canalizadores, fundição, carpinteiros, mecânicos)/Transport supervisors (e.g. plumbers, smelters, carpenters, mechanics)

" " V - Supervisores de grupo, polícias/Senior boss-boys, police

" " IV - Bombeiros, motoristas de monta - cargas, maquinistas de locomotiva, motoristas, supervisores vários/Loader drivers, loco-drivers, hoist drivers, gang supervisors

" " III - Assentadores de rastilhos/machine boys; ajudantes de mineiro/chessa boys; adjudantes de mecânico/lashers; Escavadores/trammers

" " II - Guardas de comboio/loco-guards; verificadores de correiras/belt minders; Serventes de amostras de rochas, serventes de tubagem e vias, erectores de escoras de travamento/ tubes and pipes, etc.

" " I - Porteiros, serventes de armazém, serventes de vagonetas, carregadores de vagonetas, varredores, manipuladores de cabos, serventes deagrimensor/labourers, transport, tipping,pumps, store, surveys

Outras qualificações
Other qualifications - cozinheiros, enfermeiros, pintores, pedreiros/ cooks, nursing aides, painters, bricklayers.

hoist-drivers, winch-drivers and loader drivers. Their minimum rate of payment is R3.40 a day.

The lowest three grades of underground workers and one grade of surface workers are paid less and have fewer opportunities for acquisition of semi-skilled experience.

Grade 3 includes members of stoping teams, that is 'machine-boys', 'spanner-boys', lashers and trammers. It is this group whose minimum wage is R3 a day. Grade 2, which is paid at a minimum rate of R2.65 a day includes belt-minders, 'timber-boys', untrained loco guards and 'pipe-boys'. (See the previous foot note on mine vocabulary).

Category 1 groups together various kinds of unskilled labourers earning the lowest rate of underground pay. They include miners who do transport functions, sweeping, watching of pumps, and machine greasers.

Surface workers in the mining industry earn at the present time a minimum rate of R1.80 a day. They often include older miners, or miners with slight physical disaabilities acquired during their years of mine work.

In our chart we have grouped together various functions which do not fall into underground or surface mine work but are somewhat more specialised. These include : nursing aides, domestic workers like cooks, painters and storemen. They would also include survey assistants who could have acquired some considerable work experience.

Variations in Training

Artisan aides of Grade 6 receive about four weeks of formal training with pay.

Training has been extended in the recent period but little information has been available to us about this. This training is formal; it is quite apart from the on-the-job experience which miners acquire after many contracts and which should not be under-estimated when it comes to a consideration of their experience as an organised industrial work force.[1]

In the job descriptions provided in the following paragraphs there are more examples of the amount of formal training given to specific worker categories.

The relationship between schooling and level of job experience/skill.

Our study collected from every miner information about his level of education. When we tried to relate education level with job category, we found that there was absolutely no

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1. See the section on the frequency and length of contracts, and thus mine labour experience.

relationship between the two. It is true that Mozambican miners who have reached the 4th class in school are not in the class of lowest paid workers, and are certainly not labourers. These men work as 'team leaders', policemen, drivers and artisans' aides. At the same time men without any schooling at all are randomly distributed across all ten categories of work and payment.

Our chart shows that among the workers in Grade 4 and above, the percentage who have had a certain amount of education are as follows:

4th class	10 per cent
3rd class	14 per cent
2nd class	18 per cent
1st class	9 per cent
No education	49 per cent

This can be compared with all miners, semi-skilled or in the lowest grades as follows:

4th class	7 per cent
3rd class	15 per cent
2nd class	18 per cent
1st class	10 per cent
No education	50 per cent

Among the senior training instructors (Grade 8) who organise short orientation courses there is one Mozambican miner who has had no education. None of these in this group have reached the 4th class in the Portuguese educational system. Among the artisans' aides 43 per cent had received no education in school in Mozambique.

Some Job Descriptions

We describe below some of the more semi-skilled jobs performed by Mozambican miners: This information was obtained in interviews with miners.

Senior training instructor

These have normally previously been senior 'boss-boys' in stoping operations. They are selected for their ability to organise the work on the stope face and to explain to new men on the stope face what is required of them. They do a four week short training course in teaching methods, and then give the lectures and practical classes in the mine school for stope workers.

'Feeder-boy'

A feeder-boy is a mechanic's aide. Under instruction from the white miner, he helps to repair machines inside the mine. The machines used in each section of the work process have specialised 'feeder-boys' and they know the machines of that section only. They learn the rudiments in the mine school in a period of four weeks. They could conceivably mend tractors and other heavy machines.

Riggers

These have two functions. (1) Repair and maintenance of elevators. All elevators must be checked at least once a week. (2) Repair of broken winches, and other related tools. Broken winches are often pulled out of the mines and taken to repair workshops out of the mine, but still in the rigger's department. Thus a rigger could work below or above ground.

'Pipe-boys'

These men lay pipes and can solder simple joints.

Electrician's assistant

These miners lay electric cables (wiring), repair broken wires, repair transformers and the electrical parts of elevators. The training is for a period of one month to six weeks.

Storemen

These men are in charge, under the white supervisor, of a number of sections in the stores department. They check the store lists as goods are returned to the stores and keep records of returns. They register every item requested by each section of the mine by writing down the number of that section against the items requisitioned. He thus has basic store and recording skills.

Loco Drivers

After driving the loco for about six months, some of the good drivers are selected for a month's training programme in maintenance and repair. After this training they should also be capable of handling and repairing tractors and other heavy machinery.

Coal Miners' skills

Among the few coal miners still being contracted in the Anglo-American and other large coal mines in South Africa are certain skilled workers. They include operators of electro-mechanical coal-cutting machines; mechanical loader operatives; loader drivers and shuttle car drivers, and artisan's aides.

Some conclusions and recommendations

The Mozambican labour force, particularly that proportion which has worked recent contracts, has experience of a growing range of work tasks. A small but significant proportion of these have practical skills which are in short supply in Mozambique.

The difficulty is that miners with some work experience and skill level have not had any formal school education. This would make it very difficult if not impossible for them to explain their work experience in Portuguese. In any case, it would be difficult to explain a job task in any language to someone who has no experience or who has not studied in detail the organisation of the work process in the South African mining industry, in particular since the major innovations and changes introduced during the 1970s, and even earlier, especially in the more capital-intensive and therefore more mechanised mines.

There are some miners, for instance, electrician's aides, mechanics' aides and heavy machine drivers who could be integrated into work in factories and other establishments. It appears at the moment, however, that all miners are listed in the unskilled or undifferentiated sectors of the unemployment registers kept by the offices of the Instituto de Trabalho.

Miners referred to this difficulty during our interviews with them. Some, holding certificates of work skills, told us that when they presented them to the Instituto de Trabalho in Maputo and also in Inhambane, the officials who attended them said that these certificates had no value in Mozambique and listed them as unskilled.

In our Recommendations we include some suggestions for a revision of the classification of different kinds of miners which take account of skills learned and of job experience.

SIX MINERS - SOME WORK HISTORIES

1. Ernesto S. is 36 years old and the son of a miner. He began his first contract on the mines in 1960 having already done chibalo in Manhiça. On his first labouring job he received 30 cents a day. By his fourth contract he was made an instructor in the mine school, teaching new miners about the machines they would work with and what their job entailed. On his last contract Ernesto received R7.50 a day.

As a result of his skilled job and high wages on the mines Ernesto has 3 wives (lobolo of: 2,500$00, 3,800$00, 2,800$00); a large machamba with coconut trees, cashew nut trees, and citrus trees (he paid 8,000$00 for this); an almost completed brick-block house; a plough and oxen. Some oxen he initially bought died but he intends buying more. He purchased two sewing machines which he hires out to colleagues on the compounds for R20 a month each. Of his cashew nut harvest, he sells about 25 sacks a year.

	No. & Year of Contract	Place of work & Job Description	Wage
1.	1960	Simmer & Jack Pushing trucks	30cents/day
2.	1962	Buffelsfontein Winch Driver	45 cents/day
3.	1963/4	Buffeslfontein Loco driver	55 cents/day
4.		A Free State mine (Bossboy instructor in the mine school	80 cents /day
5.		" " "	R1.20/day
6.		" " "	R5/day
7.		" " "	R6/day
8.		" " "	R7.50/day

2. Zefania Ms widower aged 66 started going to the mines in the mid-1940s and finished his last contract in 1964.

Zefania was born in Massinga. When his father died, his mother abandoned the children because of poverty. His father's cousins looked after him in Massinga, and later they moved to Buvane. Rocha, the latifundario, was already established in the circle of Mucambi when Zefani went for his first contract to the mines. After each contract he was obliged to pay 100$00 to the cabo, and in addition had to pay produce tribute to Rocha and the cabo. Labour tribute on Rocha's plantation was also obligatory.

During his first contract he sent back 2,500$00 to lobolo a wife and on his return he married and started his own machamba. He had to work for Rocha and received 50$00 for 30 days worked. Even though he was newly-married, he only spent six months at home before returning for his second contract. He became a 'pipe boy' this time and his wage increased from 1sh/5d per day, which he received as a 'pickanin' on his first contract, to 2sh/5d per day.

He worked for 16 months and bought a home for 2,500$00. The tax was 250$00 and the obligatory 100$00 to the cabo reduced his savings even further. It was a year with little rain so he was obliged to buy maize, groundnuts and beans in addition to soap and petrol. Zefania had two small children at this time.

After seven months at home he returned for his third contract. At the end of this he had 3,900$00, but he was robbed of it in Ressano Garcia. Whilst still on the mine he had sent home 1000$00 which his wife used, among other things, to invite her friends to help her work the machamba in return for an eating and drinking party.

After this contract Zefania stayed home for six months, again working for Rocha and receiving 50$00 for 30 working days. If he did not go to work for Rocha one week then he would be arrested at night. At times he would be beaten with the palomatoria.

On his fourth contract he received a rise of 3sh/6d a day. This enabled him to send 3,000$00 home and he brought with him on his return 2,900$00. This money was spent on drink, food and payments to the curandeiro. A visit to the curandeiro could cost 300$00. After six months he went back to the mines.

He worked eleven months for his fifth contract. This shorter period enabled him to send home only 1,000$00 and he brought no money with him on his return, having spent it in South Africa on blankets and trousers. In his absence his wife had been obliged to produce cotton in addition to her work for Rocha. Zefania stayed at home only six months to avoid this obligation.

Throughout his 20 contracts on the mines, the highest wage he received was 3sh/6d per day. At the end of a life of mine work he was poverty-stricken, eating meat once a year either on Independence Day or at New Year.

He had fallen a victim to drink. At the end of every three-day labour spell for Rocha, the workers were given free sugar-cane alcohol. Throughout Zefania's area there were colons producing this beverage, selling it at 40$00 for 20 litres. When he arrived at the mines to start his ninth contract he was drunk and shouted at the shift 'Boss'. As punishment he was put on a hard job with low pay (1sh/5d per day). He eventually managed to transfer back to a better job by bribing the 'Boss boy'.

In all, the family had five children, but nine had died. Zefania became a widower in 1972. He still produces on his machamba. He lives alone, but gives the meagre production from his fields to his daughter-in-law who prepares meals for him.

No. of Contract	Place of work & job Description	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay	No. of Contract	Place of work & job Description	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay
1. 1940s	Cons Main Reef; 'Pick-anin Boy'	A. 1sh/5d B. 0$ C. 2,500$	11.	Cons. Main Reef EngineersB.	A. 3sh/5d B. 1,000$ C. 1,400$
2.	CMR 'Pipe boy'	A. 2sh/5d B. 1,000$ C. 3,900$	12.	CMR Shaft Boy	A. 3sh/4d B. 400$ C. 400$
3.	CMR 'Pipe Boy'	A. 2sh/5d B. - C. -	13.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5D B. 1,000$ C. 1,400$
4.	CMR 'Pipe boy'	A. 3sh/6d B. 3,000$ C. 2,900$	14.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5d B. 800$ C. 1,000$
5.	CMR 'Sampler Boy	A. 3sh/6d B. 1000$ C. -	15.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5d B. 1,400$ C. 1,800$
6.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/6d B. 1,500$ C. 1,800$	16.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5d B. - C. -
7.	CMR Engineers B.	A. 3sh/6d B. 2,000$ C. 1,800$	17.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5d B. - C. -
8.	CMR Engineers B.	A. 3sh/6d B. 2,900$ C. 1,600$	18.	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/5d B. - C. -
9.	CMR; Tram B. Ambulance B.	A. 1sh/5d B. 1sh/8d C. 500$	19.	CMR	A. 3sh/5d B. - C. -
10.	CMR Engineers B.	A. 3sh/5d B. 900$ C. 1,500$	20. 1964	CMR Feeder Boy	A. 3sh/6d B. - C. -

Vasco C. is 33 years old, married with two young children. The son of a miner, he began his first contract on the mines in 1965. Since then he has completed 7 contracts, 6 of these of 18 months duration. Usually he spends only two to four months at home between contracts. The exception to this norm was his second contract when he was sent home early by the management because he was sick. In Mozambique he then took a job in a timber mill for 400$00 a month. This lasted ten months before Vasco returned to the mines.

He returned from the last contract in 1976 and is now desperately trying to return to the mines. He has been several times to the WENELA offices in Xai Xai, also to Moamba and finally to Alta Maé in Maputo. The machamba never produces enough for lack of rain. Vasco has been used to working continuously and he says that for him there is no life without work. His bonus card expired in March 1977.

Although he considers that work on the mines permits some to grow rich and buy oxen, bigger machambas, tractors and build cement block houses, in his case in the last few years floods and drought have meant that his wages have mainly been spent on food. Vasco also noted that prices had risen high. Ploughs used to cost 500$; now they are 2,000$. A calf costs five or six contos.

No.& Year of Contract	Place of work & Job Description	Wage	Comments
1. 1965	Randlees Budgies Maquinista de locomotivo	47 cents/day	Gave money to father and lobolo
2. 1967	Western Areas		He became sick with a leg infection & the Co. paid for him to be repatriated.
3. 1968	Stilfontein Loco Driver/ Boss Boy	70 cents/day	Bought two oxen
4. 1969	Western Areas Shaft Boy	60 cents/day	
5. 1970	President Brand Freestate Fire Patrol	R1.60/day	
6. 1972	Pres. Brand First Aid	R2.65/day	
7. 1975	Pres. Brand First Aid	R4/day Deferred Pay 23,000$	

José Taola N., th son of a miner, is 41 years old, married, with three children and has two sisters living with him. Between 1953 and 1976 José completed 10 contracts, all but one of 18 months duration. He usually spent six months at home between contracts.

His work history shows him to be a miner with a rising range of skills permitting him to increase his earning power. Beginning as a 'pickanin cheesa boy' he became a plumbers aide, a 'feeder boy' and finally a 'boss boy'. Earning only 450$ a month in the beginning, by 1975/6 as a Team leader his weekly salary was R39 a week.

As a 'feeder boy' at Coalbrook Mine in 1960 his salary was 1,250$ a month. After this fifth contract he stayed longer than six months at home and had to change mines. This time he worked in Durban Deep as a 'Boss boy' but received less than his previous salary : only 900$ a month. In all he completed 5 contracts in Durban Deep as a 'boss boy' (later renamed 'team leader') with a steadily rising salary.

When there is rain his machamba produces enough food and in good years he sells up to 15 sacks of groundnuts. His earnings from mine labour have enabled him to build up his agricultural base. But he says he has to keep returning to the mines not from choice but out of necessity.

No.& Year of Contract	Place of work & Job Description	Wage	Comments
1. 1953	City Deep; 'Pickanin Cheesa Boy'	450$/month	Lobolo
2. 1955	" " " " "	600$/month	Bought an ox
3. 1956	Vaalrleefs Plumber's Aide	800$/month	
4. 1958	West Deep Level 'Feeder Boy'	900$/month	Bought some land (1 ha). Left his father's home and built his own house
5. 1960	Coalbrook 'Feeder Boy'	1250$/month	
6. 1964	Durban Deep 'Boss Boy'	900$/month	Bought plough and 2 oxen
7. 1968	Durban Deep 'Boss Boy'	1000$/month	
8. 1971	Durban Deep 'Boss Boy'	1500$/month	Bought blocks to construct a house
9. 1973	Durban Deep 'Team Leader'	1500$/month	Began to build his house
10.1975	Durban Deep 'Team Leader'	R.39/week Deferred Pay 26,600$ Sent home 29,000$	Completed his house for a total expenditure of 22,500$

Sinai P. is 45 years old and has completed 19 contracts on the mines. His father was also a miner, and worked regular contracts. The family is large, with three wives, nine of his own children under six years old and three others belonging to his brother who deserted them. In addition his mother lives with the family. His first attempt at going to the mines was thwarted because he was too young, so he worked instead as a servant in the Public Works department at Ressano Garcia, earning 475$ a month.

The following year (1946) he signed his first mine contract and began working as a 'timber-boy' on Randfontein Estates mine, earning 1sh/6d per day. In 1948 he worked a contract on a coal mine. In 1950 he began the first of seventeen contracts at Springfield Collieries. Sinai's first job here was oiling the wheels on a conveyor belt, earning 2sh/6d per day. On the next contract he became a 'pickanin' to a mine captain, earning the same wage; subsequently he became 'boss boy' to a mine captain on 3sh a day.

By 1965 after twelve contracts on the mines he was only receiving 9sh per day. In 1972 this wage had risen to R1.50 a day; then the large wage rises after 1973 made their impact felt and on his last contract he was receiving R7.32 per day (1965/6).

Contracts varied between 11 and 19 months. Between contracts he usually spent between one and seven months at home. Twice only did he stay one year in Mozambique. On returning home he regularly paid tax and 100$ to the cabo.

By the end of his 19th contract this miner had saved enough to buy a tractor. He now runs his own small transport business.

& Year Contract	Place of Work & Job Description	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay	Comments
1946	Randfontein Estates Timber-boy	A. 1sh/6d B. 1,000$ C. 1,500$	His money was virtually all handed over to his father. He was living at home & their machamba was on the estate of a latifundio where he & his father worked on alternate weeks for 3 days to fulfill their labour obligation. Sinai received 40$ for 30 days worked & his father 150$. The family left the latifundio land in 1947 to escape this labour obligation.
1948	New Largo Coalmine Assistant Electrician	A. 1sh/6d B. 1,500$ C. 1,850$	1000$ was given to his father he paid 1,300$ lobolo, and used the rest to buy clothes for his wife.

& Year Contract	Place of Work & Job Description	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay	Comments
1950	Springfield Collieries	A. 2sh/6d B. 2,000$ C. 3,900$	Bought a bed & 6 chairs. Saved 1,200$.
1951	Springfield 'Picanin' to Mine Captain	A. 2sh/6d B. 2,100$ C. 3,900$	Gave his father 500$ + 2 blankets, & his mother a blanket. Saved 5,500$ which his father kept for him.
1953	Springfield 'Boss-boy'	A. 3sh	Gave 2,100$ to his younger brother to lobolo a wife.
1955	" " "	A. 3sh B. 1,200$ C. 3,200$	Bought a mill in South Africa (3,450$ with transport costs)
1958	" " "	A. 5sh B. 4,700$ C. 4,100$	Gave 400$ to father, saved the rest except for 1,500$ he spent on cement to make blocks for a house. Left father's home.
1960	" " "	A. 7sh B. 5/6,000$ C. 7,054$	Had to buy food (1,000$) because his wife had not worked the machambe; she had left home. Paid lobolo of 1,600$
1962	" " "	A. 8sh/6d B. - C. 8,000$	The new wife left. Used 15,000$ to construct an 'alvineria' house. His father had in addition 50,000$ of his savings. Paid lobolo of 6,500$
1963/4	" " "	A. 8sh/6d B. 3,400$ C. 6,500$	Bought sewing machine (4,500$) Gave father 500$. His wife saved 6,000$ for him.
1965	" " "	A. 9sh B. 7,000$ C. 5,800$	Spent 11,000$ on furniture + transport costs from S.A. Wife saved the rest.
1966	" " "	A. 9sh B. 8,600$ C. 5,800$	Saved all the money. The mine co. gave him a watch.
1967/8	" " "	A. R1 B. 15,000$ C. 13,000$	His wife died. He had paid 2,500$ for a 13 year old girl to work in his house; the money went to her parents. After the death of his wife he paid 6,000$ lobolo for this servant. Paid 3,000$ to make blocks for another alvineria house. Spent money on his wife's funeral.
1970	" " "	A. R1.20 B. 6,000$ C. 9,500$	Saved his money.
1971	" " "	A. R1.30 B. 30,000$ C. 14,800$	Bought gramophone (1,700$), radio (3,800$). Constructed second alvineria house (39,000$) Lobolo - 4,600$.

& Year Contract	Place of Work & Job Description	A.Wage/day B.Money sent home C.Deferred Pay	Comments
1972	Springfield 'Boss-boy'	A.R.150 B.20,000$ C.14,200$	Funeral of father - 1,000$. Saved the rest.
1972	" " "	A. ? B.30,000$ C.20,000$	Bought food as both wives were pregnant and could not work on machambe. Lobolo 2,000$. Bull & cow - 4,000$.
	" " "	A.R5,46 B.10,000$ C.25,052$	Saved money
1975	" "	A.R7.32 B.40,000$ C.50,400$	Put all his money together and bought a tractor - 145,000$.

Rodrigues P. is fifty-seven years old and has a wife and 7 children, two of them married. He has worked 19 mine contracts. Most of these were of eighteen months duration. He first went to the mines when he was seventeen, in 1937, and finished his last contract in 1976. In his working life of thirty-nine years, twenty-four and a half years were spent on the mines.

Despite this long working life as a miner Rodrigues never succeeded in earning much more than the minimum wage. He worked as a labourer, 'feeder boy', assistant electrician and on the pumps. His starting salary was 2sh a day in 1937 and the last contract paid R2.77 a day.

He wishes to return to the mines again but has no valid bonus certificate. His father was a miner before him.

& Year Contract	Place of Work & Job Description	A.Wage/day B. Money sent home C.Deferred Pay	Comments
937-939	West Rand Labourer	A.2sh B.2,000$ C.1,000$	Lobolo - 1,500$. Father died & he became head of family supporting his mother.
940 - 941	Samaranjack Feeder boy	A.2sh B.3,000$ C.1,000$	Bought food at home because there was a shortage.
942 - 943	Windrand-Deep Labourer	A.2sh B.2,000$ C.600$	
944 - 945	Springfield Assistant Electrician	A.3sh B.1,500$ C.1,700$	His first wife drank & had spent the money he had sent home by the time he arrived.

& Year Contract	Place of Work & Job Description	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay	Comments
1947 - 1948	Springfield Assistant Electrician	A. 3sh B. 2,500$ C. 1,500$	Lobolo for second wife - 1,500$
1949 - 1951	"	A. 4sh B. 3,000$ C. 1,500$	Bought a mill - 3,500$
1952 - 1953	"	A. 4sh B. 3,800$ C. 1,400$	Bought kitchen scales. People who killed an animal would use them to weigh out the meat & pay him a kilo of meat.
1954 - 1955	"	A. 5sh B. 4,000$ C. 1,900$	Gave 3,000$ to younger brother studying to be evangelist. Paid 2,700$ for house in total after 7th & 8th contracts.
1956 - 1957	"	A. 5sh B. 5,000$ C. 1,500$	Bought ox - 1,500$. Paid carpenter 700$ to make window for the house. Bought a door - 200$.
1958- 1959	"	A. 5sh B. 6,000$ C. 1,700$	Bought cement - 3,200$, transport of cement - 600$. Paid man 370$ to make blocks.
1960- 1961	"	A. 7sh B. 4,000$ C. 1,700$	Bought a sideboard from local mission - 3,500$
1962- 1963	"	A. 7sh B. 8,000$ C. 1,600$	Began construction of alvineira house - 8,000$.
1964 - 1965	"	A. 7sh B. 4,000$ C. 1,400$	Saw his house had been badly made, so paid another 4,000$ to made it right.
1966 - 1967	"	A. 8sh B. 2,000$ C. 600$	Son died on mines, but authorities said of bilharzia, hence paid only 600$ compensation. Spent the money on the Funeral.
1968 - 1969	"	A. 8sh B. 4,000$ C. 1,500$	
970 - 971	"	A. R1 B. 7,050$ C. 8,000$	Paid 3,500$ to the builder for the house. Had to pay for the 'matricula' of their 3 children.
972- 973	"	A. R1 B. 3,000$ C. 1,700$	
974 - 975	Springfield Pumps	A. R.170 B. 4,000$ C. 8,000$	
975- 976	Springfield Pumps	A. R.277 B. 7,000$ C. 10,000$	Built water storage tank - 3,120$ for materials + 750$ for transport of cement.

PART III

THE PEASANT BASE : INHAMBANE PROVINCE

REGIONAL PATTERNS OF MINE LABOUR RECRUITMENT

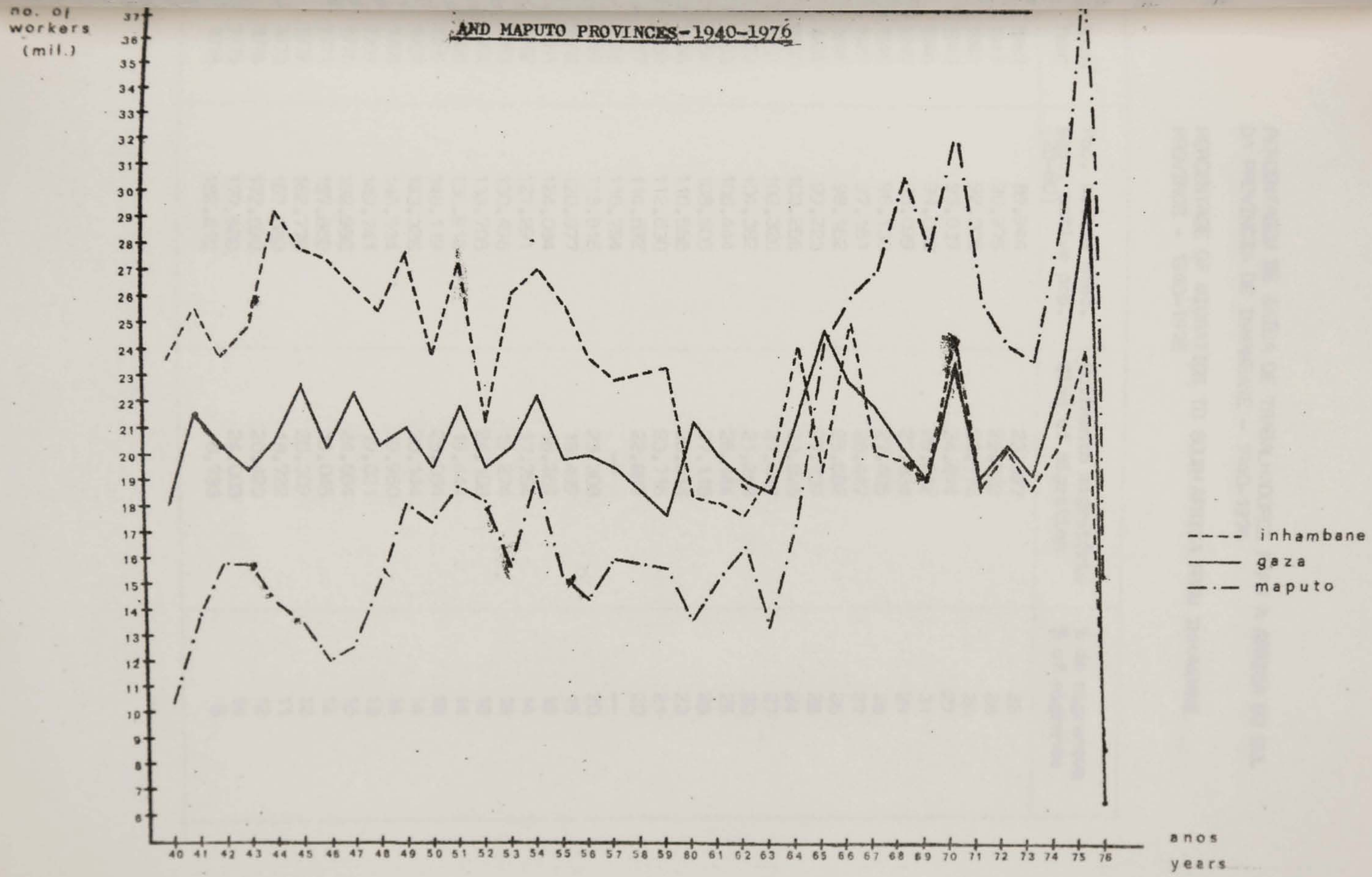
Provincial and District Patterns of Recruitment

An investigation into the size and character of the mine labour force involved an examination of labour flows over a period of time in order to establish (1) the size and (2) the regional/district/locality origins of this labour force. Labour flows from Mozambique as a whole for the period 1902-1977 are seen in our GRAPH, and have already been discussed in Chapter 1.

The provincial and district origins of this labour can be traced from the recruiting figures of WENELA as seen in their monthly statements of Progressive Comparative Output. A sample of one such monthly return is attached as an Appendix in order to demonstrate the method of recording labour recruiting results. Our GRAPHS show the recruiting statistics of the three labour exporting provinces, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. It will be seen that the volume and the rate of recruitment in the three provinces has not been uniform. Inhambane Province declined in relative importance during the 1960s, while in the 1940s and the 1950s it was the major source. Gaza Province has been the most constant source of the three, with a noticeable rise during the 1960s and the 1970s. Lourenço Marques/Maputo Province, on the other hand, increased in importance in the more recent period. It has not been possible for us to analyse the processes at work which led to these different patterns of labour supply. This would involve an investigation of the economic history of each province, changes in land distribution and use, different impacts of colonialism at different times, and such issues, which could fall within the scope of a larger project only. To give an example, on the question of the labour supply for the mines from Gaza Province it would probably be necessary to investigate the process of the colonisation of the Limpopo Valley, which must have had a noticeable impact in altering patterns of land distribution.

Footnote: The recruiting totals are an index of the ebb and flow of labour in different periods and from different recruiting areas. But they are not an accurate index to the home origins of recruited labour. This is because the recruitment figures are recorded according to the WENELA station at which the men attested. In most instances men probably sign contracts at the station nearest their homes, but this is not invariably the case, and men coming from north of Latitude 22° south have to sign up at a station out of their home areas.

AND MAPUTO PROVINCES-1940-1976



PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL DA PROVÍNCIA DE INHAMBANE - 1940-1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH ÁFRICA FROM INHAMBANE PROVINCE - 1940-1976

Anos/ Year	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	89.944	23.597	26
1941	90.975	25.522	28
1942	92.006	23.776	26
1943	93.037	24.874	27
1944	94.068	29.272	31
1945	95.099	27.824	29
1946	96.130	27.405	28
1947	97.161	26.447	27
1948	98.162	25.582	26
1949	99.223	27.789	28
1950	100.258	23.876	24
1951	102.320	27.449	27
1952	104.382	21.260	20
1953	106.444	26.144	25
1954	108.506	27.115	25
1955	110.568	25.814	23
1956	112.630	23.716	21
1957	114.692	22.899	20
1958	116.754	--	--
1959	118.816	23.308	20
1960	120.877	18.499	15
1961	124.084	18.269	15
1962	127.291	17.754	14
1963	130.498	19.274	15
1964	133.705	24.108	18
1965	136.912	19.444	14
1966	140.119	25.054	18
1967	143.326	20.144	14
1968	146.534	19.950	14
1969	149.741	19.021	13
1970	152.950	24.664	16
1971	157.860	19.045	12
1972	162.770	20.309	12
1973	167.680	18.722	11
1974	172.590	20.420	12
1975	177.500	24.003	14
1976	182.410	8.733	5

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL DA PROVÍNCIA DE GAZA - 1940 - 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM GAZA PROVINCE - 1940-1976

Anos/ Years	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of Migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	95.498	18.192	19
1941	96.447	21.579	22
1942	97.396	20.271	21
1943	98.345	19.495	20
1944	99.294	20.617	21
1945	100.243	22.703	23
1946	101.192	20.337	20
1947	102.141	22.402	22
1948	103.090	20.215	20
1949	104.039	21.090	20
1950	104.988	19.631	19
1951	106.886	21.924	21
1952	108.785	19.674	18
1953	110.683	20.304	18
1954	112.582	22.391	20
1955	114.480	19.976	17
1956	116.379	20.086	17
1958	120.176	--	--
1959	122.073	17.732	15
1960	123.977	21.209	17
1961	125.855	20.010	16
1962	127.733	19.004	15
1963	129.611	18.733	14
1964	131.489	21.700	17
1965	133.367	24.807	19
1966	135.245	22.914	17
1967	137.123	21.958	16
1968	139.001	20.431	15
1969	140.879	19.248	14
1970	142.760	23.643	17
1971	145.607	18.727	13
1972	148.454	20.239	14
1973	151.301	19.204	13
1974	154.148	22.841	15
1975	156.995	30.198	19
1976	150.842	6.681	4

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL DA PROVÍNCIA DO MAPUTO 1940-1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM MAPUTO PROVINCE - 1940-1976

Anos/ Years	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of Migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	62.077	10.401	17
1941	63.300	13.764	22
1942	64,523	15.815	24
1943	65.746	15.775	24
1944	66.969	14.228	21
1945	68.192	13.464	20
1946	69.415	12.037	17
1947	70.638	12.657	17
1948	71.861	15.195	21
1949	73.084	18.117	25
1950	74.307	17.415	23
1951	76.753	18.786	24
1952	79.199	18.308	23
1953	81.645	15.789	19
1954	84.091	19.208	23
1955	86.537	15.424	18
1956	88.983	14.561	16
1957	91.429	16.025	18
1958	93.875	--	--
1959	96.321	15.788	16
1960	98.763	13.668	14
1961	102.414	15.206	15
1962	106.061	16.548	16
1963	109.708	13.396	12
1964	113.355	17.369	15
1965	117.002	24.376	21
1966	120.649	26.135	22
1967	124.296	27.037	22
1968	127.943	30.529	24
1969	131.590	27.828	21
1970	135.231	32.537	24
1971	140.087	25.964	19
1972	144.937	24.222	18
1973	149.787	23.618	16
1974	154.637	29.039	19
1975	159.487	38.014	24
1976	164.337	15.485	9

Inhambane Province

As for Inhambane Province, the general trend seems to indicate that mine labour declined relatively in the period since the beginning of the 1960s. Thus, for instance, in the period 1940-1949 the percentage of migrant recruits to active male population was 28 per cent, which implies that the percentage of migrant workers to active male population was still higher because contnact periods exceeded 12 months.

Indeed, if we assume an average contract length of 16 months, this percentage of absent men would be approximately 37 per cent, or more than one third of the active male population. For the period 1950-1959 the percentage of recruits to the active male population was 23 per cent, which implies an average percentage of migrants/male population of 31 per cent, slightly less than one-third of the active male population. For the period 1960-1975, the ratio of recruits to active men of working age declined to an average of 14 per cent, which implies an average ratio of migrants to men of working age of 19per cent, or nearly one-fifth of the aotive male population. (for the period 1960-1969 the ratios were respectively 15 and 20 per cent; and for the period 1970-1975, it was 13 and 17 per cent respectively).

During our field investigation, certain indications were given in interviews and group discussions which may help to explain why migrant labour fell in importance during the 1960s. It was said that the forced cultivation of cotton as well as of chibalo labour caused men to flee to the mines. The abolition of forced labour and forced cultivation in the early 1960s - due to the rise of the liberation struggle as well as mounting international criticism of Portuguese colonialism - took the pressure off the flux to the mines. However this is not to say that mine recruitment became unimportant; the statistics show that one out of every five men continued to be away working in the mines at any one time.

The importance of migrant labour for the districts of Massinga, Morrumbene and Zavala is shown in GRAPH form and the attached tables. It was impossible to get reliable population data for Homoine, so we excluded this area alghough field research was carried out there. The percentage of recruits to active male population was 15 per cent for Massinga; 17 per cent for Morrumbene and Zavala, although within each district there are large variations.

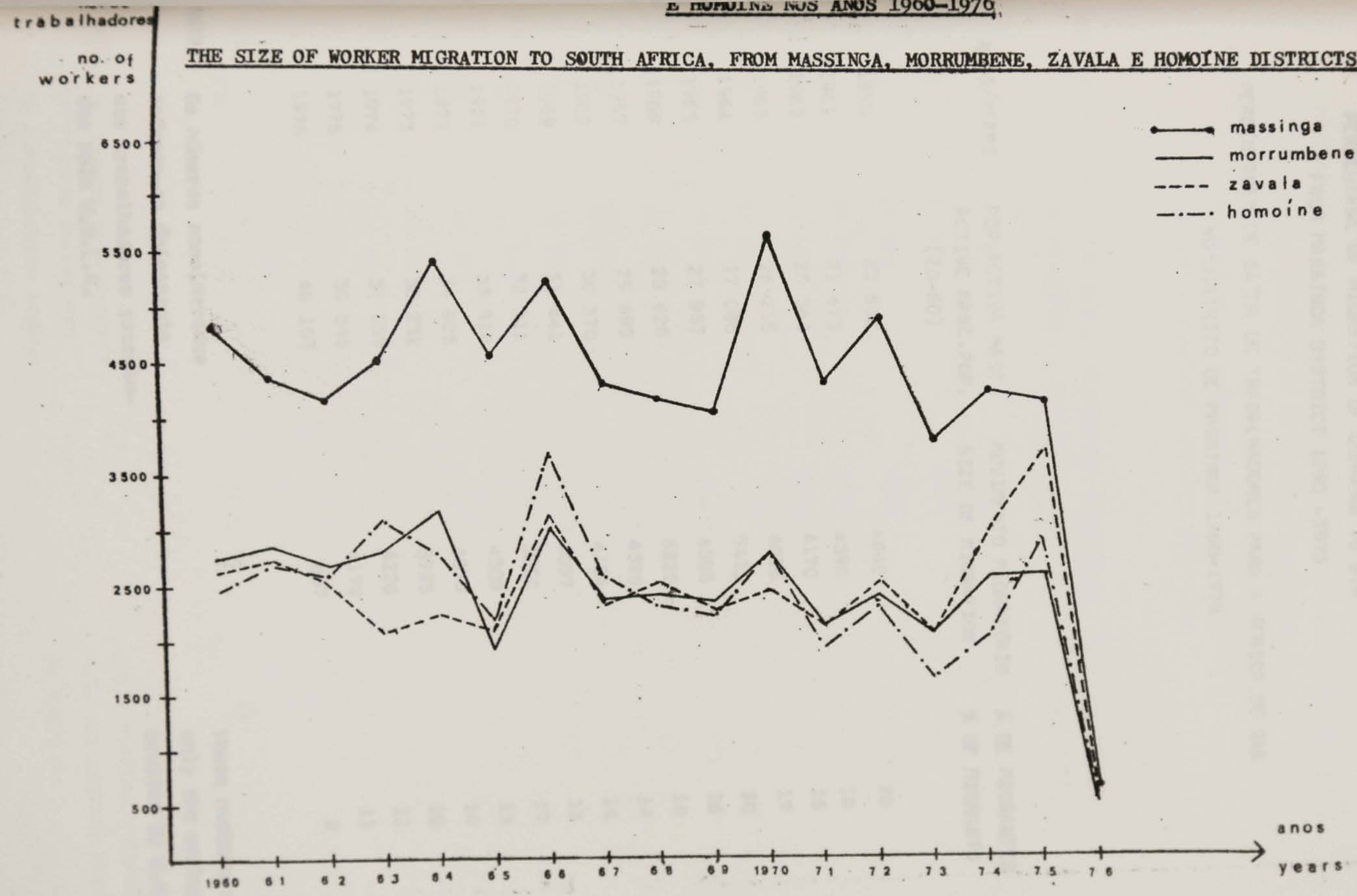
An attempt was made to check whether recruitment in Inhambane showed seasonal variations. We selected a sample of three distinct years, 1966, 1971 and 1973 (of which 1966 constituted a peak recruitment year, and 1971 and 1973 low years) and we examined the spread of recruitment over the different months of those years. The table below shows the results:

Month	% of recruitment total
January	8.8
February	11.3
March	9.0
April	8.8
May	9.1
June	7.7
July	8.3
August	8.4
September	8.3
October	8.4
November	6.9
December	4.6

An even spread over the months would make each month's percentage of men recruited 8.33 per cent. The table shows, thus, that seasonal variations are not strongly evident, except for a drop at the end of the year, in November and December, which months are the planting season.

E HOMOINE NOS ANOS 1960-1976

THE SIZE OF WORKER MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA, FROM MASSINGA, MORRUMBENE, ZAVALA E HOMOÍNE DISTRICTS - 1960-1976



PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A

FROM MASSINGA DISTRICT 1960 -1976

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL

NO DISTRITO DE MASSINGA 1960-1976

ANOS/YEARS	POP.ACTIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC.POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	23 602	4846	20
1961	21 473	4390	18
1962	25 344	4170	16
1963	26 215	4516	17
1964	27 086	5431	20
1965	27 957	4595	16
1966	28 828	5225	18
1967	29 699	4320	14
1968	30 570	4184	14
1969	31 441	4057	13
1970	32 311	5656	17
1971	33 618	4308	13
1972	34 925	4878	14
1973	36 232	3795	10
1974	37 539	4226	11
1975	38 846	4178	11
1976	40 153	607	2

NOTA: Os números considerados referem-se únicamente aos trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

These numbers refered only the workers recruited By W.N.L.A.

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
NO DISTRITO DE MORRUMBENE 1960 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A.
FROM MORRUMBENE DISTRICT 1960 1976

ANOS/YEARS	POP.ACTIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC. POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	14 514	2751	19
1961	14 591	2854	19
1962	14 668	2666	18
1963	14 745	2821	19
1964	14 822	3175	21
1965	14 899	1919	13
1966	14 976	3045	20
1967	15 053	2341	15
1968	15 130	2414	16
1969	15 207	2340	15
1970	15 279	2795	18
1971	15 395	2118	14
1972	15 511	2393	15
1973	15 627	2025	13
1974	15 743	2503	16
1975	15 859	2580	16
1976	15 975	502	3

NOTA: Os números considerados referem-se únicamente os trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

These numbers refered only the workers recruited By W.N.L.A.

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
NO DISTRITO DE ZAVALA - 1960 - 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A
FROM ZAVALA DISTRICT 1960 1976

IOS/YEARS	POP.ACTIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC. POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	13 787	2660	19
1961	13 941	2765	20
1962	14 095	2549	18
1963	14 249	2086	15
1964	14 403	2285	16
1965	14 557	2095	14
1966	14 711	3120	21
1967	14 865	2329	16
1968	15 019	2502	17
1969	15 173	2280	15
1970	15 326	2454	16
1971	15 557	2126	14
1972	15 788	2512	16
1973	16 019	2035	13
1974	16 250	3008	18
1975	16 481	3701	22
1976	16 712	528	3

TA: Os úmeros considerados referem-se únicamente os trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

Those numbers refered only the workers recruited By W.N.L.A.

MINE LABOUR ORGANISATIONS (WENELA) LTD.

EAST COAST ADMINISTRATION

PROGRESSIVE COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF OUTPUT - 1975/1976 .

AMPS	NOVEMBER 1976		JANUARY/ NOVEMBER 1976	1975	INCREASE	DECREASE
APUTO DISTRICT:						
Alto Mahé	537		4,154	10,527		6,373
Guijá	-		807	6,508		5,701
Macia	-		1,820	6,154		4,334
Magude	-		578	3,576		2,998
Manhiça	-		863	4,726		3,863
Moamba	1.656		7,293	2,642	4,651	
Xinavane	-		386	2,186		1,800
TOTAL:		2,193	15,901	36,319		20,418
GAZALAND DISTRICT:						
Xai-Xai	1,623		2,915	7,498		4,583
Alto Chengane	-		79	1,950		1,871
Chibuto	-		629	5,251		4,622
Inharrime	-		425	2,134		1,709
Manjacaze	-		694	7,962		7,268
Za ala	-		528	3,453		2,925
TOTAL:		1,623	5,270	28,248		22,978
INHAMBANE DISTRICT:						
Maxixe	2,037		2,658	1,057	1,601	
Funhalouro	-		173	2,472		2,299
Homoine	-		528	2,537		2,009
Jangamo	-		539	2,731		2,192
Massinga	-		607	3,635		3,028
Morrumbene	-		502	2,339		1,837
Panda	-		230	938		708
Vilanculos	-		1,049	5,614		4,565
TOTAL:		2,037	6,286	21,323		15,037
DETENTIONS FORWARDED:		846	2,130	6,251		4,121
TOTAL:		6,699	29,587	92,141		62,554
Rejects		12	89	363		274
Detained		932	2,230	6,432		4,202
Deserted		-	21	90		69
TOTAL REJ., DET. & DES.		944	2,340	6,885		4,545
GOLD, ETC.		5,428	23,959	76,064		52,105
COAL		327	3,288	9,192		5,904
TOTAL Via R. Garcia		5,755	27,247	85,256		58,009
Pafuri		-	1,212	21,551		20,339
GRAND TOTAL:		5,755	28,459	106,807		78,348
NOVICES GOLD		2	684	18,486		17,802
NOVICES COLLIERIES		-	1	263		262

MAPUTO, 30th November, 1976

AGRICULTURE IN INHAMBANE PROVINCE

The main objective of this chapter is to provide background information on agricultural developments in Inhambane province. The information, which we derived from the agricultural censuses of 1965, 1970 and 1973, as well as from the field reports of our study group, is still far from complete for the purpose of analysing the political economy of the province. However, it does give us basic data and certain trends of agricultural development. Aspects of the political economy of the area, and more specifically, the relation between its agricultural development and its function as a reserve for migrant labour, will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Rainfall pattern and distribution

Conditions of agriculture in Inhambane province, and specifically as far as the peasant economy is concerned, are extremely dependent on rainfall. Lack of adequate water resources (such as big rivers or lakes) as well as the low level of technology in use, does not overcome this basic dependency, but only allows for the best possible adaptations within this major limitation through selection of crops and cultivation techniques.

The map overleaf shows the pattern of rainfall in the province.[1] The rainy season varies from 4 to 8 months depending on the geographical location of the area. It is most favourable along the coastal strip (and more so in the southern part) and much less so further inland. There is least rain in the districts of Massinga, Panda and Vilanculos.

Soil Types

In the province of Inhambane, 4 main soil types can be distinguished. They have the following general characteristics and applications:

1) Sandy-clay soil or 'red' earth:
This is relatively poor soil which produces maize, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes, citrus fruits, cashew and coconut.

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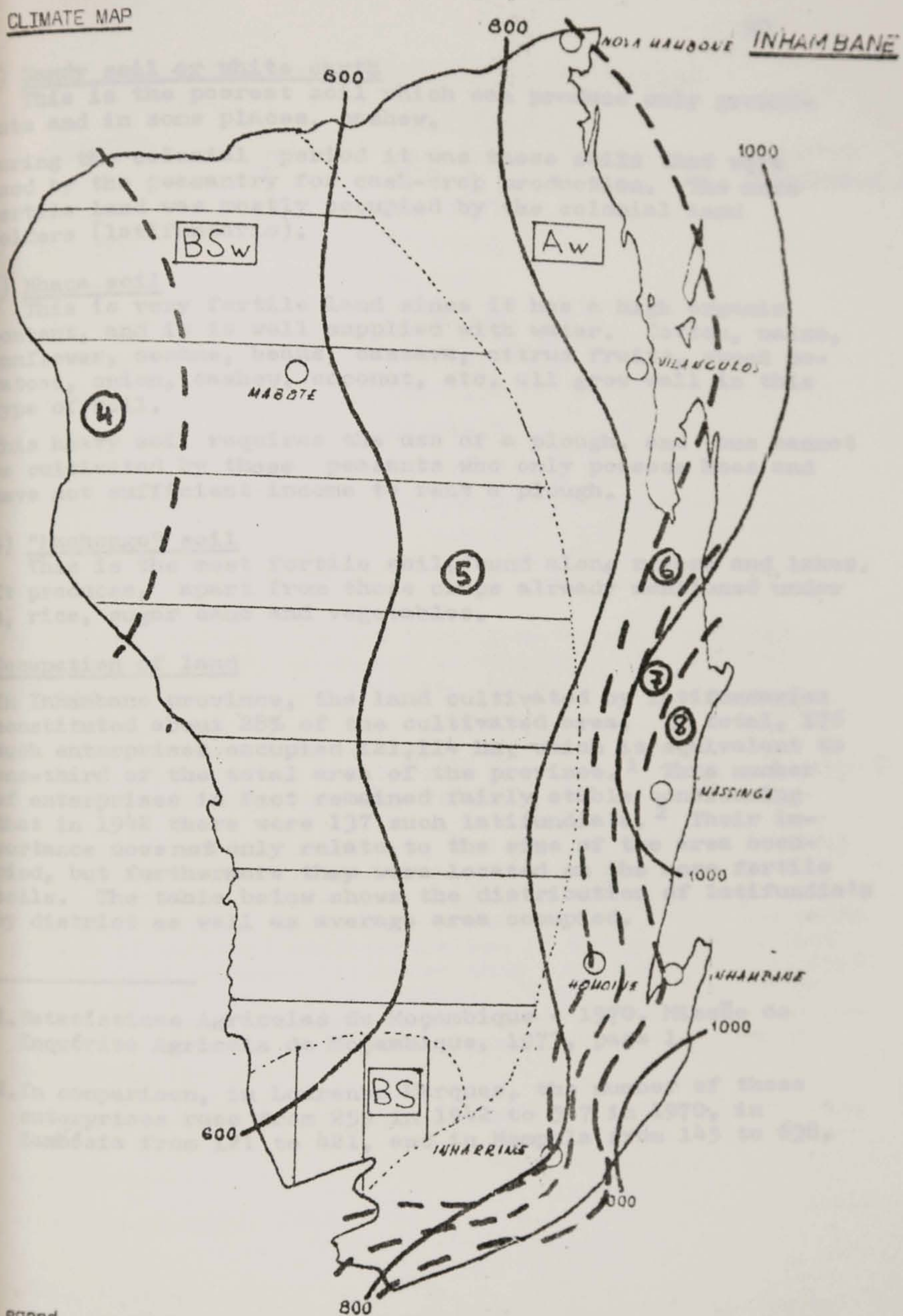
1. The map distinguishes three types of climate:
   Aw : wet tropical savannah with sufficient moisture for the growth of forests
   Bsw: dry steppe climate with dry winter
   Bs : dry steppe climate

CLIMATE MAP



Legend

800 —— Average Rainfall (mm)

6 — — — Length of Rainfall Period (no. of months)

Bsw ..... Climatic Areas (International classification)

2) Sandy soil or white earth

This is the poorest soil which can produce only groundnuts and in some places, cashew.

During the colonial period it was these soils that were used by the peasantry for cash-crop production. The more fertile land was mostly occupied by the colonial land holders (latifundario).

3) Nhaca soil

This is very fertile land since it has a high organic content, and it is well supplied with water. Cotton, maize, sunflower, sesame, beans, cassava, citrus fruits, sweet potatoes, onion, cashew, coconut, etc. all grow well in this type of soil.

This heavy soil requires the use of a plough, and thus cannot be cultivated by those peasants who only possess hoes and have not sufficient income to rent a plough.

4) "Machongo" soil

This is the most fertile soil, found along rivers and lakes. It produces, apart from those crops already mentioned under 3, rice, sugar cane and vegetables.

Occupation of land

In Inhambane province, the land cultivated by latifundarios constituted about 28% of the cultivated area. In total, 176 such enterprises occupied 121,114 ha, which is equivalent to one-third of the total area of the province.[1] This number of enterprises in fact remained fairly stable considering that in 1942 there were 137 such latifundia's.[2] Their importance does not only relate to the size of the area occupied, but furthermore they were located on the more fertile soils. The table below shows the distribution of latifundia's by district as well as average area occupied.

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1. Estatísticas Agricolas de Moçambique - 1970, Missão de Inquérito Agricola de Moçambique, 1973, page 1.

2. In comparison, in Lourenço Marques, the number of these enterprises rose from 259 in 1942 to 547 in 1970, in Zambésia from 121 to 421, and in Nampula from 145 to 638.

Distribution by district of Latifundias

DISTRICT	LATIFUNDIAS No.	Area (ha)	Average area occupied by each such enterprise
Govuro	3	10,209.7	3,403
Homoine	21	15,261.6	727
Inhambane	55	34,459.9	627
Inharrime	20	11,544.9	577
Massinga	19	12,906.5	679
Maxixe	15	10,914.2	728
Morrumbene	44	20,023.5	455
Panda	3	649.6	217
Vilanculos	2	4,600.0	2,300
Zavala	3	894.5	298

Of the area occupied by the latifundia's, only 1.5% was cultivated with annual crops and horticulture, 8% had trees, 24% was pasture and 63% remained unused.[1]

The report of the Homoine brigade mentions land shortage in colonial times. This was because the fertile land (machongo and nhaca) was occupied by settlers.

With respect to the peasantry, the average land holding was 2 hectares. Only Gaza and Niassa have higher averages (2.2 ha/holding). These are some very small holdings with less than 0.1 ha. It is interesting to note, from the point of view of internal differentiation of the peasantry, that 4% have land holdings with more than 5 hectares (the national average in 1970 was 2,7 hectares). These holdings occupy 16% of the total area (national average 13,4%). This represents more than the total area occupied by holdings with less than 1 ha (12%).

The table below illustrates in more detail this description.

1.E.A.M., op.cit., 1965

Percentage of Cultivators and Land Holding by size of holding[1]

SIZE OF LAND HOLDING	% OF CULTIVATORS	% OF AREA OCCUPIED
<0.1 ha	0.2	
0.1 ha < 0.5 ha	11.8	12
0.5 ha < 1 ha	22.8	
1 ha < 2 ha	36.3	30
2 ha – 5 ha	24.3	42
>5 ha	4.0	16

We verified, using 14 samples of the agricultural enquiry of 1965, that there exists a positive correlation between the size of holding and ownership or hire of ploughs. However it is not possible to say which one of these factors causes the other.

The information relating to the system of land distribution is incomplete. In the colonial period the most common method was through inheritance. This provided the possibility for the development of a system of private property, but it did not lead to the buying and selling of land as a widespread practice.

In Canda there was a relative shortage of land due to the extensive cultivation of coconuts. These used almost all the available land, with the result that new-comers could not cultivate this principal product.

Ownership of land meant ownership of trees. Those without trees had to request the tree owners for the use of their land for subsistance production. This did not give them any right to the produce from the trees on that land.

In that region latifundia did not exist because the area had been considered a native reserve since 1911. In the 1950s an increase in agricultural co-operatives was initiated by the colonial authorities. Entrance to these co-operatives was restricted to those peasants who already possessed relatively large tracts of land (more than 3 ha). The members of the co-operatives were almost exclusively composed of the traditional colonial authorities - regulos (chiefs); cabos (their assistents) and their families. The majority of the peasants had small plots of land, with little or no access to coconut production, and often with insufficient production

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1. Recenseamento agricola de Moçambique, 1965.

production to satisfy the barest essentials of life.

During the transition period the 'machongo' and 'nhaca' which was previously occupied by settlers, became free. In some places (e.g. Homoine) this land was occupied spontaneously. In others (e.g. Cambine) its resdistribution was carried out under the guidance of the base level political organization (the Groupo Dinamizador).

The case of Muchava cell in Homoine, shows that the redistribution of the 'machongo' in the transitional period was unequal, so that it is the intention of the Grupo Dinamizador to redistribute this land again (see Table overleaf).

Distribution of 'nhaca' is made basically a function of the ownership or ability to hire ploughs (in that, as we have discussed earlier, the heaviness of the soil is such that it is impossible to cultivate without ploughs).

Agricultural Production

According to the agricultural censuses of 1965 and 1973, the major food crops are groundnuts, maize, beans and cassava. These constitute the basic diet of the local peasantry. Of secondary and subsidiary importance for subsistence requirements are rice, millet, sweet potatoes and sorghum.

It appears that cassava was introduced on a large scale only in the 1930 as a result of colonial policy. This was because in comparison with the existing food crops at that time, cassava requires a smaller labour input becquse of its easier conditions of cultivation, and furthermore requires less rain. Recently, the shortage of labour on the land and the lack of rainfall has tended to increase the land given over to the cultivation of cassava.

Over the recent period groundnut production has fallen considerably (for reasons explained below), which has led to the increased use of cashew in the local diet.

The map overleaf shows the distribution of the principal crops in the province.[1] From the agricultural statistics of 1970 four aspects are important:

1. Although the 'latifundia's' occupied 28% of the area cultivated, their contribution in terms of annual crops is extremely limited. This can be seen from the fact that the

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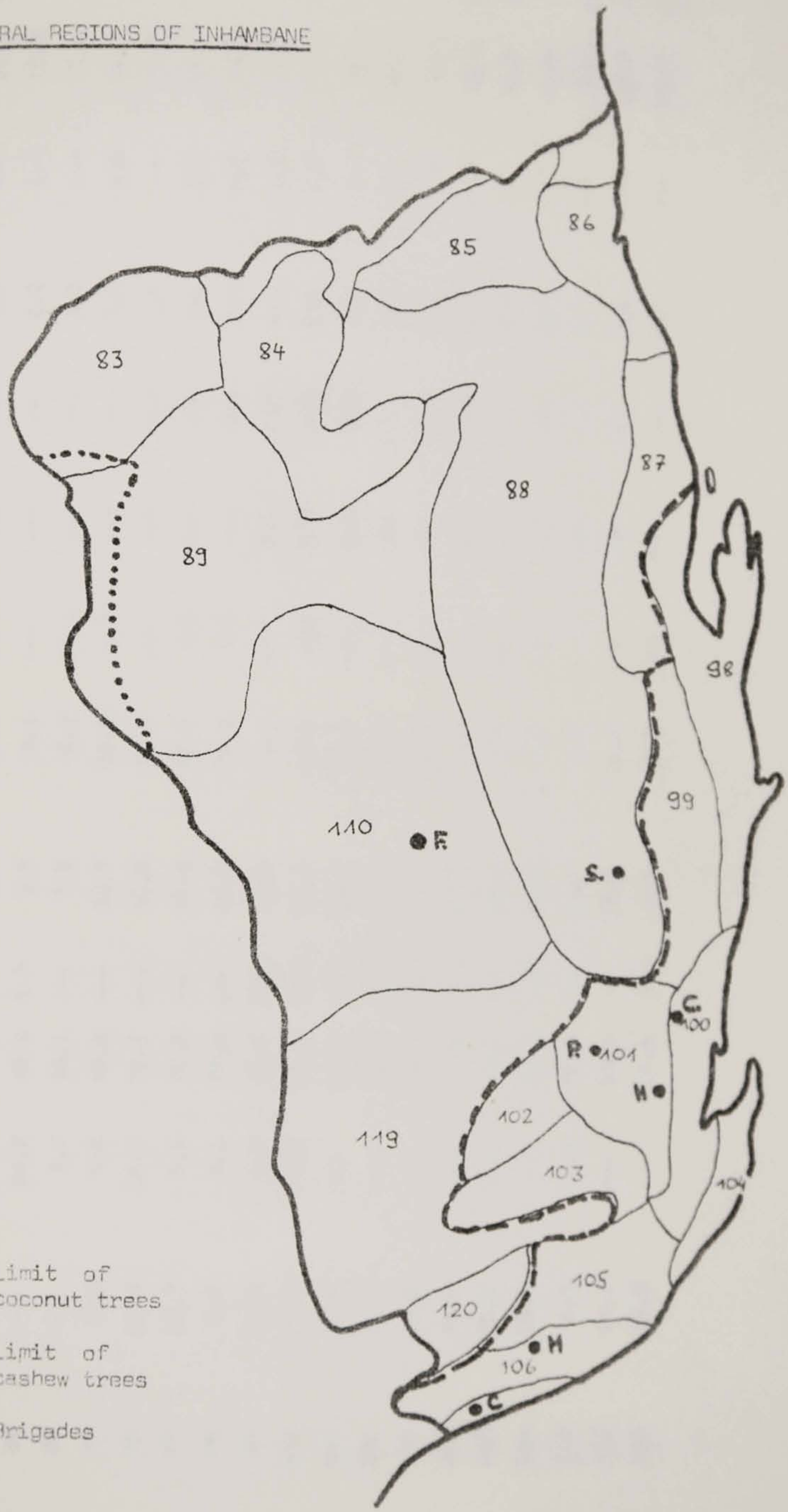
1. CARVALHO, Mário de, Agricultura tradicional de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, 1969, Appendice III.

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF INHAMBANE



Legend

- - - - Limit of coconut trees

..... Limit of cashew trees

● F. Brigades

No. of Region	Cassava %	Sorghum %	Maize %	Rice %	Groundnuts %	Beans %	Millet %	Sweet Potatoes %	Tobacco %	Average area (ha)	Cotton % of area cultivated	No. of trees per agricultural unit cashew	coconut
83	---	43.3	21.0	---	---	6.3	29.4	---	---	1.6	---	17.0	---
84	---	16.3	3.7	---	2.2	25.1	52.7	---	---	1.5	---	27.0	---
85	---	44.9	45.0	0.3	5.5	4.4	---	---	---	2.0	1.9	15.0	---
86	---	5.7	56.1	---	7.8	6.3	24.1	---	---	1.3	---	27.0	---
87	5.9	5.0	48.2	---	11.7	28.9	0.3	---	---	2.0	0.6	36.4	---
88	15.4	10.7	32.1	---	16.8	24.9	---	---	---	1.6	---	37.0	---
89	15.7	0.9	42.2	---	14.3	14.9	7.9	---	---	1.7	5.5	24.0	3.0
98	3.5	0.3	47.8	---	18.3	27.3	2.7	---	---	2.1	0.2	58.5	4.2
99	23.6	9.9	32.2	13.3	19.8	1.1	---	0.1	0.0	1.7	1.9	41.0	3.3
100	29.9	0.3	31.1	0.0	26.7	11.3	0.0	0.3	0.2	2.2	5.0	50.3	66.5
101	11.4	---	36.6	0.0	35.1	16.9	---	0.0	0.0	3.0	---	78.0	22.3
102	16.3	---	39.8	1.6	27.2	15.2	---	---		3.2	---	90.0	5.0
103	31.6	---	26.8	0.1	27.1	14.3	---	---	---	1.6	7.4	19.3	2.3
104	48.0	---	0.8	0.3	48.9	2.0	---	0.0	---	0.9	---	58.0	67.0
105	30.7	---	43.6	---	20.0	5.7	---	---	---	2.9	9.3	28.8	21.2
106	21.5	---	36.1	0.0	40.2	2.2	---	0.0	---	2.5	0.7	41.6	5.6
110	6.5	11.7	66.8	---	11.0	4.0	---	---	---	2.7	---	3.0	---
119	14.1	---	43.0	---	10.4	32.5	---	---	---	1.8	---	23.0	---
120	22.3	---	15.6	2.5	56.1	3.5	---	---	---	1.9	---	26.5	---

peasant sector produced 98% of maize, 99% of groundnuts, 100% of cassava, 99% of beans, 100% of millet, 94% of rice, 100% of sorghum as well as 96% of cotton. In actual fact, latifundia's specialised in coconut, sugar and meat production.

2. In the colonial period, the productivity of both the latifundia and peasant sectors was less than the national average.

For example, in the peasant sector, we have the following comparison

Products	National Average (metric tons/ha)	Inhambane (metric tons/ha)
Cotton	0.30	0.11
Groundnuts	0.22	0.11
Rice	0.91	0.43
Beans	0.35	0.10
Cassava	5.68	2.77
Millet	0.29	0.01
Maize	0.42	0.13

This low productivity could be for various reasons, poor or infertile soils, lack of water and lack of manpower. It is not possible to say which single factor is the most important.

The peasant sector is characterised by lack of modern technology, such as selected seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, etc.

It is interesting that Inhambane has low productivity even though it has a relatively high quantity of instruments of production compared with the national average.

3. In perennial cultivation, however, Inhambane is the leading province in production:

56.1 of coffee trees	(leading province)
21.7% of caju trees	(second leading province)
36.6% of coconut trees	(" " ")
51.7% of pineapples	(leading province)
56.5% of guavas	(" ")
34.0% of orange trees	(" ")
82.4% of tangerines	(" ")
65.0% of mafurra	(" ")

The introduction of trees (a permanent crop) reinforces the tendency for private ownership of land.

4. With the abolition of forced cultivation in 1962, there was a break in the pattern of land use, especially with respect to cotton. This can be seen from the following table.

Year	Production (metric tons)
1959	9,300
1960	11,700
1961	5,100
1962	3,000
1963	1,000
1964	1,500
1973	678

As a general observation, there have been gradual changes in the pattern of agricultural production leading to an increase over time of production of cash crops and a consequent decrease of production for home consumption. It also seems that crops which need larger quantities of labour time have been gradually abandoned. The reason for this appears to be that surplus labour for the mines was extracted from the peasant economy, thereby creating a relative shortage of manpower in agriculture. Such relative shortage seems to have been overcome through changing the pattern of cultivation in favour of labour saving crops.

Means of Production: Ploughs and cattle

The analysis of social differentiation of the peasantry shows that the utilisation of ploughs and cattle is concentrated within the middle peasants.

The great majority of ploughs and cattle in Mozambique are found in the southern provinces (see GRAPHS overleaf). One of the reasons for this may be that most of the area of the northern provinces is affected by tsetse fly. The only northern province with cattle is the coastal strip of Zambésia province. Another possible explanation is that this large concentration of cattle in the southern provinces could be the result of money entering from migrant labour in the South African mines.

The Homoine Brigade analysed, in some detail, the system of organisation and reproduction of cattle. Three ways of acquiring cattle exist. Cattle may be bought or they may be borrowed. When calves are born as a result of the loan, the first head goes to the owner of the cow, the next to the person to whom it was loaned. Occasionally cattle are also inherited.

In Homoine it was found that only 60% of the families who had cattle in 1965 still have them nine years later, in 1974. Thus 40% of families were not able to reproduce the cattle stock over time. Moreover, the major source for the reproduction of cattle stocks is from mine salaries. If these salaries are not available it will lead in the medium term to a lowering of cattle numbers.

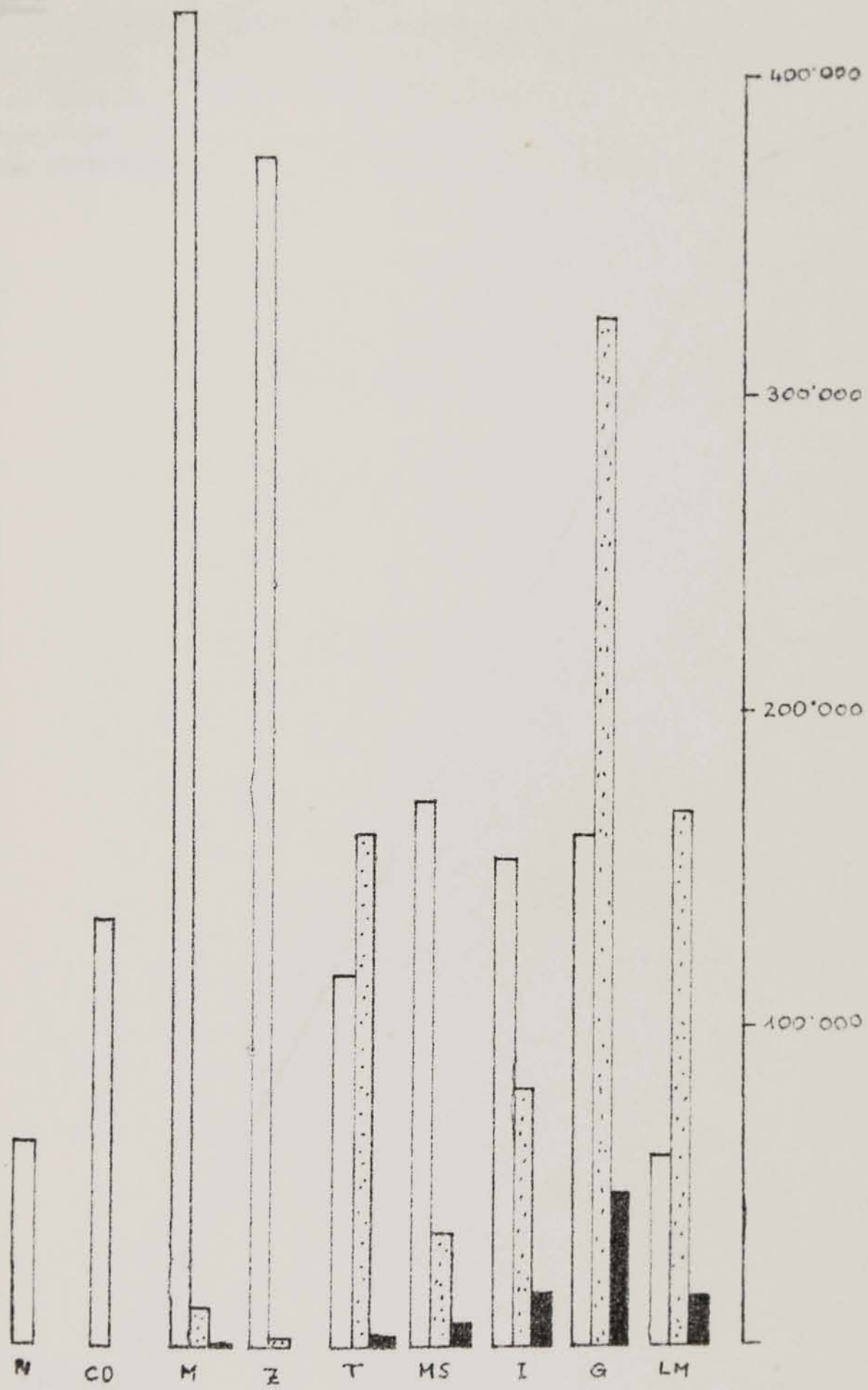
In Pembe, in 1975 and 1976, there was a large number of deaths of cattle because of drought. In Quissico, there are often cattle losses because of lack of chemicals for the anti-tick cattle dips. Many ploughs cannot be used, or are used with donkeys, because of the shortage of cattle. Cattle buying depends heavily on mine wages, it is therefore difficult to know how these shortages will be overcome in the next few years, given the reduced access to mine labour and the increase in the price of cattle.

The GRAPH overleaf shows the growth in number of ploughs and cattle, as well as in donkeys, pigs and goats, in the period 1944-1973. The Pembe, Quissico and Homoine brigades all suggest that plough acquisition, on a relatively large scale, began in the 1950s.

The following GRAPH, using 14 samples from the 1965 agricultural census, shows the relationship between ownership or hire of ploughs and area of land.

Plough use begins when land holding is only 0.5 - 0.99 ha usually through hiring, and increases with the amount of land held. Normally only people who own more than 5 hectares of land own ploughs.

GRAPH - Distribution of cattle and ploughs and no. of peasant families in each province (1970)



Legend

No. of peasant families
No. of cattle
No. of peasant families with ploughs

N - Niassa
CD - Cabo Delegado
M - Moçambique (Nampula)
Z - Zambezia
T - Tete
MS - Manhica and Sofala
I - Inhambane
G - Gaza
LM - Lourenço Marques

GRAPH - Numerical growth of ploughs and of cattle, pigs, goats, and donkeys, between 1944 and 1973.

Legend

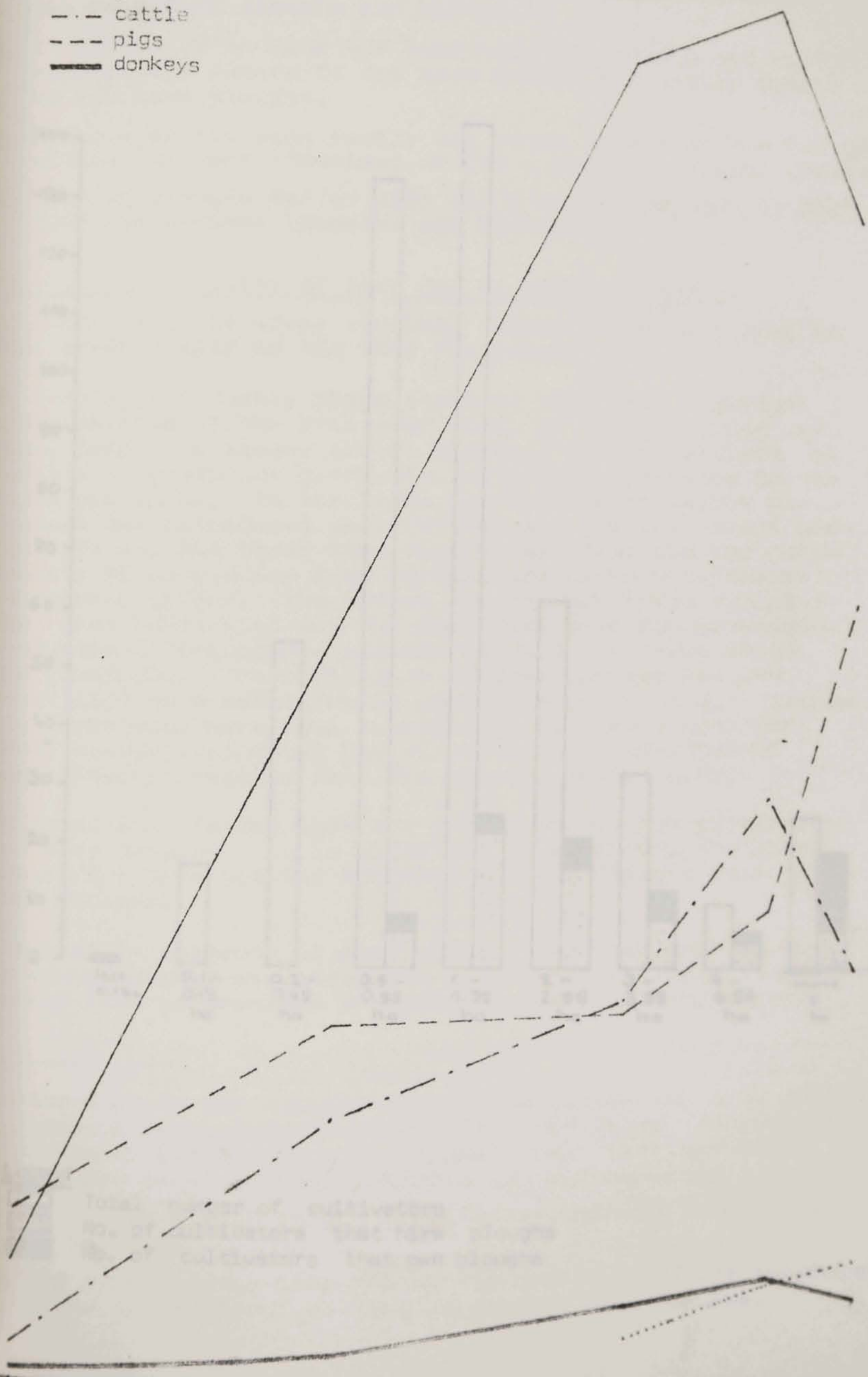
..... ploughs

—— goats

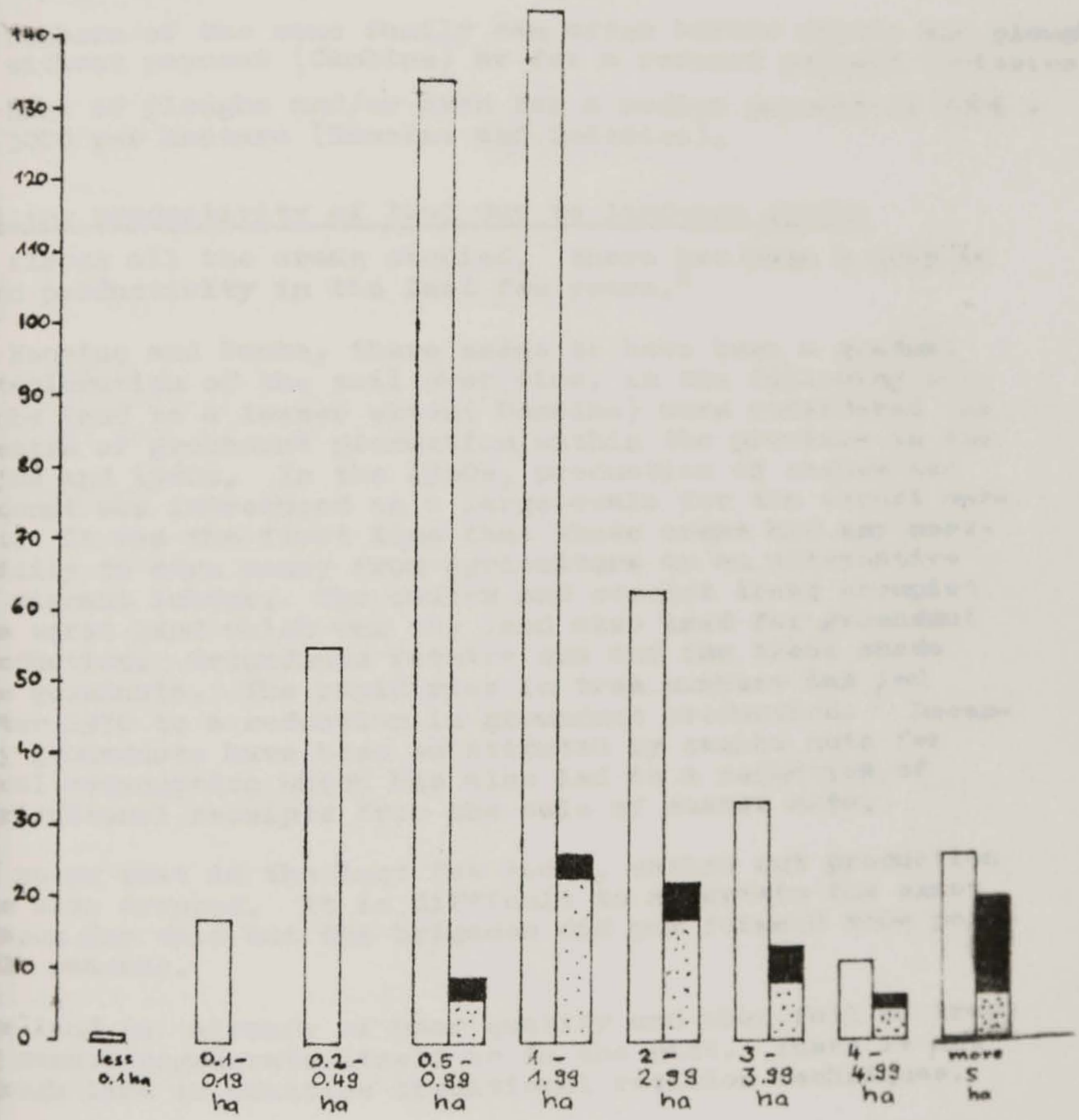
—·— cattle

– – – pigs

▬▬ donkeys



GRAPH - Distribution of ploughs by size of land holding (1965)



Legend

Total number of cultivators

No. of cultivators that hire ploughs

No. of cultivators that own ploughs

There are 4 types of social relationships between owners of ploughs and cattle, and the rest of the peasantry.

1. There is a form of mutual aid called 'tsima' between the owners of ploughs and cattle.[1]
2. A system of lending and borrowing of ploughs and cattle when plough owners do not have cattle and cattle owners do not have ploughs.
3. Members of the same family can often borrow cattle and ploughs without payment (Cambine) or for a reduced payment (Quissico).
4. Hire of ploughs and/or oxen for a medium payment of 200$ - 300$ per hectare (Homoine and Quissico).

Falling productivity of land due to land-use system

In almost all the areas studied, there has been a drop in land productivity in the last few years.[2]

In Homoine and Pembe, there seems to have been a gradual deterioration of the soil over time, in the following way. Pembe (and to a lesser extent Homoine) were considered the "centre of groundnut production, within the province in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s, production of cashew and coconut was introduced on a large-scale for the export market. It was the first time that these areas had any possibility to earn money from agriculture as an alternative to migrant labour. The cashew and coconut trees occupied the worst land which was the land also used for groundnut production. Groundnuts require sun and the trees shade the goundnuts. The rapid rise in tree numbers has led after 1970 to a reduction in groundnut production.[3] Recently groundnuts have been substituted by cashew nuts for local consumption which has also led to a reduction of agricultural receipts from the sale of cashew nuts.

It seems that in the last few years, cashew nut production has also dropped. It is difficult to ascertain the exact reason for this but the brigades did put forward some possible reasons.

The land is already of poor quality and when full of trees it cannot regenerate itself as in the past. There is not enough land to practice traditional rotation techniques.

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1. According to the Homoine report the plough and oxen owners formed a "work group" system after the Party reorganised the system of matsima in a more equal way. They now refuse to plough the land of other peasants without payment.
2. Leading to a rise in the price of groundnuts from 10$ to 30$ in 1977.
3. This part derives from a long discussion with the teachers of the Agricultural College in Inhamussua, Homoine.

In Pembe, at least, the cashew trees are planted very close together which leads to lower productivity when the trees grow large and need more space between them. In Pembe the traditional system of rotation is not widely practised, "people change their land from time to time". In Homoine rotation is still practised. Only those peasants with small holdings say they do not use rotation, but there are large differences in the ratio of cultivated to fallow land. The medium peasants on average use a ratio 1:1. Others use from 5:1 to 3:1.

There has recently been an increase in plant diseases (for example, roseta). It is possible that these diseases are related to the reduction of the fallow period in more recent years.

In Pembe, plough ownership increased after 1955 and this led to an increase in cultivated land and tree planting, thereby diminishing forests and pastures.

In summary it seems that the increase in market production has had an adverse effect on food crop production, cattle raising, and the fertility of the soil.

Conclusions

As migrant labour to South Africa decreases, the agricultural population of Inhambane will probably increase. There will be an increased number of producers dependent on market production, presumably with cashew and coconut trees predominating. This will lead to a greater pressure on the land, and in the absence of any other changes, to further deterioration of its fertility.

More research will have to be done on the possibility of introducing new crops and new methods of cultivation which would allow for production of both subsistence and cash crops without depleting the fertility of the soil.

However, regional specialisation within the province with respect to crop production will remain restricted by agriculture's heavy dependence on rainfall. Peasants will almost certainly never agree to change their pattern of crop production, if due to the vagaries of the weather, any new pattern threatens their livelihood.

Apart from this, there are severe problems of commercialisation of agricultural production at the moment which will need to be overcome. For example, the shopkeepers do not buy groundnuts at the moment because they say that the profit margin is too small to transport small quantities of groundnuts over large distances when the local population is substituting cashew nuts for groundnuts in the local diet.

Note:

Distribution of workers and average salary in manufacturing industry in Inhambane (1972).

	No. of Workers	Average salary /month
Food industries	761	737
Textiles	25	1,130
Wood and furniture	1,735	454
Paper	16	1,406
Electricity & water	51	2,107
Total +	2,588	

(+ The total for Mozambique equals 94,847 which implies a share of 2.7% for Inhambane province.)

The number of industrial establishments begun in three periods for Inhambane, compared with Maputo.

	Inhambane	Maputo
Before 1965	38	380
From 1965 - 1970	34	271
From 1970 - 1973	10	189
Total	82	840

THE PENETRATION OF THE MONEY ECONOMY

Our attempt to periodise the process of integration of the peasantry of Inhambane province into the money economy is not, as yet, the outcome of a systematic collection of information. Therefore, only major tendencies within the development of the money economy will be outlined, and even these remain hypotheses which need further study.

One thing, however, is certain : cash income has been an important factor in the life of the peasantry during the whole of this century. However, the period 1935-40 appears to have constituted an important turning point with regard to the penetration of money into the peasant economy in terms of both the form it took and its intensity. Therefore, as a first attempt at periodisation, we shall distinguish between the periods before and after this turning point. As regards to the former period, we shall only attempt to outline some general tendencies, while for the second period, a more detailed study will be made of its major developments in integration of the peasantry into the money economy.

First Period : until 1935/40

Already in the last century, money became introduced into the peasant economy; - at first until about 1870, through hunting and trading of ivory, and subsequently hunting for skins until 1880. As a result, certain commodities such as imported iron hoes and blankets were introduced within the society as "normal" family possessions. Moreover, and more importantly, men were already to a certain extent withdrawn from participation in subsistence production.[1]

Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, the penetration on a larger scale of Portuguese colonialism accelerated the peasant's dependence on money income. Four major mechanisms induced by or resulting from colonial policy can be distinguished:

1. The introduction of hut tax

With the consolidation of the colonial presence, the financial necessities of the colonial administration increased greatly; taxing the peasantry was an obvious source of income as can

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1. S. Young, "Changes in diet and production in Southern Moçambique, 1855-1960", Mimeo 1976.

be seen from the following table:

Budget of Inhambane District for 1913-14[1]

Total Receipts	1,072,550$00	100%
Source of Receipts:		
Hut tax	650,000$00	60.6%
Migration Tax (paid by miners)	200,000$00	18.6%

2. The occupation of the better land by settlers (above all the 'machongos' - the browner, fertile land), the evacuation of cattle in 1908 (result of East Coast fever) and the gradual restriction of access to hunting, considerably diminished the possibility of surviving only on the base of agriculture and hunting. This increased the need to obtain money outside agricultural activity.[2]

3. With the arrival of settlers around 1910 the search for cheap labour for use in the district began. This was achieved through the imposition of forced labour. To escape this, the family could either settle further inland, which meant accepting more difficult agricultural conditions, or, in the case of the men, go to the mines, which implied slightly better payment.

The labour force available for subsistence production was thus doubly diminished, firstly by the loss of those who went to the mines thus avoiding forced labour, and secondly, for a short period around 1920, by the practice of forcing women to participate in road building.

4. From about 1920 onwards, the bride-price was generally paid in money, which itself is a reflection of the degree to which money had entered the peasant economy. The chronic need for money on the part of the peasant led to a continuous rise in the bride-price as well as premature marrying of daughters, because of the precarious financial position of the family. Furthermore, in most cases, fathers no longer gave the bride-price obtained from the marriage of their daughters to their sons for their marriages, as was traditionally the custom. Thus, the young men were forced to become migrant labourers in order to earn the necessary money for payment of the bride-price. As such, the payment of the bride-price became a major factor in turning young men into migrant labourers. The Note entitled Lobolo - Bride-price gives the changing price and form of lobolo from 1916 to the present.

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1. Govenor's Report 1911-12, Inhambane District, Lourenço Marques, 1912, p.70.

2. S.J. Young, op.cit.

Given the virtual non-existence at that time of reasonably well paid work, these four mechanisms can be seen as a direct catalyst for movement of migrant labour to South African mines, as the only realistically accessible way to open to peasantry to obtain money. It is interesting to observe that initially the colonial authorities accepted tax payments in pounds. In fact, this foreign exchange constituted the principal currency in Moçambique in the first decades of this century. As the budget for 1913/14 shows, almost eighty per cent of Inhambane's colonial administrative expenses were paid with money from the mines, since the hut tax was also paid out of wages.

A short study published by the Lisbon Geographical Society[1] refering to the Homoine district described the following situation for 1924 : that out of a sum total of £22,000 earned by mining labour, £15,000 was surrendered through tax and the remaining £7,000 used for other expenses - mainly lobolo (brideprice). The same study indicates that the lobolo price at this time was fifteen times higher than the annual tax.[2]

The essential feature of this period was therefore that the penetration of money into the peasant economy did not take place through the introduction of cash-crop production, but simply that peasants were forced to sell their labour to South African mines. In other words, agriculture never supplied surplus which could be appropriated by the colonial state. This is not to say that the peasantry did not exchange part of their production for other consumer products, i.e. cloth, hoes, crockery, etc., but that the extent of production was insufficient and so limited exchange to certain products (rubber and wax till 1920-30; groundnuts, maize, beans and some cashew nuts later).

The introduction of lobolo to be paid in money and above all the "coming of age tax" (substituting the 'hut tax' levied on every adult of 18, introduced in 1920) had the effect of forcing nearly all the young men to labour in the mines. These conditions and the resulting necessity to do migrant work have given rise to various sayings in the area, such as: "Only a man who has been to the mine is a real (adult) man" ..... or ..... "a teenager has got to eat a lot to be able to work in South Africa". These sayings have clear economic roots.

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1. Joanquim Nunes, "Apontamientos para or estudo da questão da mão de obra do Distrito de Inhambane sob a influencia de emigração para o Transvaal com especial referência a Circumscrição Civil de Homoine". Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, série Nº 46 (1928), Nº 5-6, maio - junho, p.110-147.

2. The Annual tax was £1 and lobolo $15.

The period 1935 up to Independence

At the beginning of this period the colonial state apparatus managed to broaden and intensify its grip over the peasantries through the spreading and consolidation of its repressive administrative machinery. Through these channels, colonial policy became an active instrument in accelerating the penetration of the money economy. Whilst before, the peasantry was principally linked with the market economy through the selling of their labour power, in this period cash crop production was gradually established under the heavy handed policy of the colonial state.

a. The Period 1935-40 up to 1962-64.

Forced cultivation of crops, as well as more systematic enforcement of tax collection and forced labour, were the principal instruments of the colonial state to foster the further integration of the peasantry in the money economy.

The forced cultivation of cotton, and to a lesser extent of rice, constituted the principal instrument to turn the peasant producer into an agricultural petty commodity producer. As a result more labour time of the peasant family had to be spent on these crops, which given the level of technology, implied reduced production for own consumption. So, for example, under the system of forced cultivation of rice, the colonial policy prohibited consumption of the crop by the peasant family, and forced selling was imposed, which implied that often the peasant family had to buy part of its own food requirements. The system of forced cultivation and sale of cash crops was further compounded by the fact that prices offered for crops were set at the lowest possible level, thus allowing for the extraction of surplus through unequal exchange.

Furthermore, both tax collection and forced labour were more systematically enforced through the increased presence of the colonial state and its infrastructures.

The combined effect of this intensification of colonial oppression and exploitation of the peasantry led to a rise in migrant labour to the South African mines where conditions for obtaining cash income were at least marginally better.

At the end of the forties and beginning of the fifties, the introduction of cashew as a cash crop reinforced the monotisation process. Planting of cashew trees was done on the same soils as were used for subsistence production, thus limiting further subsistence crop cultivation. Cash income from the sale of cashew was used to buy necessary food items.

b. The period 1962-64 until 1974

The initiation of the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies as well as mounting international action against Portuguese colonialism, necessitated the colonial state to alter its policy. These conditions led to the abolition of forced labour and of obligatory cultivation of crops. To

counteract the fall in production resulting from the loss of directly coercive measures to enforced cash crop production, the colonial system had to adopt a policy of improved buying prices for crops as well as improved wage levels. Furthermore, in the latter half of the sixties, there was a significant development of credit facilities to traders through the banking system (see Note entitled Bank of Mozambique : Credit to Traders).

Commercialisation of crops increased over the period although a change in the pattern of crop production took place. On the one hand, coconut production was introduced and spread at a fast rate, and cashew production increased further over this period, while on the other hand, cotton production became much less popular. One reason for this was that the former crops did not require much labour time, while cotton is a very labour-intensive crop. Cashew and coconut also had the further advantage that in a period of rain shortage, they could be used for family consumption as well as for sale.

Migrant labour remained an integral and important part of the peasant's activity. Although it dropped in relative importance in comparison with the previous period, the wage increases at the mines starting from 1964/65 made it possible for the peasantry to improve somewhat their material standard of living. Cement floors began to appear in the houses, and even some brick houses were built. Access to consumer items such as tea, parafin, simple furniture and crockery, as well as more durable ones like radios, bicycles, etc., began to increase through income from mine labour. Furthermore, mine wages also constituted a source for buying ploughs and oxen, and in fact, our field research indicated that this was the principal source for buying these instruments of labour.

As a result of this greater cash inflow into the peasant economy, artisan production began to flourish. Builders, carpenters, tailors as well as traditional crafts such as mat-weaving began to commercialise their products, and for significant numbers of them, this constituted the principal source of income.

In many cases, such craft skills (especially carpentry and tailors) derived from experience gathered during the contracts on the mines and the necessary instruments were bought out of mine wages. Some of these craftsmen managed to earn sufficent income from their activities, and hence, did not need to continue working on the mines. However, the crucial point is that income from mine labour indirectly made possible the establishment of such petty commodity producers, since it supplied the funds on which the trades flourished.

In other words, crafts developed principally because the mine worker no longer engaged in activities such as construction of the family's dwelling, water pits, storage facilities, etc., which were traditionally the men's tasks because his wages allowed him to pay craftsmen for these and other services.

The Period After Independence

This period from the establishment of the transitional government up to now, was characterised by sudden changes which increased the peasantries dependence on income from mine labour.

Indeed, as for agricultural production, the lack and/or excess of rain led to a sharp drop in production of maize and groundnuts after 1975. This was furthermore compounded by the breakdown of the commercialisation and transport network due to the exodus of settlers who controlled both wholesale and retail trade. Credit facilities as well were considerably reduced, which added to the overall impact (see Note entitled Bank of Mozambique - Credit to Traders). Finally, cashew and coconuts were increasingly used for family consumtion, which reduced the marketable surplus and combined with government imposed buying and selling prices (to protect the peasant against exploitation by the traders), traders no longer found it profitable to market reduced quantities with higher transportation costs.

The rise in wages on the mines following the strikes of 1973, led to an increased recruitment to the mines. Especially in 1975 (when Malawi withdrew its labour from South African mines) many peasants went to work on the mines. Thus, income from migrant labour increased considerably both in absolute terms and as a percentage of family income. Building of houses, cisterns, etc., as well as buying of cattle and ploughs flourished during the initial years.

The abrupt reduction in recruitment due to the changed policy of the Chamber of Mines as from 1976, combined with the crises in agricultural production, caused a heavy drop in the standard of living of the peasantry. This can be seen, for example, from the statement of a trader in Sitila who in 1975 used to have a turnover per day of 15,000$00, whereas at present it has dropped to 4,000$00 only. Whereas in 1975 this trader sold mainly ploughs, mills, water cisterns, blankets and cement as well as food products, presently sales are almost exclusively food products.

The Conclusions section of this Report discusses the possible consequences of further drops in migrant labour as well as discussing possibilities for amelioration of these problems.

year	Version 1[1]		Version 2[2]		Version 3[3]
1930	500 - 800$00 max. 1.000$00	1930	1,500-1,200$00 besides a cloth and tunic for the mother-in-law	1916	± 1,000$00 in gold
				1934/35	1,600$00 without any thing else (he paid this to his wife)
1940	1,500-2,000$00 depending on the man's family	1940-1950	± 2,500$00	1950	± 2,000$00
1950-1960	began to rise 3,000-4,000$00 depending on the district	1964	increased greatly 3,500/4,000 - 8,000$00 "everyone doing what they want"	1968	± 3,000 - 6,000$00
At present	7,000-8,000$00 plus clothes for the mother inclaw, cloth & cotton, iron cooking pots, for mother, varying greatly from person to person - also depending on years of schooling of the daughter.	1974/75	No fixed price 5,000-6,000$00 but sometimes a cow, clothes for mother, father of daughter, sack of rice, maize, etc., "many things"	1974-77	Vary variable 2,000 - 6,000$00 "to gratify" plus clothes for mother- and father-in-law, and daughter, and paying for feast celebration

1. J.J.
2. Venâcio
3. Jacinto

According to the Homoine and Pembe reports, bride-price being paid in money began as from about 1915

Note - **Bank of Mozambique** : Credits to traders in 1000$00 (1) and in numbers (2) according to Sectoral Activity (second Part)

	1968		1970		1972		1974		1975		1976		1977 *	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
General trading	1,360	16	5,942	41	3,456	29	5,365	44	1,955	12	790	4	1,880	48
Agriculture					90	2	145	2						
Copra	400	1			1,900	6	6,885	17	1,800	10	215	3	300	3
Cashew	1,410	10	2,920	12	9,015	34	12,771	63	5,025	24	1,375	5	1,750	11
Groundnut	135	3	210	4	706	8	1,156	8	1,106	6	1,110	8		
Rice	200	1											110	1
Maize	50	1	980	17	1,995	23	1,110	6			150	1		
Beans					245	6	100	1						
Mafurra					35	1	300	1						
Mussels					35	1								
Livestock	50	1	240	2	1,017.5	4	825	6						
Fishing							500	3	150	1				
Forrestry	500	1			500	1			3,790	4	14,850	19	4,388	6
Transporte	2,000	1							87.5	2				
Others					779.7	7	380	5	63	2	100	1	285	4
Total	6,080	35	10,192	76	19,864.2	122	34,511	155	13,975.5	61	18,590	42	8,103	36

* until 28:7:77

Others signifies: Hardware, Building, Hotel Industry, Agua Dente Industry, Social Services, Carpentry, Milling, Glass

..... more than 25% of the total

::::::: more than 50% of the total

Note :

Bank of Mozambique

Credit to traders for buying of cashew nuts

District	1973/4	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7
Gavuro	10,000			
Homoíne	4,700,00	1,100,000	150,000	350,000
Inhambane	300,000	75,000		
Inharrime	200,000	230,000	200,000	100,000
Massinga	2,725,000	400,000	250,000	
Maxixe	16,859,000	2,190,000	975,000	200,000
Morrumbene	1,125,000	100,000	150,000	
Panda	685,000	300,000	300,000	100,000
Vilanculos	600,000	200,000		
Total	27,294,000	4,595,000	2,025,000	750,000

Note - BANK OF MOZAMBIQUE : Credit to traders in 1000$00 (1) and in numbers (2) according to district or locality.

	1968		1970		1972		1974		1975		1976		1977 *	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Massinga	740	7	1,220	12	1,250	10	1,625	10	1,200	6				
Maxixe	4,575	18	7,292	51	14,750.7	75	22,566	79	9,975.5	30	17.340	36	7,333	30
Homoine	125	2	675	5	1,750	13	5,045	32	750	6	400	1	450	3
Panda	150	2	705	5	595	8	1,135	6	30	1	300	1	100	1
Inharrime	30	1	100	1	100	1	330	5	330	3	200	1	100	1
Morrumbene	300	2	300	2	517.5	5	1,905	13	500	4	350	3	120	1
Zavala	50	1												
Iangamo	110	2					225	3	50	1				
Vilanculos					550	4	450	3	200	1				
Mambone					260	6	550	3	940	1				
Mavanza							700	1						
Total	6,080	35	10,192	76	19,864.2	112	34,511	155	13,975.5	61	18,590	42	8,103	36

* up to 28.7.77

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The purpose of our investigation of the peasant base was to examine the influence of migrant labour on the peasant economy. It is clear that not all peasant households rely on and are affected by mine wages in the same way. But in order to discover the differential effects on different households, it was first necessary to examine the social structure of the Inhambane countryside. Two of the Brigade reports we present - (for Pembe, Homoine; and for Maimela, Morrumbene) - produce findings that show that different strata of peasants are differently involved in wage labour. But in order to look at these differential involvements, we had first to produce a scheme for the study of the social differentiation within the countryside.

Within the Province of Inhambane there are at least three different systems of land use which lead to different relations on the land. They are as follows:

Areas of former colonised agriculture and labour tenancy: the former latifundia. (Maimela and Buvane in Cambine)

Areas of relatively open land frontier but relatively severe water shortage. (Pembe; Sitila and other areas in Morrembene)

Coastal strips where tree proprietorship places limitations on the use of land. (Quissico-Canda; areas along the Massinga coastal strip)

Many areas do not fall sharply into any one of these three types, but are combination types (such as Homoine).

The settler-owned latifundia operated on the base of a complex system of exploitation. It can neither be described as purely capitalist exploitation nor was it simply a feudal type system. Rather it represented a complex intermingling of elements of both, determined by the productive forces available and the relative backwardness of these. The essential system, with various variations on the theme, sprang from the appropriation of the better land, part of which was turned into plantations and part of which was reserved for peasant tenancy. The labour force for the plantations was obtained only in part (and usually a minor part) through wage labour, and the major component sprang from forced labour-rent from the peasant tenant of latifundia land. Furthermore, the peasant-tenant was forced to pay a rent in kind (or in some cases in money) of part of the produce he obtained from his plot on latifundia land. Thus this system combined elements of feudal and capitalised form of exploitation designed to give all the latifundiario the maximum return possible with the state of productive forces available.

In the other two types of areas there were no landlords as such, and no large estates. Land distribution was ostensibly controlled by the 'traditional' system of inheritance and land allocation, but this had been penetrated by the colonial imposition of the cabo de terra (land-chiefs) who could use their powers of land distribution for political and social purposes. In the areas of relatively open land frontiers land acquisition also took the form of opening up new land through clearing the bush. In these cases the ownership of instruments of production and the size of the work-force in the family obviously were important determinants of land acquisition. In the coastal areas, where coconut trees provided the principal source of income, opportunities were much more restricted to obtain land in this way. Here, inheritance and the politics of "regulos" and "cabos de terra" played a much more dominant role in acquisition of trees. Also, in this case, the private ownership of trees meant that they would be bought from the owners. People with trees could cultivate the land of other owners (paying rent in kind), but had no access to the produce of the trees.

Unlike the Chinese countryside then, the essence of the revolution among the peasantry was not a struggle against feudal landlords. Correspondingly a class analysis of the Inhambane countryside will not produce, especially since the break-up of the latifundia, large landlords to whom the peasants were subjugated and to whom they were also in monetary debt. Some residual features of the latifundia system remain, but not many. (See in the report on Maimela the fact that ~~even~~ after the GD re-distribution of the land, the two richest peasants are members of the family of the latifundario.)

But if there is not exploitation in the classic feudal or capitalist sense, there are differences between the peasants which much be located. These are the differences one would expect within a peasant economy where essentially the peasant household's production is based on petty commodity production. That is, the family is not separated from the land, its means of production, and the unit of the peasant household is the unit of production and of consumption. But since the peasant economy has been drawn, by colonialism and by capitalism, into the national and the international market, and has been penetrated by the money economy, certain significant differences have arisen within that society.

We located the following strata within the rural society of Inhambane:

1. Rich peasants.
   The essential characteristic of this group is that they use hired labour, though this is on an extremely limited and sometimes on a part-time basis. This is a tiny group and we located only two such peasants within out sample of peasant households.

2. Middle Peasants.
Our working definition of the Middle or Medium Peasant Household consisted of the following:

i. Ownership and use of the instruments of production, especially ploughs and oxen and often mills.

ii. A relatively sound agricultural base with production for the market, to varying degrees, as well as for home consumption.

iii. A relatively larger family household, i.e. household labour force.

iv. Relatively larger land holdings.

v. The ownership of relatively large numbers of trees i.e. permanent crops.

vi. Sources of income from off-farm activity i.e. crafts and skills (See the material on Petty Commodity Craftsmen.

3. Poor peasants on the other hand, occassionally but not generaly owned instruments of production, but had essentially an unreliable and unstable agricultural production base. Accordingly they produced little for the market and often too little to feed themselves. They, too, had sources of income from crafts, but they appeared to practice the simpler and less profitable crafts and to earn relatively little from them. They worked less land, and often inferior land; they owned fewer trees; they had smaller household labour forces.

4. Agricultural labourers.
These are extremely few, but could grow in number as the sources of wage labour from mine work are reduced. In most instances the agricultural workers were part-time workers, that is, they could not produce enough on their own land and tried to work on the land of others for part of the year. This group is clearly drawn from the Poor Peasants.

5. Petty commodity producers.
Since many peasants households rely on crafts for sources of extra income, we classed as Craftsmen or Artisans only those whose major source of income came from such petty commodity production.

6. Shopkeepers, traders and Transporters
In other words, an incipient commercial petit-bourgeosie, though in the majority of instances this is an unstable class. For instance, some of the transporters are providing indispensible transport services in their areas but they are operating without licences.

Using this working definition of Middle and Poor Peasants, the Peasant Households we interviewed were classified as follows. It will be clear that the division according to the above criteria is maintained between the two strata:

	MORRUMBENE						ZAVALA				HOMOINE								PEMBE			
	BUVANE		MAIMELA		SITILA		MINDU		CANDA		MUCHAVA		MEU		ZACANHE		COMO		VAVATE		SEFANE	
	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor	Med.	Poor
No. of Questionnaires	(10)	12	10	13	13	12	4	63	10	24	10	25	17	8	15	7	11	11	5	12	11	10
% with ploughs	50	8	60	15	58	8	50	11	60	0	60	0	52	0	73	0	100	9	80	6	54	10
% with mills	20	0	40	8	31	0	0	4	20	0	40	3	18	0	40	14	66	18	40	8	9	0
No. of cashew trees	277	143	290	90	150	35	90	70	420	180	250	64	190	61	500	100	2500	200	250	100	300	110
No. of coconut trees	133	27	270	55	not sig.		44	13	290	18	330	36	252	33	.....		not significant.....					
Average work force	4,5	2,5	5,4	2,5	4,0	2,8	3,6	2,0	4,8	3,4	3,1	2,2	3,6	2,0	4,9	2,0	6,9	2,8	4,5	1,8	4	2,3
Ave. land holding	N / A		N / A		N / A		N / A		N / A		8,6	1,4	6,5	2,5	4	5	12	4,5	12,0	6,0	8,6	6,6
No. of miners away	N / A		1	4	6	4	1	7	3	6	0	9	0	7	N / A		N / A		1	1	3	3
Other wage work (no. away)	0	3	4	4	N / A		6	2	0	1	0	2	5	0	N / A		3	1	1	0	1	2

In many instances the divide between the Middle and the Poor Peasants, who together constitute the huge majority, is shaky. Some Middle peasants, as they grow old and less able to work, sink into the Poor Peasant group. In the Poor Peasant group thus are to be found old peasants, but also young families at the beginning of their productive life. (See the Maimela Report). Within the Poor Peasant group are also widows and women living alone; and the disabled and the physically sick. In determining the dividing line between middle and poor peasants, the relative importance of the factors mentioned will be different according to the system of land use. The means of production necessary for the principal cash crop of the area obviously carry most weight in drawing the boundary. So, for example, in the coastal strip a coconut tree ownership plays a more important role, while in areas with relatively open land frontier the ownership of oxen and plough as well as family size may be more determining. Furthermore, in previously colonised areas, the system of land re-distribution and the criteria used for this will to a large extent determine its outcome. But, as can be seen from the table above, middle peasants are generally better endowed on all counts than the poorer ones.

From our field research, it appears as if there exist relatively clear correlations between these groupings of peasants and their reliance on mine labour. The table below shows for the areas investigated (apart from Sitila for which the data did not allow us to make the correlation), the average number of contracts, the average age of the worker-peasant and the sample size for middle and poor peasants. The average age is listed because the average number of contracts would obviously depend on the age of the worker-peasant.

AREA	MIDDLE PEASANT			POOR PEASANT		
	Average No. of Contracts	Average Age	Sample Size	Average No. of Contracts	Average Age	Sample Size
ZACANHE	4.8	49	14	20.6	59	3
MUCHAVA	6.5	49	9	13.2	52	19
MEU	5.7	53	12	5.2	42	13
SEFANE	6.7	55	9	10.3	63	6
VAVATE	4.8	56	5	8.6	60	8
COMO	6.2	57	8	8.2	43	6
BUVANE	7.6	46	8	11.2	47	10
MAIMELA	10	55	9	10	45	10
MINDU	2.7	29	4	7.7	46	49
CANDA	2.4	62	5	8	46	19

As we can see from the table, on the whole middle peasants tend to work a lesser number of contracts than poorer peasants from the same area. The middle peasant thus appears to be less reliant on migrant labour in financing recurring consumer expenditures of the family, and tends rather to use income from mine labour for the acquisition of instruments of labour so as to render his base in agriculture and crafts more independent. The poor peasant, due to misfortune in the family (such as illness), less access to land, etc, remains compelled to return to the mines to supplement his subsistence means.

Obviously, such division does not manifest itself in any absolutely clear-cut manner. But we would argue, tentatively, that at the one end of the scale, the reasonably well-established middle peasant is a farmer who due to his better access to land (resulting from his better relation to colonial-traditional activities or greater family size) or due to the fact that he was in a better paid position on the mines, manages to establish himself with sufficient instruments of production for either craft or agricultural activities, or more commonly both. At the other end of the scale is the poor peasant who either through illness or incapability could not go to the mines (these men are not included in the table), or those whose income from mine labour was consistently needed for maintaining the necessary consumption of the family, and this over and over again reproduced the need to return to the mines.

Petty commodity Production and Commerce in the Countryside

Of the 372 families interviewed in depth, at least 110 had some form of petty commodity production or commercial activity based on their house. We say 'at least' 110 families because it is clear that some families were not willing to tell us of their activities. For example, those making alcoholic drinks for sale, those engaged as small shopkeepers, those who were involved in the buying of donkeys in Rhodesia for sale in the province, those who are traditional healers almost always did not directly tell us of their activities. That information came from others in the district. But it is clear that one in three of the families interviewed are dependent to some extent on a third source of income, after agriculture and minework or other salaried work.

The Table below gives a breakdown of the major kinds of activity:

PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Old Peasants over 50 : more than 6 mine contracts; small p.c. production	Old Peasants with less than 6 mine contracts	Mine work plus p.c. production Tailors	P.C. production as principal income: Bricklayers, Carpenters
44	5	15	20

Small artisans and agriculture	Women : small p.c. production mat-making etc.	Agriculture and small trade	Transporters	Agriculture plus Transport, plus shopkeeping
6	6	4	8	2

One large group consists of peasants who are older (the family head is over 50) who engage in small artisan activity in order to survive. 49 such families were interviewed (the first two groups). Interestingly only five of these families had heads with less than 6 mine contracts. It thus appears to be an alternative, to mine work, though a much less remunerative one in old age. The vast majority of these families were engaged in mat-making, wood-carving (spoons, bowls, etc.) and basket-making. This group has cheap instruments of production.

One other group (15 families) is headed by younger men who engage in petty commodity production when they are at home from the mines. This activity in the large majority of cases consists of tailoring, and depends on a sewing machine,

always bought with mine wages. The proceeds are rather small.

A relatively small group (6 families) is engaged mainly in agricultural production (with surplus for sale), but has artisanal activities in addition - usually tailoring with sewing machines from South Africa, or in two cases, fishing with nets bought from mine wages.

Only six families appear to have women engaged in petty commodity activity, (dressmaking, matmaking and cake-baking) but it is clear that many women are engaged in making drinks (alcoholic or not) and in the selling of cakes and food production. At every meeting in the cells a group of women appeared to be selling their own goods. Our interviews did not bring out this activity.

All these families are engaged in small activities which bring in small sums of money. Very few earn more than 1 or 2 contos a year from these activities, and some earn much less.

The other families (34 in all) have more lucrative activities. 20 of these are considered to have their occupation principally in petty commodity production (most are carpenters, bricklayers or builders of concrete houses, and traditional healers). Most of these have worked fewer than 3 contracts. Many of these also have a considerable agricultural base and produce for the market, usually using ploughs, mills and having a large extended family.

The other 14 families are engaged in commercial activity. 4 are small traders taking advantage of the fact that the registered shop is often up to 30 km from the peasant family's home. 8 own jeeps or tractors and are engaged in transport activities of people and goods. Most have bought their tractors since Independence with money earned in South Africa and from agriculture. 2 other families are engaged in both these activities. The great majority of these families also have good agricultural production.

In summary, one large group of poor families have spent many years in the mines and have to make small goods for sale to buy the basic necessities of life - the most extreme case is the one old man who has to pay people to bring him water - others combine mine work with tailoring, though on a small scale; another group earns relatively large sums of money (relative to the earnings in the Inhambane countryside) but also have important agricultural activities. The original investment in cars and instruments of production is often with mine wages and also with money from agriculture. Those with really important investments have made them recently and cannot be said to have established themselves as <u>commerciantes</u> after only 2 or 3 years.

THE EXTENT OF LABOUR EXPORT

Pembe, Homoine (+)

The area of Pembe is considered to be an area of high labour migration. Its soil is poor, it is situated on the margin of the litoral, and rainfall is not regular.

The Brigade that worked in Pembe made an attempt to confirm the extent of migration. No accurate and complete data of migration is available and information had to be pieced together from various sources. The results give only an approximate view of the extent and importance of labour migration in the area.

The History of Migration

The Brigade completed 22 Miners' Questionnaires. Of the miners interviewed all had fathers who had worked on the mines. Of these, ten were over 55 years old and three were over 75 years old, including one who was working his third contract at the beginning of World War I and whose father had worked in the South African diamond mines.

Percentage migration from Pembe Circle

The Brigade obtained incomplete recruitment data for the period 1954-1960 from WINELA, and incomplete population data for the period 1960-1975 from the Homoine administration. We accordingly estimated the percentage migration for 1958-1960 by using 1960 or other population date interpolated to 1960. The figures for mine recruitment include men enlisted at the central recruitment station but also at five of the twelve sub-stations. An estimated 25 per cent of labour recruitment comes from the other seven sub-stations. We estimated the labour recruitment figures to be as follows:

1958	800
1959	800
1960	600

The population in Pembe in 1960 was between 10,000 and 12,000 and included between 2,500 and 3,000 men over the age of 18. The percentage migration from this male population can thus be estimated at

1958	27 to 32 per cent
1959	27 to 32 per cent
1960	20 to 24 per cent

These should be regarded as minimum figures since some men would certainly have gone to Homoine to be recruited and this would not be registered on the Pembe statistics. Compared with the migration figure for Homoine as a whole, which was 14 per cent in 1960, this shows that Pembe was one of the regions of Homoine with the largest labour export.

(+) An extract from the report of the Brigade stationed at Pembe.

Migration differences in agriculturally rich and poor cells of Pembe.

The census data for 1975 is unreliable but it does include not only population figures but also a figure for the heads of families absent in South Africa at the time of the count. Since only heads of families were registered as absent, the migration figures are the lowest possible, but they do help us to obtain an idea of the extent of migrant labour over the cells of the circle. The figures are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Men (Heads of Families) absent in South Africa. 1975 by Cabados

Cabado	Men Absent	Men Total 18 years	%	Agriculture
Como	68	429	15.8	Rich
Chirrengeti	23	120	19.2	Medium
Catine 1	23	204	11.3	Rich
Catine 2	21	146	14.6	Rich
Dole	18	189	9.5	Medium
P.R.de Pembe Quemanhane	42	337	12.5	Medium
P.R.de Pembe Zacanha	66	378	17.5	Rich
Benhane 1	29	210	13.8	Rich
Benhane 2	27	272	13.4	Rich
Benhane 3	44	199	22.1	Rich
Malate	29	212	13.7	Rich
Binguane	17	200	8.5	Poor
Sefane	21	131	16.2	Poor
Dorote	13	118	11.0	Poor
Dindane	10	95	10.5	Poor
Vavate	21	172	12.2	Poor
Vuca	13	115	11.3	Poor
Total	485	3596	13.5	

The cells were divided into poor, medium and rich according to the quality of the soil and conditions for agriculture. It appears that the richest cells furnish on average more migrant labour as follows:

Cells	rich	15.9 per cent
	medium	12.7 per cent
	poor	11.7 per cent

But there are variations within these groups of cells. In the poor cells, for example, as in the case of Sefane, there is as high a rate of absence of men as the average for the cells with higher scores.

From random surveys conducted at political meetings we obtained further information. In the three cells of Como, Zacanhe and Sefane

* See the note in the Introduction on administrative and political divisions.

the average number of contracts worked by miners was 6.02, and the median length of stay on each contract was 17 months, giving a total length of work time in the mines as 102 months, or 8 and a half years. In the cell of Zacanhe the average number of contracts was less, but the average stay was longer, giving a total work time in the mines almost equal to the other cells, one of which was considered very poor and two of which were considered richer. Such data was not corrected for age and another measure which we have called INDEX I, and which is explained earlier in the chapter on the Mine Labour Force, was used to partially correct this omission. The averages obtained for Index I were as follows:

Como	0.43
Zacanhe	0.38
Sefane	0.30

These figures show a wide variation, with Sefane, the poorest cell having a much lower index, this signifying a lower average of working life spent in the mines.

Social differentiation among Migrant Workers

It thus appears that the poorest cells in Pembe have a lower migration incidence to the mines. In order to check if this signifies that poorer families work fewer mine contracts a calculation was made of the number of contracts worked by poor and middle peasants. (See the Project's working definition in the chapter on the Peasant Base). The results were as follows:

Middle Peasants

Cell	Av. no. contracts	Total yrs. on mines	Age
Como	6.3	9.1	57
Zacanhe	7.6	8.9	46
Sefane	6.7	9.5	55
Tavate	4.8	5.5	56
Average	6.5	8.2	53

Poor Peasants

Cell	Av. no. contracts	Total yrs. on mines	Age
Como	8.2	11.2	43
Zacanhe	11.2	14.2	47
Sefane	10.3	12.7	63
Tavate	8.6	10.6	60
Average	9.7	12.2	53

This calculation shows a clear tendency in all cells for poorer peasants not only to work more mine contracts, but also longer contracts. (The averages in this table are higher than those given on the previous page because all men physically unfit for wage work have been excluded.)

Working Life and Spread of Contracts.

It was said in the circle and in the Province that there are two sorts of mineworkers. The first is the peasant miner who works a few contracts, buys his domestic goods and agricultural instruments and then does not return to work mine contracts except in crisis circumstances. The second is the man who goes to the mines many times throughout his lifetime. We have already shown for cells in Pembe that the poor peasants have on average more contracts and spend more time on the mines than the middle peasant. We can also show that for one out of three of these cells (the poorest, that is) fewer men return from the mines before the age of 35. In Sefane only one-third of the men return from their last contracts before this age as opposed to about one half in the richer cells of Como and Zacanhe, even when these figures are corrected for the fact that non-bonus holders cannot return now even if they want to.

Percentage of miners returned from their last contract before age 35

	Como	Zacanhe	Sefane
All Questionnaires	71	47	33
Men that returned before 1973*	47	50	36

Tables 2 and 3 also give some idea of the spread of contracts.

Table 2 is a histogram of INDEX I (the percentage of working life spent in the mines) and shows that the great majority of men work up to half their lives in the mines and only a small proportion work for periods longer than that. Table 3 shows the percentage of time spent in South Africa between the first and last contracts and shows that as the number of contracts goes up, the time spent at home goes down. The vast majority of those who work seven or more contracts spend more than half their working lives in South Africa.

Quantity of migration at the present time (July - August 1977)

An estimate was made of the number of men absent at the time of the Brigade investigation. This was done by asking women who attended mass meetings if their husbands were away in the mines. In all 42 out of 320 women said that their husbands were then in South Africa. Thus about 13 per cent of family heads with wives were absent at the time. This total does not, of course, include all absent miners, since some miners are not married. In our enquiries at WENELA depots the percentage of unmarried miners was only 8.9.

Taking this into account would mean that 46 men of more than 18 years of age were away from their homes in Pembe. This is a considerable number, which shows the dependence of Pembe peasant

* That is, men who almost certainly would not have returned to the mines even if they could.

TABLE 2

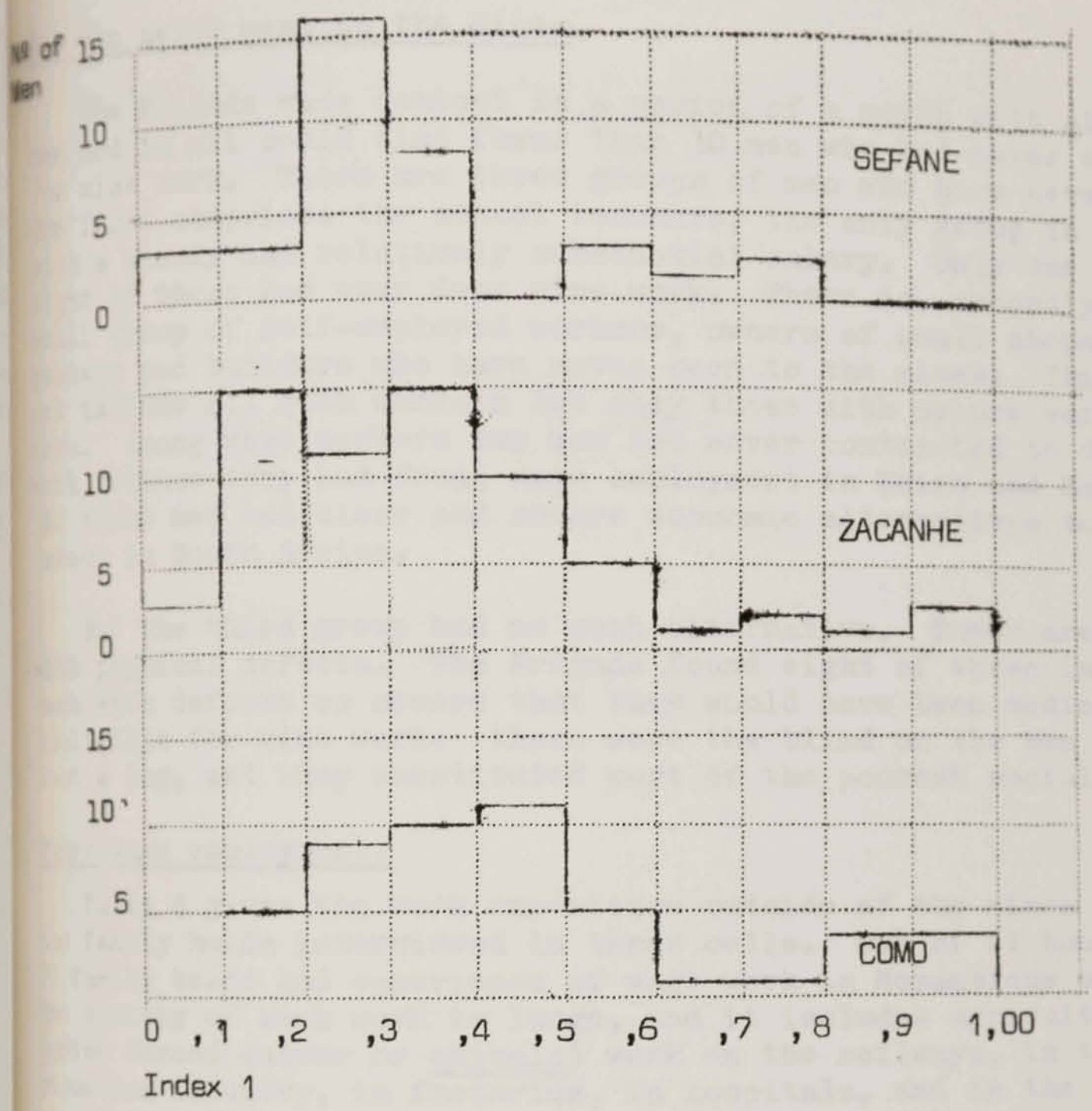

TABLE 3: Spread of contracts in Pembe (4 cells)

No. of Contracts	Percentage of time between the first and last contract spent in the mines				
	More than 75%	67-74%	50-66%	33-49%	0-32%
3 - 4	6	5	11	5	8
5 - 6	7	3	8	9	6
7 - 8	2	1	6	5	
9 -10	3	0	2	2	
11 -15	4	0	3	2	
> 16	4				

households on mine labour, especially at a time of reduced opportunity for mine work.

Men who never went to the Mines.

The Brigade made contact in a period of a month with about 500 men and in all could find fewer than 30 men who had never contracted for mine work. There are three groups of men who have never been. The first comprises the school teachers, the only group in the area with a steady and relatively substantial salary. Only one out of eight of these had ever done mine work. There is, secondly, also a small group of self-employed workers, owners of small shops, carpenters and builders who have never been to the mines. This does not include all such workers but only those with secure work in the area. Among wage workers two men had never contracted to do mine work because they had found wage employment in Beira and Maputo. All these men had clear and secure economic alternatives to migrant labour in South Africa.

But the third group had no such alternative. These are the men with physical defects. The Brigade found eight of these in Pembe, each with defects so severe that they would have been medically ineligible for mine work: those were the blind or the men who had lost a leg, and they constituted part of the poorest social stratum.

Other wage employment.

Table 4 gives the work experience outside of the mines for all the family heads interviewed in three cells. Out of 61 households, 27 family heads had experience of wage work in Mozambique or outside. The variety of such work is large, and it includes agricultural work (often forced labour or chibalo) work on the railways, in the construction industry, in factories, in hospitals, and in the Portuguese army during the colonial period. Although the scale of this migrant work - for once again the men have to migrate from their homes in order to find and hold down these jobs - does not approach that of mine work, it does allow some men who cannot go to the mines for reasons of health or other reasons to earn money. Calculating this extent of wage work also raised the average life time spent in wage work to 11.2 years for all men physically able to work. Thus in terms of work time, other migrant work absorbs about ten per cent of the proportion of men at work away from the rural economy, though the 1975 census figures cites the figure of 14 per cent for all four cells.

Table 4 - Salaried Work Experience (No. of Years) or in Chibalo (No. of Times) outside of South African Mines of Family heads interviewed in Zacanhe, Vavate and Sefane Cells (PEMBE).

ZACANHE

Construction worker Cahora Bassa (1): Taylor Pembe (4): Chibalo Inhambane (1): Chibalo Maputo (1): Fisherman Maputo (1): Servant in Hospital Beira (1): Chibalo Inhambane (1).

VAVATE

Chibalo Inhambane (5): Woodcutter Beira (1): washer-boy Homoine (5): Army (2) + Chibalo Inhambane (2): Chibalo Inhambane + Beira (4): Factory Beira (1): Chibalo Inhambane (1): Tailor Pembe (11).

SEFANE

Chibalo Inhambane (2): Chibalo Inhambane (9): Chibalo Inhambane (8): Collection of coconuts Maxixe: Chibalo (2): Chibalo (1): Chibalo (1): Chibalo (1): Chibalo (1): + Army (3): Maputo (3): Sugar plantation South Africa (8).

The Influence of Migrant Labour on the Peasant Economy.

One aspect became clear in all the interviews conducted in Pembe. The wages of miners before the 1970s were not sufficient in themselves to permit the purchase of expensive consumer goods (like sewing machines) or to pay for cement-brick houses, or to finance the beginning of a process of accumulation, through the acquisition of small shops or through transport. Only with good agricultural production, with regular surpluses for sale, and through other commercial or artisan activities, or through rights and privileges acquired through the traditional political system could these goods be bought.

The peasant household questionnaire demonstrates the importance of mine earnings for the purchase of goods. The majority of families are dependent on mine money to buy the goods necessary for the family (beds, other furniture, pots) and to buy agricultural means of production (ploughs, cattle, mills). The middle peasants are not dependent only on mine earnings. They have other sources: like agricultural receipts, carpentry, transport, services like herbalism. Although at the beginning of the family's life mine money is often important, only in five cases (out of 29) did we find mine earnings to be of large importance in the economy of the middle peasants in the recent past.

The poor peasants on the other hand are much more dependent on mine work. Of 29 families whose family head could work in the mines, the mine earnings were the only source of the family income in 10 cases and were very dominant in 13 other cases among poor families.

The poor families who can work in South Africa work more mine contracts and spend more time on contracts. But with their money they can buy fewer goods, particularly agricultural and artisnal means of production. (see section - Differentiation of the Peasantry). In our interviews we met men with 30, 26, 20, 18, 16 and 15 contracts worked. That is, a life basically dominated by mine work and at the same time the family remained poor. The very poorest of the group are the old men and those with physical defects. One old man worked 9 contracts and did forced labour (chibalo) eight times. Mine labour was 'simply because of hunger in the family'. Now, at the end of his life, he must make baskets to give to the neighbours to fetch him water since he cannot carry any more.

A very few of these old men and women had ploughs in the past but had to sell them because of lack of money. A majority said that the mine money helped to raise a little the level of life but certainly not sufficiently to sustain them in old age. Most old widows said the same, that their husbands had worked considerable numbers of contracts but there had been only enough to live on at the time. Others could never work because they were blind, had amputated legs or other physical defects. In short, the very poorest are poor because they could not go to the mines.

EXTRACT from the Report of the Pembe Brigade.

MINE LABOUR AND THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

Maimela

Has mine labour helped, or obstructed, the development of peasant agriculture? Is the peasant economy so structured that mine labour is a necessity for a large part of the male population? In order to find answers to these questions we did a detailed analysis of the Peasant Household Questionnaires for Maimela, a cell in the circle of Mucambi, district of Morrembene, Inhambane Province.

Before Independence the circle was dominated by Portuguese landlords (colons). Two latifundarios owned most of the good land in Maimela.

The Peasants from Maimela and other cells in the circle were expected to do forced labour at nominal wages on the plantations. In addition they were expected to pay tribute to the sub-chief for the land they cultivated and for every harvest. Owners of livestock also had to plough plantation land to pay for the grass their cattle ate. In addition to that there was a campaign to force peasants to cultivate cotton. In the neighbouring cell of Buvane the pressure became so unbearable that part of the population fled from the area regularly to the mines in South Africa rather than be conscripted for badly-paid agricultural work. In Maimela the situation was similar although quarrels between Rocha's heirs before 1950 and the fact that the land the latifundario owned in the cell was smaller, eased the pressure at least to the extent that peasants stayed.[1] Mine labour was nevertheless also the main occupation of the men in this cell.

In group discussions in the area one opinion voiced by some of the people present was that mine labour had been involuntary and mainly a way of avoiding forced labour and that those who had gone to the mines had not gained much, particularly since they had been encouraged to waste much of what they had earned on drink. On the other hand most men in the area have continued to go to the mines even after forced labour was officially abolished in 1962 and even after Independence. Many of these who have not been able to go since last year, consider themselves to be unemployed, rather than having the opportunity to settle down.

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1. Analysis of the Report of the Brigade that worked in Maimela.

Whereas on the one hand it was stated that mine labour had been a response to pressure, it is on the other hand clear that many of the men consider it a necessity. Only a detailed analysis of the local peasant economy can show why there is this need.

The case of Maimela

Maimela was chosen by the Cambine Brigade because it was reportedly the agriculturally poorest area in the circle. About half of the land in the area is sandy and not very fertile and there is only one small river valley with very good soil. To make matters worse, an insect (mafekefoke) has infested the sandier part of the area since 1963 and is destroying maize, groundnuts and beans. The last two years have been years of drought and thus of particular hardship.

All the land in Maimela is 'owned' by someone though some of it is sometimes unused. Accordingly a peasant farmer wishing to establish himself will first have to acquire sufficient land. The problem of the insect pest 'mafekefeke' has prompted farmers to look for some land outside the cell, in areas that are not infected. More than half the farmers appear to have succeeded in finding a machambe outside Maimela.

The main wealth of the farmers in Maimela consists of permanent crops, coconut trees and cashew nut trees in particular. Neither of these is attacked by the insect that destroys the annual crops, and they are somewhat more immune to drought. A farmer will need a fair number of such trees (usually more than 100 coconut trees and at least the same number of cashew nut trees) to have some reliable income. Livestock does not seem to play a prominent role in Maimela agriculture, perhaps because there is insufficient land for grazing many animals. The minority of people who keep cattle do so mainly in order to use them for ploughing. 7 out of the 24 people interviewed in Maimela owned ploughs. Since the sample is not representative it is difficult to say how many of the peasants do actually own ploughs, but it may still be a minority. Almost all peasants do, however, use ploughs for preparing the land.

Building up a farm in Maimela

Getting a wife

A man who wants to marry has to pay a dowry. Most young men are expected to find the money themselves and the usual way of getting the amount was to go to the mines. In response to the present capmaign against "lobolo", the name has been changed and it is now called "gratification" but payments still continue.

On getting land

Young men may stay with their parents for some time after their marriage, but since no household in the questionnaire had sons above 24 years of age staying with the parents, it seems that at this age most young men will have started some

independent economic existence. There were two ways in which the older farmers acquired their first plots. Either the fathers decided to give them a small piece of their own farm, or they were allocated a plot by the sub-chief. The majority of younger farmers today who need more land than their father gave them, will ask friends or relatives for land which they may be allowed to cultivate either temporarily or permanently. A few have also received some land from the Grupo Dinamizador when the land of some of the colons was redistributed. Buying land is rare. Officially it is permanent crops rather than land that is being sold. Five people were reported to have acquired land (with permanent crops) by purchase. Farmers who have particularly good or large pieces of land have usually inherited it. Inheritance is more likely to happen to older people than to younger people. Most of the farmers that were older than 50 reported that they had inherited the best part of their land, whereas the younger farmers got most of their land as gifts. Such gifts may not consist of particularly fertile plots, even if they are sufficient in size. The eight farmers in Maimela (out of 24) who did not mention drought and insects as major production problems were all above 40 years of age. On the other hand the five farmers below this age all had difficulties with land that was dry and insect-infested.

Although, since few people buy land, there is no direct relationship between mine labour and land allocation, there are indirect connections. Firstly, the generosity of those who have more land may be related to the fact that the men go out and therefore leave land that belongs to them uncultivated. If all people return to the village for good, the pressure on the land would increase. Secondly there is the fact that young people expect to get the best land by inheritance and may thus find it advantageous to remain in paid employment until they inherit suitable land.

Since independence, the Gropo Dinamizador in Maimela has distributed land that belonged to Rocha. The two decendants of Rocha were left with very good land of 23 ha and more than 10 ha respectively. The land that was distributed seems to have been allocated in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, at a meeting. Of the six poorest people interviewed, only one had received land from the local GD. Of the six richest people in the village, one had also received a plot from the GD, reportedly because the plots were allocated according to the number of wives. Of the other six people who said they had received land from the local GD, one held the ninth place in terms of wealth in the sample, one the eleventh and the other four were ranked 14th to 17th. Young farmers had been taken into consideration more ofetn than older farmers, provided they were in the area at the time of distribution. Two people complained that they had been left out becquse they were working outside during the critical time. One of them later managed to get a bigger peice outside the cell from another GD.

People who had rented land from Rocha before, were allowed to keep the land. This is a measure that tended to favour the more established farmers. On the whole, the GD was not seen as an effective institution of the re-allocation of land. Asked how one could get more land in Maimela most people replied that the way to get more land was to ask someone who had more than he needed. A few added that it would be necessary to get the approval of the GD after agreement had been reached with someone on the transfer of the land. Very few people thought that one might get land by approaching the GD only.

Getting permanent crops

A farmer can get permanent crops by buying a plot with trees, through inheritance or through growing trees on his plot. Since buying is still rare and since the plots that are bought seem to be quite small, inheritance and cultivation are the two main methods of acquiring tree plantations. Older people are more likely to have inherited something than younger people. Establishing a plot of tree crops also takes time. Coconut palms take seven years to mature. In the first three years the seedlings are very susceptible to adverse weather and trees may have to be replanted several times. It may therefore take about ten years before a farmer can have a lucrative plot. Cashew nut trees take about five years to mature and they too are delicate in the first few years. Because of this, there is a clear relationship between the age of a farmer and the size of his plantation of permanent crops. Of the five farmers in the sample who were below 40 years of age none had more than 70 coconut trees and none had more than eighty cashew nut trees, and many of these may not yet have been mature. A sixth man who claimed to be only 33 and who had more than 160 trees of each kind turned out to be much older since he had started to work about 22 years ago. His real age must therefore be about forty. Of the 19 farmers above 40 years of age, only four said they had less than 100 coconut trees and only one said he had less than 100 cashew nut trees. Four people did not give any figures.

The relationship to mine labour is again an indirect one. One does not have to go to the mines to acquire a plot of permanent crops but it takes time to acquire such a plot and the younger people may find it too difficult to live without a regular income from permanent crops and might therefore try to earn money on the mines in the meanwhile.

Getting a plough

Seven farmers in the sample had their own ploughs. Two seem to have bought the ploughs from the returns of mine labour, one from farm proceeds. For the others there is no information on how they got their plough. Almost all of these who have no plough make use of the ploughs of other people. There are a number of ways in which ploughs are shared. Some people can borrow a plough from family members free of charge. Others practice mutual aid with plough owners. The person

who has a plough and one or several families who have no plough work together on all the fields belonging to the participants in the group. In some cases such sharing may be equal benefit to all the participants, and one would expect that this is particularily true where one person contributes the oxen and the other the plough. There might also be genuine sharing where wives of absent miners get together to assist each other in the heavy work. In other cases the mutual aid might be a hidden form of exploitation when the farm of the plough-owner is bigger than the farms of other people in the group or when his farm is ploughed at a much more appropriate time then the farms of the others. Of those in the sample who had used the plough free of charge, one was classified as the second richest man among the people who had been questioned, but the plough belonged to a member of his family, and four were among the seven poorest farmers. The majority of those who had no ploughs had hired a plough for a fee. These included in almost equal proportions rich, middle and poor farmers.

The practice of hiring a plough may be related to mine labour in two ways. Firstly, payments from the mines may put the poorer farmers in the position to hire ploughs. Secondly, the absence of the husbqnd in the family may make it necessary even for people who have quite small plots to hire a plough in order to get the preparation of the land done in time. At least one man indicated that his wife had hired a plough when he had been away but that since his return he was not using a plough.

The need for wage labour

The above considerations might suggest that younger people have in general a more urgent need to earn money outside of Maimela than the older people. Short of a proper population census for the area this assumption can not be tested. Most of those who have been included in the sample are people who only stopped going to the mines in 1976 when they were no longer eligible to go. Of the five heads of households included in the sample who were below 40 years of age, two had worked up to 1976, two up to 1977 and one was still outside working. Of the five Heads of household between 40 and 50 two had had their last contract in'76, and one in '77, one was still working, and one had stopped working in 1962. Of the 11 heads of household aged 50 to 60 years, two were widows, three had finished their last contract in 1976, one in 1977 and five had retired before 1976: 1947, 1966, 1969, 1973, 1974. The three heads of household who were older than 60 had all retired, one in 1950, one in 1959 and one in 1961. If this pattern does give an indication of general tendencies one can conclude that men do not start retiring from wage labour before the age of 50 if there is wage employment.

Of the nine people who have not been engaged in wage labour since 1974, two have been classified as rich farmers. Both of them retired from wage work a long time ago (1950,1947).

One is the heir of the colon. He never went to the mines but worked as a carpenter and inherited 43 ha of land. The other also inherited a fair piece of land early on and went only for a short time to the mines, presumably to avoid forced labour. Neither of these two farmers had a particular need for wages.

Four of the retired farmers were classified as fairly prosperous and occupied the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th places in the economic ranking of the sample. Of these one had only worked for wages for a very short time because he was able to earn more in the village as a "curandeiro" (healer). The reason why the three others retired is less clear. Only one of them is the classical case of a man who used his wages from the mines to build up a well functioning enterprise by acquiring first land and then a plough and cattle and then more land. The others appear to have acquired their wealth more through a mixture of inheritance and achievements.

Three of the farmers who retired are poor or very poor. They have retired involuntarily. One has a crippled leg, the other "chest troubles", the third one left South Africa in a hurry with bad memories which he did not care to explain.

The conclusions one can draw from this is that only some older farmers retire from wage work because they have realised their objective through wage work, whereas others retire either because wage work was never very necessary to them or, more often, because they are physically no longer capable of continuing with wage work without having built up an enterprise that would satisfy their aspirations.

Those who are still anxious to go on with wage work also fall into different groups. There are firstly some rich farmers who have particularily well-paid work, such as the two rich farmers in our sample who worked as bossboy and busdriver. These farmers do not "need" wage employment but pursue it because it really pays well. There is, secondly, the group of middle peasants who continue with wage work and build up their farm until they feel ready to retire. In our sample there was only one middle peasant who was still working (or had been working in the last two years) and he was quite young. There is thirdly, the group of poor farmers, some of them young and some of them old, who continue with wage work because they cannot think of an alternative.

Any policy directed towards easing the problems of mine workers who can no longer go to South Africa would have to be focused on the poor farmers first and particularly on the poor farmers who are young. Measures that could be required would have to include the allocation of sufficient good land either within the area they come from or elsewhere (individually or collectively) and assistance which allows them to get a livelihood from the beginning either by integrating them into already established communal enterprises, or by providing credits for new communal enterprises, or by at least encouraging the older generation to contribute more to the establishment of their children on the land. In the longer-run the expansion of rural and urban industries may help to ease the problems which are quite severe now.

MIGRANT LABOUR AND THE PEASANT ECONOMY

Extract from the Homoine report

This extract of the Homoine brigade report attempts to arrive at an explanation of the fact that, although there are significant differences in the number of contracts worked on the mines for different strata within the peasantry, practically every able-bodied man goes at least four times to the mines. To explain this, it is necessary to investigate why almost every young man is compelled by economic necessity to go to the mines.

It appears as if the explanation for this has to be sought in the way in which traditional society has been in part disintegrated, through the penetration of the money economy as a result of colonisation.

Within the traditional set-up young men grew up and established themselves within the family hamlets in which the father and uncles lived as neighbours. The bride-price paid to the father for his daughter provided the means for his sons to arrange their marriage.

The penetration of the colonial economy appears to have created, over time, a gradual evolution towards the formation of more nuclear families - i.e. the sons began to live separately from the fathers and responsibility for the survival of the family became more individualised. By the 1940's this process already appeared to have become very pronounced.

A number of factors may account for this evolution within Homoine district. Firstly, the introduction of taxation for each adult man (above the age of 18 years) and at a later stage of forced labour (again for each adult man) and forced cultivation of crops for every husband and wife (the latter since 1942 up to 1962) greatly increased the individual responsability of each nuclear family to cope with its own survival. Furthermore, the need for cash income increased in order to buy commodities on which they became increasingly dependent. Finally, the appropriation of the better quality land by the settlers, created a relative shortage of land which broke up the system of the extended family living together. The settler estates created the peasant-tenants whose responsibility in terms of paying tribute was also individualised.

The bride-price had become a money payment and because of the chronic need for money of most peasant families, fathers were increasingly reluctant to pass the brideprice obtained from their daughters on to their sons. The responsability

to set up a family and to establish himself as a peasant producer was thus put squarely on the shoulders of the young man himself. This, in itself, may also have been a further reason for the break-up of the system of the extended family living and cultivating together. The son who paid his own bride-price felt less of a moral obligation towards the father. The necessity to earn his own income made the young man experience independence from the family hierachy. As one informant said: "The conflicts between father and son, elder brother and younger brother, etc., began when people went to Jo'burg".

To establish himself as a peasant producer the young man first and foremost needed a wife. No man on his own cultivates his own plot of land. Either he works on the land of the father when he is not married, or else he acquired his own plot after marriage. As has already been explained in our discussion on the penetration of the money economy, the division of labour within the family left the main burden for agricultural work on the wife, the man being engaged in such activities as hunting to obtain cash at an earlier stage, and mine labour at a later phase. This may in part account for the fact that single men are looked upon with great suspicion - "he is a robber of wives, a thief, etc.". Thus the young man who wants to set up a family is compelled to go and earn the money for the brideprice outside agriculture, - that is,in the majority of cases, to go to the mines.

Once he has assured himself of a wife through earning the bride-price, the problem still continues because the man must establish himself as a peasant producer. His family needs a minimum of household utensils and furniture, a house and instruments.

Considerable difficulty is encountered by the newly married couple in acquiring the means to create a basic domestic establishment by agricultural work alone. The past three years have seen the innovation of cement block houses, and already between twenty and thirty per cent of the famliies present are in the process of, or have completed, construction of this type of dwelling. Many more families aspire to this same end and since 1975 there has been a number of cases of farmers returning to South Africa after a considerable number of years absence to obtain the money to build such a house. There are only two known cases of families who were able to build a cement block house with money earned from their agricultural production. One obtained the money at the beginning of the 1960s by groundnuts and the other has been building his house for twenty years.

Cases in which ploughs and oxen were not bought with money from South Africa are very rare. To become a farmer subsisting on agriculture alone, an essential condition is the possession of oxen and plough. Mills, tools, and sewing machines are also acquired with money from the mines. All of these means of production begin to make their appearance from the

1940s and 1950s and become important from the 1960s. The current generation will be the first to inherit already existing means of production.

Of 25 peasants from Meu and Muchava classified as "middle" peasants, that is to say, as peasants that perhaps can live potentially from agriculture, they acquired the following:-

Goods they possess	With Money from South Africa		
	All	In Part	Little or not at all
- ploughs &/or oxen and cement block house &/or house constructed in part from cement	5	8	-
- only cement block house or durable goods	3	-	-
- only plough &/or oxen	-	4	1 (he was working in Beira
- other durable goods (furniture, crockery, clothes)	2	1	2 (artesans
	10	13	3

Of the peasants classified as poor (31) all worked in South Africa, apart from four, and the little that they acquired was paid for predominantly with money provided from South Africa.

A STUDY IN WATER SHORTAGE

Sitila

Although the position of migrant labour is extremely important in the reproduction of the peasantry in all the areas studied, we can say that Sitila is especially dependent on mine earnings.

Agricultural production in Sitila is extremely low. Only 6 of the 25 peasant interviews conducted showed that food production was sufficient to provide the barest essentials of life. In two cases agricultural production was never sufficient to sustain the family and in all the rest was only sufficient in good agricultural years, of which there are relatively few.

One aspect of the inability of agricultural production to sustain the area is the high cost of living, for a rural family, determined for several districts and localities of the Province in 1973. For Massinga, Inharrime and Homoine, the cost of living was determined at between 800 and 1,000 escudos monthly. By comparison that for Sitila was 2,700 escudos, 1,500 escudos of which was for food alone.

The problem is not that of quantity of land. There is enough land. For example, of 15 families investigated, 8 had more than five hectares of land.

The fundamental problem in Sitila is lack of water. Every interview of the work brigade, not only with officials, but with all sections of the population, emphasised this problem. The water shortage affects not only agricultural crops, but also household water needs. When there are no rains, the population of Ngomani must travel 30 km to fetch water (a journey of 2 days), the population of Manhaussela 20 km, and the population of Mangorro 12 km.

In the dry season water becomes very expensive. One oil drum (20 litres) of drinking water, between October and December last year, cost 100 escudos, allowing the car owners to make large profits since they alone can carry water easily over large distances.

Considering these climatic difficulties, it is not by chance that practically all the men seek work in South Africa or elsewhere (e.g. The Railway or Cabora Bassa). Of the 25 interviews 21 had been to the mines and 3 had employment within Mozambique (a railway worker, a tailor, a housebuilder). In 9 families someone was actually working in the mines at the time of our study. Three men were working in Mozambique outside the district and six more had cash incomes close to home (driver, housebuilder, carpenters, repairer of bicycles).

To sum up, we can say that the male population of Sitila is highly dependent on wage-work. One trader said, "There is quite a lot of money in the area, but agricultural production is very low. The money comes from the mines". There is a clear connection between shortage of water, low agricultural production and the necessity to obtain cash wages.

There is a clear order of priority for use of this money. The first priority is lobolo (at this moment the bride-price is between 10 and 20 contos). After this, money is spent on water tanks and wells. 18 of the 25 families had either a tank, a well, or both.

Only after water is available are other goods such as cattle (1975 prices : 5 contos per head; 1977 : 10 contos per head), ploughs (2,600$00), grinding mills (6 contos) bought. Some of these acquisitions are used for hire; for example ploughs and oxen can be rented. To plough one hectare of land this year (1977) cost 500 escudos.

It becomes apparent in Sitila when compared to the other areas, that there is a closer relationship between social differentiation and the earning of salaries in South Africa. Thus the heads of the richest families were 'boss-boys' or 'indunas' on the mines.

A part of miners' earnings is utilised productively; that is to say, for the construction of wells, water tanks and houses, and for the purchase of durable consumer goods (furniture, cars, trucks, etc.). Some of these purchases provide local employment for masons, carpenters, drivers, etc. One mason, for example, told us that he earned 1,200$00 escudos for the construction of a small well. The income of petty commodity producers like him is more or less totally dependent on the presence of money earned outside the locality, usually in the mines. Any noticeable curtailment of these external earnings will decrease the possibility of earning a little money inside the locality.

The area of Sitila is more dependent on mine labour than any of the other areas we studied, and if the opportunities to go to South Africa are restricted still further, it will cause grave problems.

In the concluding section of this Report, we make some general recommendations about the changes which could be made to integrate miners into the agricultural economy. In the case of Sitila dependence on mine work could be lessened if the water problem was solved, after which cotton production would seem to be possible.

SIXTEEN PEASANT HOUSEHOLDS

Middle Peasant Households

Ex-Miner/Middle Peasant

Household: 52 year old head, two wives, a grown son, two sons at school and three children under 10.

Timoteo worked as a labour tenant until 1974 for landowner Antonio Ribeiro. He was allwed to live on this land in return for free labour, recorded through a ticket system. In return, he was to be given protection against chibalo. Timoteo was required to pay tribute in cash and in kind after every harvest. For instance, he had to pay 40 escudos after he had harvested his cotton, regardless of the size of the crop harvested, and, for the use of a piece of machongo land 80 metres square, for rice growing, he had to give the landowner two tins of rice. In 1954 Timoteo was taken away for chibalo for failing to fulfil the conditions of his tenure. He was returned home after 2 months when the cabo intervened on his behalf. He also worked as a miner, and did five contracts between the years 1944 and 1969. Timoteo's impression was that going to the mines was contrary to the terms of his tenure on the land of the latifundio but that the landowner had taken no action because he had paid for the use of the land in cash. He commented that the labour tenant system had been very corrupt. From wages earned on the mines, Timoteo bought oxen, a plough and a sewing machine. He hopes that proceeds from the sale of crops in the future will enable him to build a brick house.
Landholding : 9.5 hectares of nhaca soil on which is grown cotton, potatoes and garlic for sale, and maize, beans, cassava and groundnuts for home consumption. There is also 2.5 hectares of machongo on which rice, sweet potatoes and vegetables are produced. There does not seem to be a shortage of nhaca land.

Miner/Middle Peasant

Household: 42 years old head of the family, wife and three young children, one from a second wife who had deserted him.

Antonio is 42 years old and has worked four contracts on the mines between 1953 and 1976. Inbetween he worked in Maxixe for five years on road construction works and as a tailor in a Homoine shop for four years. He first went to the mines in 1953 when he was 18. He claims that he was never taken

for chibalo labour because he is a footballer. During his mine contracts his football came to his rescue again : he played goalkeeper for a mine team, and worked only a four day week, the rest of the week was set aside for football against teams as far away as Johannesburg. He worked on the Sheba gold mine in the Eastern Transvaal for which he was recruited by ATAS, as this was a mine not affiliated to the Chamber of Mines. Antonio claimed to be equally interested in mine work and farming though he thought mine work had not really brought him any real material benefit: 'I have nothing to show for the years I have spent on the mines'. He works a rather large area of land : four hectares of red soil and four of nhaca. He had also had access to a hectare of machongo but he claimed that he had been dispossessed of this land during an absence on the mines. Antonio, who is a member of the GD is taking this land complaint to the 'people's court' for deliberation and judgement : he was sure he could get the machongo land back 'because everybody knows that this land has always been mine'. He owns 500 cashew trees and some 30 coconut trees, but claims that he does not know how much cashew his wife sold during his absence on his last contract which was in 1976. From that contract he brought back 3 1/2 contos in cash and 50 contos in deferred pay. His bonus certificate had expired because of family problems - the desertion of his second wife - which had prevented his return to the mines within the required period of eight months. If there was a chance of working another contract he would definitely take it, he said.

Middle Peasant Household

Household: Man and wife in their sixties, two teenage sons attending school, three children under ten, one of whom looks after the animals.

Away : Two sons working in Maputo, one for the Veterinary Department and one on a citrus estate; the old mother of the head of the family.

Alfeu worked six mine contracts, the last in 1959. During this period of his life he also worked one period of chibalo on the railways. He paid lobolo from his mine wages and then settled down to farm three machambas, for which he had paid 10 escudos to the cabo and the usual annual tribute, and on which he cultivated maize, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and pumpkin. In 1976 he acquired two additional machambas, both machongo, one allocated by the GD in a neighbouring cell and which is two hours' walking distance. He owns 100 cashew trees and less than a dozen coconut trees, and some citrus. His principal sales are of cashew nuts. From the last harvest he sold only three sacks in three different cells (total proceeds were 870 escudos), but in the past, from better harvests, he bought his first oxen, in 1962, and a plough, in 1965. He now owns two oxen, five cows, two donkeys and ten chickens. He has bred most of his cattle. Agricultural production has been declining in recent times, due both to poor rains and the mafekefeke beetle. He still has cashew nuts to market, but no surplus from the machongo.

He hires out his oxen and plough. He paid taxes regularly and has never been short of food. The two grown sons are working in Maputo Province. The eldest lost his eye in an accident and from the compensation, his father arranged his marriage. This son has worked away from home for three years. The younger son worked a mine contract during 1974, and then found work on a citrus farm in Maputo Province.

Absent Miner/Middle Peasant

Household of 3:

At home:	Wife and a nephew aged 10
Away working on the mines:	family head aged 58

Ernesto is 58 years old, and is away working his 18th contract on the mines. He first contracted for mine work in 1930 when he was 21 years old. He is presently working as a 'Boss-boy'. His wife is 14 years younger than him, and works their land during his absences in South Africa. They have no children but are caring for a nephew of ten years old who goes to school. The family began to work this land in 1964; previously they had lived on mission land. They have good machongo land, and enough to leave some to lie fallow for periods of several years at a time. They grow maize, groundnuts, cassava, and produce enough to eat and a surplus of cassava and citrus fruit to sell. They have 150 coconut trees and 160 cashew trees and sold cashew nuts from their last harvest to the amount of 1,300$00. They own no means of production, but hire plough and oxen for several weeks a year, for which they paid 600 escudos on the last occasion. Neighbours help with the working of the land when Ernesto is absent. Though he does not tell his wife how much he earns, Ernesto makes a point of sending money home to his wife. The round cement house with a thatched roof in which the family lives was built with money from previous contracts. The house has a sleeping and eating area and is plainly furnished with chairs, table and cupboard. During this present contract Ernesto has sent his wife two amounts of 3,000$00 each. From this sum she has bought cement and hired a man to make the blocks for the new house now under construction. They plan to buy cattle next. Her husband sent 24,000$00 with a friend returning home, but his wife has not yet received this sum. Her husband plans to end his mine work, but has continued in the hope of being granted a Long Service Award.

Long-term Miner/Middle Peasant

Household : wife of 41
child of 10
'future wife'

Alexandre has worked 14 contracts in the mines - the majority for 16 months or more - hence he has been absent almost continually since his first contract in 1964. He also did 3 terms of forced labour earning 100$00 a month in Maputo. He has 2 cement houses and a very large grain store. With money from the mines he has bought a radio, a sewing machine and a watch. During his last contract he sent home 14,000$00 and received 18,000$00 in deferred pay. He learnt to be a tailor in South Africa, but as yet he has not set himself up in this business. This family has 4 machambas in which they use a rotative crop system. This year has been so bad that they have not produced sufficient food to eat and some money has been spent on basic foodstuffs. Normally they could hope to sell 2 sacks of maize and 20 sacks of groundnuts. They also have 500 cashew trees and 150 coconut trees. The family also owns a donkey, 5 goats, 1 pig and 8 chickens. They paid 800$00 last year to have their land ploughed.

Shopkeeper/Medium Peasant

Household : wife and 7 dependents
(children and cousins)

Alemão is a shopkeeper in this cell. This shop was originally opened by the latifundário on his estate. Alemão took over the shop in 1975. It has since been nationalised, and he pays a rent of 2000$00 a month. For 10 years he worked for the latifundario in his maxixe business, and before that spent 3 years each in the army and the police. He was the first African to be left solely in charge of a business in maxixe. He married in 1966 and acquired the land which now surrounds his house for a nominal sun (10$00) : land at this time was easy to get because many people had fled from the 'labour obligation' area. He considers that his land is insufficient for his family's needs, although he has 200 cashew trees, 150 coconut trees, some citrus, papaya, banana and mango trees. This year he also produced 10 sacks of maize, 7 of mandioc, 17 of groundnuts and a few other vegetables. Drought and disease have reduced the crop and the majority of the produce has been reserved for home consumption. He earned 2700$00 from the sale of maize and mandioc. He owns chickens, 3 goats, ducks and a pig. He has a car in which he had a serious accident and is now liable to pay 2000$00 in compensation each month, or else his car will be confiscated to pay the sum. His wife and 2 salaried workers help in his shop. At present, profits from sales just cover wages, rent and the cost of new stock. However, he has just received his licence which means he can sell a wider range of products, e.g. sugar and rice, and profits from these alone will bring in an extra 3500$00 a month. He built his 5-room alvineria house by having monthly deductions made from his wages for the cost of cement, wood and other materials. His house has a separate

dining room and bathroon, and a barraca (a roofed simple construction) for cooking and storage. Alemão was secretary to the GD of the cell. According to members of the GD circle, he did a good job and mobilisation has been weaker since he left. He is clearly one of the better-off peasants in the area. His future depends on his shop which the administration may convert into a consumer's co-operative.

Artisan/Middle Peasant

Household : 2 wives
1 .o-year-old child

Hilario has worked eight mine contracts but has been absent from home for the greater part of the last 25 years. His first mine contract was in 1951, and he completed 8 contracts in the subsequent 12 years. However, after returning from South Africa with a sewing machine, bought with his mine wages, he started work as a tailor in a shop in Morrumbene district. He worked at this for 11 years and has returned home permanently only this year. He is in the process of constructing an alvanaria house. At present he has a cement house, 2 huts and 2 grain storers. He has also bought materials to build a water tank. Money from South Africa has also been used to buy a radio, a record player, 2 watches, a mill and a plough. The latter is rented out for 100$00 a time. Whilst in South Africa he sent back 7000$00, as well as clothes and food for the family. He charges approximately 100$00 for each item of clothing he makes. The family has a donkey, ducks, chickens and seven pigs which are looked after by the women. Hilario inherited his machamba from his father 20 years ago and it is worked by his 2 wives. Last harvest they were able to sell 2 sacks of mandioc flour for 600$00, and 3 latas of mafurra in exchange for 9 kilos of salt. In good years they would expect to earn 4500$ from the sale of groundnuts, but this year production is low and only enough for home consumption. He has also 150 cashew trees which gave 9 tins of nuts, all for home consuption. 40 coconut trees were also used to feed the family. 8 young citrus trees have not started producing yet.

Ex-Carpenter/Middle Peasant

Household : 72 year old Head of Household, his 67 year old wife, a married daughter and her three small children.

Ernesto worked six mine contracts in South Africa between 1928 and 1936. From his mine wages he bought three head of cattle and carpentry tools, and after his final contract he concentrated on working his land and on carpentry. He bought a plough and built his first brick house from the proceeds of this combination work. He works 3 ha of land, a ha each of red soil, sandy soil and machongo. He owns 400 cashew

trees, 500 coconut trees and some 40 tangerine trees. In 1974 he sold 12 sacks of cashew and eight sacks of rice; the 1976 harvest yielded eleven sacks of cotton and twelve sacks of coconuts. Earlier harvests were even better as in 1964 when he grew and sold 60 sacks of groundnuts. He owns a plough and uses it to plough the fields of others; also three oxen, three cows, two donkeys, rabbits, turkeys and ducks. The donkeys are used to draw water from the river and to carry the harvest. Ernesto abandoned his carpentry some years ago because his hands became shaky. He prides himself on his success as an agriculturist, and continues to take a great interest in the agriculture of the district. He does not favour the ways in which labour is being reorganised in Homoine. He considers it a mistake to prevent or discourage people from using the practice of matsima because he finds it a better form of labour organisation than the one presently being introduced. He is of the opinion that without the use of matsima food production will drop. This is because those who "really know about agriculture" had depended on matsima in the past. He claimed that these 'agricultores' were being singled out for attack as people who had been favoured by the colonial administrators: "We are described as people with a colonial mentality who had accepted capitalistic methods of production", he said. "People are being told to reject our methods and ideas. It is said that people did not produce enough food in the past because they were exploited and because they worked on an individual basis and that only group work concentrated on collective machambas will ensure sufficient food production for the future. We work in groups now, but many people do not turn up. Today we are forbidden to hire tractors as some of us did in the past. Only communal villages and co-operatives are allowed to hire tractors." Ernesto clearly expresses ideas shared by some of the peasants in the same socio-economic position as himself. He would like not only to be able to hire a tractor, but even to buy one, though he subesquently claimed he did not have sufficient money to make such a purchase. He probably under-estimated the extent of his land holdings. He was nervous during the interview and asked what decisions could be expected to issue from Maputo.

Family of a Builder

Household : Husband, aged 26, two wives, aunt of 60, three children under 10.

The family of Edmundo works three pieces of land, two handed down by an uncle who had previously paid regular annual tribute to the latifundio owner, and the third previously worked by the old aunt. His father had been a capotage of cotton but died when Edmundo was a child. They had begun to work the land when Edmundo returned from Beira where he had worked for four years as a builder and had then returned home to practice this trade. This is his principal source of income, and during the first seven months of 1977 he made about 25 contos from his trade, though the cost of materials

has to be deducted from this amount. The tools of his trade include a metal trowel, a plumb line and a ball of string, which he bought when he worked in Beira. The family's agricultural production is slight : a few bags of mandioc and groundnuts, some coconuts, and 4 producing orange trees. During the year 4 pigs were sold to the value of 1400$00. Using his cash income from his building work, Edmundo bought 5 sacks of maize meal, 3 cans of rice, and 2 sacks of groundnuts, journeying to Vilanculos especially to make these purchases because prices there are lower, though transport for himself and his sacks on the bus ate up a large part of the saving he had made by buying in a lower-price area. The family lives in several grass huts but two brick houses are under construction. Inside the living quarters there are a table and stools only. Edmundo has never worked a mine contract but would sign one now if the route were open. Their land has not produced enough food to eat, and house-building is tailing off now that the mine route is open to so few.

Artisan Household

Household : wife and 5 children

Eugenio is a stone-mason who has never worked in the mines. To learn this trade he went to Inhambane and paid 3000$00 to start his apprenticeship. He trained for 7 years, receiving no money at all during this period, and having to pay rent and food from the small amounts of money sent to him by his father. After 3 years in Vilanculos, he returned to his place of birth, Chokwe, to marry. After working for one year at 40$00 a day, he decided to become self-employed. He moved to Buvane 9 years ago. At present he is working with 4 others as a house builder, charging 25,000$00 for each house. Work is hard to find at the moment and he has been ill and unable to work during the last 4 months.

Eugenio has 3 machambas, which he and his wife both work, along with the children after school hours. The third machamba is 3 km from the house - Eugenio and his wife both get up before dawn to walk to the machamba. Eugenio works there for several hours and then continues walking to Morrumbene where he usually works. They have no machungo land, and because of this they argue that the land they have is insufficient for their needs. This assessment is brought on by the lack of rain and the insect attacks which have reduced crop production this year. He has 140 cashew trees and 124 coconut trees, as well as small numbers of other fruit trees, papaya, citrus, peach, etc. He also grows peanuts and sweet potatoes, maize and mandioc, but this year there was no surplus from any of these crops - all were consumed at home. He also has 4 oxen and 1 cow, a pig and some ducks, none of which he has sold this year. He has a plough and a mill - neither of which he rents out for payment. Eugenio's employment as a stonemason brings in about 18 contos a year,

and this money is used to supplement basic foodstuffs, and buy soap, petrol, sugar, etc. Because of his illness he has already borrowed 4 contos to buy food on which to survive. He has to pay back at least 2 contos by December, and he is worried he will not have the money. He has an unfurnished cement house, 2 thatched huts and a kitchen. At present Eugenio and his family are having a very hard time as a result both of his illness and a bad harvest.

Poor Peasant Households

Poor Young Family

Total members of household : 3
At home : Husband, wife, child of two years old.

Armando lived with his parents until two years ago when his father gave him a piece of land and he received a second piece, the machongo during the 1977 distribution of this land by the GD. He owns no means of production, only a hoe and a catana (large knife), but borrowed his father's plough for his land. His land and his trees (15 coconut and 30 cashew) have barely started producing. They have grown small quantities of maize, groundnuts and a little cassava, but have to be careful, in the case of the goundnuts, to leave seed for the next year's crop. Of seven papaya plants, six are producing fruit. The family owns two chickens and a pig which was bought when it was young for 300$00, and which has been fed on papaya for lack of anything better. At the time of the interview the wife was husking rice by hand. The diet of this family consists of cassava, maize porridge and pumpkin leaves which they collect from neighbours now that they have eaten their own. When there is no cassava they eat the leaf of the plant. They eat one meal a day at night-time. They never have meat or fish. The wife's mother gave them 2 tins of milho some months ago, but their parents do not have enough themselves to support their children. The family lives in a hut and have a smaller cooking hut, but no food store; in any case there is rarely any food to store. This is a poor and hungry family. There is no money for fuel for the lamp so they go to sleep in the dark. Armando has worked four mine contracts between 1965 and 1976 and is desperate to return to the mines or to find any work to alleviate his poverty. For his first contract he worked as a labourer on Rand Leases Mine earning 17$50 per day. The next two contracts were on Durban Deep as a 'pipe-boy' then 'store boy', earning 22$00 per day. His final contract was at Venterspost in 1975/6. As 'pickanin Boss-boy' he received R1.03 rising to R1.52 a day. After this last contract the mine management refused to give any of his group a bonus card because it was said that the Mozambique government would refuse permission for more miners to return. During this last year he has tried to find work on the land of others but succeeded only in earning 50 escudos for two days' work. He borrowed 500$00 to buy soap, kerosene and salt.

Poor family of Sick Ex-Miner

Household : wife and 3 young children

Agosto is 30 years old and he is now disabled through illness. His first mine contract was in 1968. Then he worked on the railways in Maputo under forced labour, and saved 2500$00. He was unable to complete his second mine contract because of illness and received only 150$00 in compensation from the administration in Morrumbene. He believes the rest of the money was stolen 'in transit'. In 1976 he was hired as an assistant to the driver of the local shop. He saved some money from this work which he used to buy cement. He is in the process of building a brick-block house, but since he has become unemployed he is again short of money. This family has 3 machambas, including 1 ha of machongo. Normally maize, cassava and groundnuts are grown. In this bad year only the latter 2 have produced at all; there is no surplus to sell. Agosto also has 47 cashew and 17 coconut trees, as well as a few citrus, banana and mango trees. The trees are too small to produce and the family has been unable to sell any produce at all this year. The livestock they had, have all died. They paid 350$00 to hire oxen for 1 week. This family is dependent on help from relatives to buy kerosene, sugar, soap, salt, etc. In bad months the family lives in hunger.

Poor Old Couple - Retired Miner

Finiosse inherited the land he now works from his father. Five years ago he acquired a small piece of machongo land. As a young boy he worked as a cattle herder for his father, and later he was employed on Rocha's latifundio - being paid 25$00 a month for full-time work. In 1948, he had his first contract on the mines, and after his second contract he was forced to work in Vila Pery in the forestry section of the administration. Forced labour meant that all men between the ages of 15 and 65 were rounded up at night and taken away to work in different areas. Of the conto they earned in the 11 month period, one-third had to be used to pay tax. Returning home, he was then forced to work 3 days a week on Rocha's latifundio, this time earning 50$00 for 30 days work. Over the equivalent period, women received 50 cm of cloth. After 3 months of this work, Finiosse had still not been paid, so he fled to South Africa to earn money for overdue taxes. He completed 7 more contracts, until 1964 when he was 52, and stopped working in the mines. New laws around this time enforced stricter control over the production of certain crops. This meant Rocha employed fewer people, to produce fewer but higher quality crops. Finiosse was therefore free to remain in the area without being obliged to work for Rocha. The land he owns is sufficient for the needs of himself and his wife in good years. He has between 200 qnd 300 cashew trees; the surplus produce from these (3 sacks in the last harvest) are sold to buy other foods. He also sells bananas, earning a total of 600$00 in the last harvest. He has some coconut and citrus trees, and

grows maize, groundnuts and rice. He has no livestock, except one pig, and no tools or machines except a knife and an axe. Last year he paid 100$00 to have his land ploughed. Fourteen years of mine labour has not provided this couple with security in their old age, in trees or land to ensure sufficient income.

An Old Ex-Miner Living Alone

Notico is 80 years old and has a long history of both mine labour and forced labour. He worked 9 contracts on the mines for a total of 16 years. He has also served 9 terms of forced labour around Maxixe for between 3 and 6 months each time. Payment was minimal(60$00). Notico lives in a single hut. The money he earned in South Africa was used to pay tax and to lobolo 3 wives,and also to buy basic foodstuffs. He acquired no material goods except a hoe, and used to make a small amount of money as a carpenter making window frames. He has no livestock at all and has 3 small machambas near his house. This year's harvest produced 2 sacks of cassava and 2 of groundnuts which is sufficient for subsistence. He sold one sack of peanuts for 360$00 and one of cassava for 240$00, and this is his sole income. In good years he will also hope to sell cashew nuts and greater quantities of groundnuts and cassava. This year his cashew trees were diseased and he collected only 1 sack of nuts. He also has 2 coconut trees. Money from the harvest is used to buy supplementary food. Notico is living on the edge of survival and has no reserves on which to fall back. He has at least 2 sons who never help him in any way.- but are prepared to help consume his crops in good years. The GD was contracted to see if the sons could be made to help their father in some way.

Widow of a Miner

Woman and 3 children

Saulina was married to a miner who died in South Africa in 1974. She received 10,000$00 in compensation, which has already all been spent. The family has 2 machambas which they acquired 4 years ago. They have 13 cashew, 13 coconut, 11 papaya and 3 tangerines trees. Other trees have not produced yet. This harvest has only provided enough for home consumption and re-seeding. She has only 3 chickens and a hoe. The family live in 2 huts in extremely bad conditions. When her husband was alive they managed on a combined income from mine work and the machamba. Now she must rely on relatives, especially her brother-in-law to help her. Since her husband died machamba production has decreased.

Two Women Living Alone

Salemina is 43 and lives with her aged mother in a single hut. The husbands of both these women worked in South Africa and they are both divorced. The father died 2 years ago. The older woman has been ill recently and this has prevented her daughter from going to work on a large farm in Maxixe. Last year Salemina earned 300$00 and her board for a month's work; she worked a total of 5 months. She did not want to do this badly paid work but it was her only means of obtaining sufficient money to survive. The large machamba is owned by a Mozambican who divides it into sections for cultivation by individual workers. From this year's harvest the two women sold only one tin of cashew for 45$00. In a normal year they would hope for five times this quantity from their 20 trees. They could also hope, in a good year, to produce 2 sacks each of maize and groundnuts. This year there was barely enough for subsistence. Their 2 small machambas were both given to them 4 years ago by neighbours, and the majority of land is given over to cassava production for their food. They have no livestock and only a hoe to work the ground. Last year in December they received 1500$00 from Salemina's work but this was all used to pay off debts. Any cash they have is used to buy food, clothing and blankets. They used to make baskets but now they have no material. They are extremely poor, with very little possibility of changing that situation. Salemina cannot work whilst her mother is sick - this means there is less food than ever and no money for medicine.

Part IV

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

I

1. This investigation has emphasised throughout the extent of export of labour in the three southern provinces. Our Brigades working in the field found hardly anyone who had never worked a mine contract. The only men who had never been were the sick and the disabled; or teachers or self-employed craftsmen like carpenters. Furthermore men do not work the occasional contract, say at the beginning of their working lives when they are young men needing to find money to marry. On the contrary, men work large numbers of contracts; they work long contracts; and they spend a large proportion of their working lives as workers in the mines. Part II The Mine Labour Force sets out all the evidence.

We have set out at some length - in the chapter Mozambican Labour After 1974 - the changes that have occurred in the Mozambican mine labour force since the 1970s. These facts are summarised below:

a) While 1975 was a peak year for the recruitment of Mozambican mine labour, and the record number of 115,309 was contracted, 1976 and 1977 figures have dropped to an all-time low.

b) On the Mozambican side among the reasons for the decline in 1976 was the inauguration of new forms of immigration control by the Independent Government. This resulted in the reduction of WENELA recruiting camps from 21 to 4.

c) On the South African side by October 1976 the Chamber of Mines and its labour recruiting organisation (WENELA/MLO) had devised a policy for the restriction of foreign labour recruitment. This policy was reflected in the quota for Mozambique of only 30,000 mine recruits during 1977. It was operated by decisions that (1) no novices (new miners) be contracted; (2) only holders of re-engagement certificates or bonus cards are eligible for re-employment; (3) experienced miners who held certificates, but certificates which had expired, could be eligible for recruitment only when specific orders were transmitted through WENELA for their re-hire. A limited number of mines recruited Mozambican labour during 1977. By end-August 1977 the recruitment total for the year stood at 25,561.

In mid-1977 Malawian labour which had been withheld from the mines since April 1974 began to return and it seemed likely that the Chamber of Mines would try to play off the two supply sources against one another, to the disadvantage of Mozambican labour even when the latter, as a result of the abolition of the gold premium clause

of the Mozambique Convention, could become price-competitive to the mining employers.

d) The effect of the Chamber of Mines policy of reducing the Mozambican labour force and of recruiting only certain categories of workers meant that the Mozambican workers who continued to be recruited constituted a very special, relatively more skilled, kind of labour force.

2. The long-standing system of migrant labour (officially organised by WENELA for over eight decades) has created great distortions in the peasant economy, by interfering with the pre-colonial patters of production and distribution.

The following are the effects of migrant labour on the peasant economy:

a. Poor peasants are dependent on the wages from mine labour for their very reproduction, that is, for the purchase of the basic necessities of family life.

b. A great part of peasant housholds have been dependent on wage labour, not the proceeds of agriculture, for the purchase of instruments of production, like ploughs, oxen, mills.

c. Because the pre-colonial patterns of production and distribution have been disintegrated, a labour surplus has been created in the peasant economy. That is, agriculture has been so interfered with and distorted that the peasant base cannot sustain the population. (See the section in Part III on Petty Commodity Production).

d. Artisan crafts and skills have been made dependent on the proceeds of mine work. Petty commodity production is thus reliant on money earned from outside the peasant economy.

e. Young families in the rural areas cannot establish their own households -build their homes, establish agricultural production - without access to wage work (to start the cycle going). (The Brigade Reports or Case Studies of Maimela and Homoine explain this aspect).

3. The effects on agriculture are likely to be serious. We would suggest that in the slightly longer-term an incipient crisis could develop. This is because of a combination of factors. On the one hand, because mine recruitment is now restricted, cash earnings from wage work circulating in the peasant economy have dropped.

This means, in the second place, that petty commodity production is being cut back and the livelihood of petty commodity producers as well as wage workers is being undermined.

Thirdly, the results of the distortion of agriculture during the colonial period are now becoming serious.

We should like to summarise the crisis created by the colonial period in order to argue that the crop patterns instituted by the colonial state will not solve the problem of surplus (mine) labour. That is to say, unless there is a break from colonial patterns of agriculture, including the crop patterns, the countryside will not only be unable to absorb extra labour - that is, labour that does not migrate- but it will experience crisis conditions in production anyway.

In brief the agricultural crisis created by colonialism consists of the following : Since the 1940s in the southern provinces, the colonial state forced peasants to cultivate certain crops. These were cotton (for export) and rice (for the internal market). Coconut tree cultivation for fibre was already in operation. Large-scale commercialisation of groundnuts and cashew began in the 1950s. This forced cultivation of crops and the introduction of new crops came into conflict with the food-growing needs of the people, and also with the use of their labour during concentrated agricultural seasons. The result has been, to give only one example, that land needed for cashew was taken away from groundnut (amendoim) production. The peasant producer who has to ensure his family's survival consequently was driven to practising inter-cropping. That is, he grew maize and cashew nut trees side by side; he grew long-term cash crops as well as food crops to safeguard himself in times of drought from the withering of food crops. We have tried to explain these processes in the Case Studies from the different field investigations. In short, the land was over-taxed; its fertility has dropped; and some serious planning must be done on the question of renewing soil and seeds; but above all, of altering the colonial crop patterns.

Crop planning is essential to restore soil fertility;to economise on labour and to ensure the security and survival of the peasant family. Our timetable of the seasons of agricultural production shows that at certain times of the year, for instance, during December and January, weeding of groundnuts (amendoim) and collecting cashew nuts has to be done at the same time. Cotton has to be planted at the same time as food crops. Careful planning of crop patterns and thus the use of labour is necessary.

This is only one aspect of the transformation of agriculture that is required in the Transition period. The transformation of agriculture will, of course, take place through the construction of aldeais comunais (communal villages).

But within the policy of communal villages and collective rather than individual production we would like to draw attention to the following considerations, based on our study in Inhambane Province.

a. Within the policy of aldeais comunais the above-mentioned study and planning of crop patterns is particularly important, or there will be production problems and the peasants will not only see their security at risk, but they will not gain confidence in the policy.

b. Within the aldeais comunais a certain division of labour that is, specialisation in function, as for instance of craftsmen and artisans, must be organised. Otherwise new forms of agricultural organisation will fall back to lower levels of division of labour and thus production. We would like to stress the importance of establishing, for instance, small repair shops for agricultural machinery. They would need supplies of metal for used ploughs but could be an invaluable way of re-integrating former wage-worker migrants. Forms of petty commodity co-operatives could be organised, with a careful study of the basis for such cooperatives, and attention paid to their role in raising production by introducing improved instruments of production and ways of organising production.

c. The citing of aldeais comunais is critical. In the case of Sitila (see the Report of the Brigade) there can be no solution to agricultural production in the shape of communal villages unless there is a solution to the water shortage. The problem begins there with water; building housing without solving the water problem will only create problems. The people live in dispersed households precisely because of the shortage of water. Their investment of mine wages in water tanks has been a pre-condition for survival.

d. There are other problems in starting aldeais comunais in the coastal littoral where there is not private ownership of land, but there is tree proprietorship. These areas need special study. We did not have time or opportunity to make any special study of these problems.

e. From discussions with peasants in different areas, we have learned a great deal about the knowledge that peasants themselves have about production, about kinds of crops and soils, and the reasons for falling productivity. It is, of course, an assumption of FRELIMO policy that mass work among the peasants consists in learning from them as well as leading them. We would suggest that the size of aldeais would have a great deal to do with the ways in which production can not only be well-organised and sustained, but the ways in which peasants can themselves take part in democratic discussion and mobilisation for production.

f. From discussions with peasant households we learned that there is some considerable ignorance and doubt about the effects of aldeais comunais and the ways they will work. This is not to say there is hostility to aldeais comunais. There is tremendous confidence, on the whole, in FRELIMO. But there is a lack of information on how the aldeais will work and how they will affect different strata of peasants. We would suggest that guidelines on certain questions should be elaborated and spread among the people in the countryside.

But the way in which the policy of aldeais comunais will affect the peasantry does bring us to a discussion - referred to in the chapter on Social Differentiation in the countryside - of the class or strata composition of the peasantry.

g. It is important to look at the peasantry in class terms. The peasantry is not a homogenous mass. In our chapter on Social Differentiation of the Peasantry we have shown that the great majority of rural producers are either Middle or Poor Peasants. We have set out our criteria for the two groups. There are some rich peasants (who employ some wage labour, often part-time, but they constitute an extremely small group). There are also small African commerciantes and transporters who form a nucleus of a commercial petit-bourgeoisie but this is a small and unstable class. There are very few agricultural labourers, though this class may grow with the effects of the cutback in mine wage work.

The middle and the poor peasants have differing reliance on mine wage work. Essentially the difference between them (apart from our criteria of ownership of means of production, size of family labour force, number of trees, extent of land and extent of petty commodity production earnings) is that the poor peasantry is totally reliant on mine wage worker for family reproduction. The middle peasants have also done mine contracts but they have managed to extracate themselves from this and build a sounder agricultural base.

There is no exploitative relationship between the middle and the poor peasants, except that in the case of shared or communal labour the better-off peasant will take a greater share.

The middle peasants are the backbone of agricultural production in the peasant economy. Many of them are excellent agriculturists, and they work extremely hard on the land.

But it is this class of peasants which is most apprehensive and ignorant about the policy of aldeais comunais. They have acquired means of production and large numbers of trees through hard work andthey are unclear about what will happed to them and their agriculture if they join units for communal production.

It seems to us that some careful study must be done on the question of the strategy towards the middle peasant. They will want to know in detail what will happen to their ploughs and their cattle, their mills and their trees. They are not aware of detailed plans which could allow for them to pool their means of production and to be paid later from the surplus generated by communal production.

It seems to us (1) that intermediate forms of mutual work would be a good preliminary step towards aldeais comunais in order to build confidence and establish the practice of collective work. The machambas de povo are a small start in this direction but often not very successful, and they do not appear to be leading to a higher level of collective work; (2) careful explanatory guidelines need to be prepared to win the middle peasants to the revolution in the countryside. They are not in any exploitative relationship to the poor peasants; but they are nervous of a 'poor peasant line' which they fear will undermine their standards.

On the poor peasants. Any policies directed towards easing the problem of mine workers who can no longer go to South Africa would have to be directed towards the problems of the poor, younger peasants first. The young are poor because they have not yet found the means to establish agricultural production (See the report of the Maimela and the Homoine Case Study). Measures needed could include : the allocation of sufficient good land either in the area from which they come or elsewhere (individually or collectively) to enable them to begin farming; and assistance either by integrating them into already established communal enterprises, or by providing credits for new communal enterprises, or by at the mimimum encouraging the older generation to contribute more to the establishment of their children on the land.

h. Some areas have graver problems than others. Priority should be given to solutions in such areas as Sitila and Pembe which are off the littoral,and poor agricultural areas. In these areas dependence on mine labour is so acute that any further cutback in wage openings could produce alarmingly serious problems.

i. There are serious problems concerning cattle and other stock. The evidence shows that the reproduction of cattle is extremely unreliable. That is, from one year to the next large amounts of cattle die, especially in drought years. It seems to us guidelines and advice are needed on the maintenance of stock.

j. One question of marketing is important. Peasant surpluses can be increased with attention to production methods and forms but there appear to be serious problems in getting surpluses to the market. In the colonial period when there was a drive for export crops, the network of privately owned shops and businesses collected the crops from the peasantry and transported

them to the market. This private sector also obtained short-term credit from the banks, and paid farmers on delivery of their crops.

We understand that the intention is that the lojo de povo should not only serve as centres for retail sales but should be centres for collection and purchase of peasant crops. Till this is possible there will be serious bottlenecks in the availability of surplus for the market. The marketing bottleneck will in turn have an adverse effect on surplus production in the peasant economy.

5. These questions, it seems to us, are not of a regional character, and do not concern either one Ministry or the other, neither the Ministry of Agriculture nor the Ministry of Labour. They are problems which run to the heart of the country's economic planning, and especially to the heart of certain basic planning concepts.

We understand that the basic strategy of the Economic Plan in the immediate period is for the concentration on State Farms in order to guarantee the country's food supply; and that the surplus from this sector should then be available to build the peasant sector.

The problem is that phasing out of mine labour has shortened this timetable. It has meant that the peasant sector is operating not at the same previous levels, but at considerably reduced levels. Economic planning and the relationship of the two agricultural sectors should, it seems to us, take into account this sudden drop in mine labour and thus the availability of money in the peasant sector, and the consequent threat to peasant production and livelihood.

This runs to the question of the allocation of resources. If a strategy concentrates on routing resources to the State farm sector in agriculture, there will surely be correspondingly less for the peasant sector. That sector no longer has the alternative of mine wages to the same extent that it did in the past.

We would urge that this matter of the resources allocated in the immediate period to the peasant sector be studied. We would also stress in this connection that a surplus of labour, even if only in the interim period, while mine labour is phased out and the economy is being restructured, appears to us to dictate policies based on labour-intensive methods of production, not capital-intensive methods.

II

The Worker-Peasants: an attempt at synthesis

1. One of our principal objectives in this report has been to show how the peasant societies of southern Mozambique have been subordinated to the requirements of capitalist accumulation. For from being a "traditional sector" existing side by side with a "modern sector" with no interrelations, - as conventional bourgeois theory asserts - we have shown that capitalist accumulation takes place on the base of surplus labour extracted from the peasant economy. The principal function of the peasant societies has become, as a result of colonial domination and capitalist exploitation, to serve as a reserve army of cheap labour for the accumulation of capital. Under the domination of the capitalist mode of production, the 'traditional' cycle of production, distribution and consumption of the peasant economy was partially destroyed so as to generate a continuously reproduced labour surplus, which, out of economic necessity on the part of the peasantry, was transformed in into a source of cheap wage labour.

Thus, the in-built reproduction of a labour surplus, and the consequent dependence on wage income from such labour surplus to assure the reproduction of the peasant economy itself, are the two distinct features of the subordination of the peasantry to the capitalist mode of production in Southern Mozambique.

This process of accumulation of capital on the base of the dissolution/conservation of the pre-capitalist modes of production, created the 'worker-peasant' - a producer who is neither totally divorced from his means of production, nor an independent producer relying only on his own means of production. This raises the question of class determination of this social group of worker-peasants. Are they part of the proletariat or of the peasantry? Our research, to date, - does not allow us to tackle these questions in all their complexity, and therefore, we shall only confine ourselves to pinpoint some elements which may aid toward analysing these questions further.

One thing is clear: we are dealing here with transitional forms. Transitional in the sense that it concerns the domination of the capitalist mode of production over pre-capitalist modes through the partial dissolution and partial reproduction of the latter so as to extract surplus labour, - the source of cheap wage labour. It follows that such transitional or intermediate forms of production cannot be analysed solely in terms of class contradictions within the capitalist mode of production proper. Rather they should be analysed as processes of formation and destruction of classes. Transitional forms of production should however not be misinterpreted as being necessarily short-lived: whether they are or not depends on whether they continue to serve the requirments of capital on the one

hand[1], and whether the peasant economy can sustain the continuous drain of labour power without disintegrating completely, on the other.[2]

The worker-peasant stands with one leg in peasant production and with the other in industrial production. As such, he has acquired experience of labour organisation and discipline of a modern proletariat, as well as having obtained a certain skill in operating modern technology. As a worker on the mines, he has experienced the direct oppression of capital and participated in workers' struggle against capital. Thus, part of his consciousness has been shaped by his proletarian experience. On the other hand, he is not totally freed of petty-bourgeois aspirations: to establish himself as a peasant-farmer, a craftsman or small shopkeeper, still remains a possibility open to some. The peasant and the worker are blended together in one man, and produce an ideological outlook which borrows from both.

This contradiction within the migrant labour system can also be looked upon as a continuous process of concentration and dispersion of the labour force. As a miner, he forms part of a concentrated labour force, while on returning home the labour force disperses in the peasant economy. This concentration/dispersion process imposes its limitations on forms of labour organisation and action, i.e. on the extent to which the worker-peasant is involved in class struggle.

However, this process of semi-proletarisation of the peasantry is not uniform and equal in intensity for the different strata within the peasantry. As we have tried to show in this report, practically all men with few exceptions, went to the mines, but the intensity and extent of dependence on mine labour was not homogenous among them. Some managed to establish themselves as independent producers in

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1. So, for example, increased mechanisation of the mining industry may eventually require a stable labour force to guarantee the maximum extraction of surplus value. This may be so because the migrant labour system imposes its limits on skill acquisition by such labour force, and hence at a certain point such a system may become redundant from the point of view of capital.

2. The case of the Transkei, for example, seems to indicate that the combination of bantustan confinement and migrant labour led to the erosion of the peasant base to such an extent that mine labour has become the predominant factor in the survival of the people. (See particularly the work of Colin Bundy and Roger Leys, cited in the bibliography.)

agriculture or craft or both, while others continued to be dependent on mine labour for the whole of their life. To the former, mine labour was a means to an end, while to the latter it became the end itself. As we have shown, the dividing line between them is not clearly drawn, which shows that differentiation among the peasantry (in Inhambane) is not as yet very pronounced.

6. For those who managed to establish themselves as middle peasants (usually combined with crafts activities) and consequently became less dependent on income from mine labour, it is clear that property consciousness will be more strongly manifested. However, as we have tried to show in this Report, the position of the middle peasant remains inherently unstable, - illness in the family, loss of livestock through disease, droughts and floods, etc., continuously threaten the basis of his existence. In the present time with the reduction in recruitment of miners, the precarious position of the middle peasant is even more compounded by the fact that mine labour is no longer an alternative open to them to compensate for whatever setback they experience, and furthermore, by the fact that in-so-far as they are dependent on income from craft activities, these depend to a large extent on the continued inflow of income from mine labour of other worker-peasants. The middle peasant's experience as a worker as well as his precarious position as a middle peasant, may make him more receptive to the introduction of collective forms of agricultural production such as co-operatives, if mobilisation is done in such a way as to take account of his specific ideological outlook and material position.

His property consciousness leads him to fear forms of collective production since in many instances he interprets these as an attempt to confiscate his cattle, his trees, his chickens, his plough, etc. Proper explanation of what co-operatives entail may reduce his aversion for such forms of collective production. Specifically, the adoption of a "poor peasant line" may lead to antagonising the middle peasant and thus fail to mobilise an important section of the peasantry.

7. For the middle peasant mine labour became a supplement to agricultural and craft production, while for the poor peasant it constitutes the principal source of his livelihood. Even the day-to-day consumption needs of his family became dependent on income from mine labour, and as such his social position becomes increasingly more similar to that of the working class proper. This group will consider themselves effectively unemployed if they are not engaged in wage employment since their agricultural base does not constitute any viable alternative. Their weak material base in agriculture does not allow them to establish themselves independently as agricultural producers within the present system. Their consciousness is probably closest to that of a worker, and as such, it appears to us that this group constitutes an important force in the transition to socialism. Either, part

of them can be transformed into a stable industrial and agricultural wage labour force, or be a nucleus around which co-operatives and communal villages can be constructed.[1] Their experience in labour organisation and discipline, and in many cases technical skills, could be a powerful base for creating new social relations in the countryside, but this would require a well-prepared program of mobilisation and organisation on the part of political and administrative structures.

8. The mobilisation of this poorer strata of worker-peasants which also indludes the great majority of young people, appears to us to be an immediate task because of the precarious position these people find themselves in nowadays due to the reduction in recruitment. Failure to do so, may produce either a rural proletariat of poor peasants working on the land of richer peasants, or a drift to the towns where they would join the ranks of the unemployed. Such a process would entail a serious demobilisation of what could constitute a powerful force in the transition to socialism.

III

Mine Labour

Our conclusions and suggestions on the subject of Mine Labour can be read on p76. An extended version forms the subject of a separate Memorandum to the Ministry of Labour.

September 30, 1977

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1. In Tanzania, for example, extremely successful Ujamaa villages were constituted predominantly by ex-plantation workers (especially sisal workers) i.e. peasants with working class experience. In Gaza Province, there is some evidence that ex-mine workers are taking a lead in the construction of communal villages.

APPENDIX I

THE CONVENTIONS ON MINE LABOUR BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

(Note: This Appendix was prepared from the Portuguese text)

1. Regulations before 1897

In 1857 authorisation was given for voluntary migration from Lourenço Marques to Natal by sea. (Decree no. 152, 2nd August, 1857). In this connection a representative of the Natal Government resided in Lourenço Marques, while an Inspector for the Control of Migration was appointed in Durban. In 1875 the authorisation was extended to permit Mozambicans to work in the Cape Province (Decree no. 246, 18 July 1875).

2. The Regulations of 1897

The first statute governing migration - Regulations for the Employment of Native Mozambicans in the South African Republic (Transvaal) - was enacted in 1897 (approved by Decree no.100, 18 November 1897, issued by Colonial Governor of Mozambique, Mouzinho de Albuquerque.

It was designed to create the first system of migration control, and to this end established the post of Trustee for 'Natives' in South Africa, who was to regulate the position of African migrant workers until the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1903).

In 1897 the Rand Native Labour Association, a South African company, came into existence with a monopoly of recruitment of miners in Mozambique, which reflected the growing importance attached to the control of labour.

The fighting in the Anglo-Boer War brought about an almost complete shutdown of industrial, mining and agricultural activity, and led to the repatriation of large numbers of workers. In 1901 a decree was promulgated imposing a total ban on the movement of workers to the Transvaal (Decree no. 177, 9 May 1901 - referred to later in the discussion on problems concerning the port of Lourenço Marques).

3. The Modus Vivendi of 1901

After the takeover of the Transvaal by the British in 1901 an agreement was signed between the Portuguese government and the new colonial administration, which limited the contract period on the mines to one year a concession to pressure from the settler community in Mozambique (agreement signed on 18 December 1901). This time limit, coupled with the effects of the war and competition for labour from the Transvaal Railway, led to a noticeable drop in the flow of migrant labour to the mines, and gave rise to the insertion into the Agreement of the so-called 22nd Parallel clause, prohibiting recruitment by WENELA north of that latitude.

The Modus Vivendi re-established the post of Trustee in terms of the 1897 regulations subject to 'new safeguards adopted by the parties'. The Trustee was to 'control' the movement of 'natives' in the Transvaal, and to use his position to ensure that taxes could be paid, that the miners would return to Mozambique at the end of their contract periods, that they could then pay their contribution to the public service tax

(the so-called braçal tax) and fulfil their compulsory labour obligations (chibalo). The Modus Vivendi was thus quite favourable to Portugal. For their part, the South African authorities retained the right of veto over South African recruiting agencies wishing to operate in Mozambique. The Modus Vivendi was accompanied by a secret agreement between Mozambique and WENELA [1] which effectively gave the latter a monopoly over the recruitment of labour south of 22°. The agreement in practice meant that recruiting licences of companies not part of WENELA were cancelled. In 1906 the J.B. Robinson group of mining companies which had broken away from the Chamber of Mines, sought authorisation from the Portuguese government to recruit in Mozambique. It obtained this in theory, but in practice was unable to recruit since no actual licence was given.

4. The Creation of the Department of Native Affairs

In the meanwhile in Mozambique - in 1907 - the various agencies concerned with the administration of the colonised people were merged into the centralised Department of Native Affairs. The Department was concerned with the functioning of the indigenous political system, and the study of uses and customs; the appointment, dismissal and substitution of chiefs; the maintenance of order; the creation of a 'native' police force. indigenous justice; the passing on of instructions to the population; the development of the colonial economy (the promotion of agriculture, recruitment for private and public purposes, the taking of censuses and the collection of taxes, public work etc.) [2]

5. The Convention of 1909

On 1st April 1909 the first Convention between the Government of the Province of Mozambique and of the Transvaal was signed. The Convention provided that:

a) Permission to recruit labour for the Transvaal mining industry was restricted to the territory under the direct control of the Portuguese Government, in effect therefore to the area south of the 22nd parallel.

b) The Mozambican Government retained the right to prohibit any recruiting which failed to 'conform to the terms of the Convention'. This right could be exercised at first hand by local officials (administradores de circunscrição), and because of the vagueness of the provision and the way in which

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1. In 1902 the main Transvaal mining companies felt it was necessary to cease fighting with each other, and so they decided to form a cartel for recruitment and marketing called the Chamber of Mines, which in turn established a joint recruiting organisation called Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA). The latter used as its agent in Lourenço Marques the firm of Breyner and Wirth.

2. It will be important to study the involvement of the administration in the recruitment activities of WENELA (amongst others). When in 1962 a ban was placed on the participation of public officials in the processes of recruitment, there proved to be a wholesale exodus from the service.

it was converted into an instrument of blackmail, it gave rise both to corruption and to close links between the colonial state apparatus and WENELA.

c) The Transvaal Government guaranteed there would be no forced renewal of contracts (which would have served the interests of neither the Portuguese nor the South Africans, both of whom wished to keep the workers tied to their rural communities.

d) 'Control' of workers would continue to vest in the Trustee, who would be responsible for:

Liason with the Transvaal authorities;
Collection of pay and taxes owed in respect of workers in Mozambique;
The granting or refusal of passes to illegal immigrants;
Collection of taxes owed by the minestto the Portuguese State;
The extension or withdrawal of passes (withdrawal in effect meant expulsion from South Africa);
The development of as complete as possible system of registration of Mozambican workers employed in the Transvaal;
The organisation of the first Deposit Agency and the transfer to it of moneys owing to the workers (this was the start of control of the workers money, something which encountered resistance from commercial and mining circles. Contrary to talk and Modus Vivendi, Portugal wished to retain exclusive control over the sale of liquor to its 'own' workers).

6. Characteristics of the 1909 Convention

The 1909 Mozambique Convention centered around the question of the harbour and railways of Lourenço Marques - the section on migrant labour being merely a complement. There were three phases in the Portuguese-South African relationship with respect to the port of Lourenço Marques: The first, which lasted until the end of the Anglo-Boer War, during which the harbour occupied a position of central importance. The British victory led to a decline in its importance which was marked even before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. A decree of May 1901 issued at a time of crisis in the employment sector, prohibited the departure of labour for the mines, thus worsening relations between the two countries; it brought out sharply the connection between the issue of labour (essential to the South African mines) and that of the port of Lourenço Marques (essential to the Mozambican economy). The third phase was heralded by the Modus Vivendi of 1901, and reflected the indissoluble ties between labour and the port, involving a relaxation of restrictions on recruitment of labour in return for a restoration of the harbour arrangements of 1875.[1]

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1. To give an idea of the benefits accrued by the port, the salient income was as follows: in 1896-97 Mozambique had an income of 2,934 contos, the share of Lourenço Marques being 1886 contos. In 1906 total receipts were 4,813 contos, Lourenço Marques' share being 3,280 contos.

With regard to railways and harbours, the 1909 Convention broadly provided for:

The maintenance of a 'sphere of competence' for the port of Lourenço Marques in respect of the Rand area as defined by the Conference of Johannesburg in 1895;
The guarantee of 50% of the traffice from this zone to the port of Lourenço Marques;
The Maintenance of the railway tariffs as set in 1875;
The constitution of a mixed commission, presided over by a Portuguese, that would co-ordinate the two railway systems.

The major provisions with respect to the regulation of migrant labour and the activities of the Trustee were as follows:

'Native' tax was to be collected at the mines;
WENELA was to receive a monopoly of recruitment in Mozambique;
Payment of wages could be deferred, but only on a voluntary basis;
The Portuguese Government was to receive directly a tax of 15 centimes for each employee;
Contracts would remain at 12 months, but be renewable.

7. The Attempted Agreement of 1912

The Chamber of Mines and the Portuguese Government negotiated in 1912 an agreement on the compulsory deferment of wages and the increase of the contract period from 12 to 18 months. The South African Government did not ratify it and it never came into force.

8. Re-introduction of the 'Parallel 22' Clause in 1914

The 22° provision was revived in 1914. This is usually explained as being based on health grounds: persons from the Tropics were said not to be able to adapt to the altitude and climate of the Reef. This explanation is not satisfactory since in reality many workers from the tropical regions worked on the mines clandestinely. The actual reason was that it was intended to avoid labour competition between the mines and the chartered companies and estates.
This clause became inoperative between 1926 and 1928 (because of a labour shortage) but revived finally thereafter. In 1922 South Africa announced that it was repudiating the agreement, attempting thereby to strengthen its hold over the port. The Portuguese government agreed to allow only the first section of the agreement to remain in force, namely that which concerned 'native' labour and which gave the name of the convention. In 1927 the Portuguese Government retaliated to South African pressure over the port by restricting the recruitment of labour for the mines. (Legal decree of May 1927).

9. The Convention of 1928

There were no major problems concerning the railway. The South African delegates did not complain about the administration of the port or the railway. The same 'zone of competence' was allotted to Lourenço Marques which continued to receive the guaranteed share of imports by rail. There were also new provisions which sought to restrict the capacity to establish independent tariff levels for lines other than that to Lourenço Marques.

"With regard to commerce, the existing principles were maintained, save that the principle of reciprocity was extended from the Transvaal to the whole of the Union of South Africa, a country with a high degree of industrialisation. All payments were to be made in gold (article 36). Any differences between the Governments were to be submitted to arbitration. After five years either party could claim revision of the provisions of the convention, which was to remain in force for ten years."
Dr. José de Almada in : "As negociações sobre a convenção de 1928."
The convention did not alter the monopoly of recruitment enjoyed by WENELA.

10. The Port Question after the 1928 Agreement
The 1928 agreement kept in force the 14 articles relating to the railways and harbours. The Union Government guaranteed to Lourenço Marques 50-55% of imports by sea and rail to the 'zone of competence' on the Rand.
The accords of 1934, 1940 and 1964 consistently lowered this figure: to 47.5% (1940) to 40% (1964). In 1969 the requirement to route a fixed level of traffic through Lourenço Marques was lifted altogether.

11. The 1928 Agreement in Respect of Labour
a) Labour contracts in the light of the Agreement:
There is hardly any mention of labour contracts in the document, and no reference at all to the demands of the workers or the abusive treatment which shaped them. Questions of repatriation, sanitary conditions, wages and other matters are dealt with only in the most general way under the heading of recruitment.
The convention permitted recruitment only in the territory south of 22° and stipulated a reduction in the number of miners as follows:

1929 - to 100,000
1930 - " 95,000
1931 - " 90,000
1932 - " 85,000
1933 - " 80,000

The other major stipulations were:
To maintain and develop the provisions of the earlier Convention concerning the recruiting personnel;
To regulate medical inspection of recruits as well as their rights in respect of accidents at work or tubercolosis contracted in the mines;
To subject migration to possession of identity cards and passports;
To limit the contract period to 12 months, extendible for a further 6 months, and to prohibit the re-employment of workers before they have spent at least 6 months in Mozambique.
b) Deferred Wages:
A system of deferred pay was established in terms of which a portion of the miner's wages was to be held by the Portuguese Trustee and only paid over to the worker after he had returned to Mozambique. Thus, after nine months of work and for whatever remained of the contract period (or the extended

period), half of the miner's wages was to be retained pending his return to Mozambique.
This handover of pay was done by recruiting officials in Ressano Garcia or other points of entry agreed upon by the governments of Portugal and South Africa.
c) The mines paid to the Portuguese government through the Trustee a series of taxes in respect of each contract.
d) Compensation, property of deceased miners and savings:
The Convention provided for:
Regulation of medical inspection and the rights of persons injured at work or contracting lung disease. Two medical inspections were made to guarantee a minimum level of physical fitness. It should be emphasised that the 'rigour' of the inspection was determined primarily by the labour requirements of the Chamber of Mines - in times of shortage, instructions were given to 'liberalise' inspection, while in times of surplus extremely rigid criteria were used.
Collection by heirs of the property and savings of deceased workers. No time was fixed, the question being left to internal legislation. In 1916 the period for claiming inheritance was fixed at one year. After that time, the money reverted to the state, which was to use it for 'the native population' in a way left undefined. The time period for clauses in respect of other injuries was so short that flagrant injusticed resulted. The accord of 1928 reaffirmed that all payments were to be made in gold.

12. Alterations to the 1928 Convention
The 1928 Convention was revised in 1934, 1936 and 1940.
The 1934 amendments introduced some changes in the labour clauses.
The Portuguese Government reserved the right to limit or stop recruitment in areas where, for public or private purposes it became necessary, for the time being to furnish local labour.
The number of workers was fixed at a maximum of 80,000 and a minimum of 65,000 subject to alteration.
The mines were to pay their taxes through the Trustee, at a rate of one shilling and sixpence for every registered contract or for each worker recruited, and two shillings and sixpence per month per worker for the period of the contract.
In sum, from 1935 onwards the state received on average an annual amount equal to 44 shillings and sixpence per worker.
If at the end of the year this total was not in fact met, the mine was responsible for the shortfall.
For their part the miners were required to pay ten shillings for a passport, valid for 12 months, and six shillings for a renewal.
As a result of the abandonment of the gold standard in 1932, it was agreed that payments to Portugal would in future be made in cash at the current rate of exchange, with mines paying over an indemnity of £135,000 in respect of non-payments since that date (art.36).
In 1940 it was agreed in an exchange of notes that the Portuguese Government should have the option of receiving deferred payments in gold and also that the maximum number of workers should be raised to 100,000, (with the mimimum remaining at 65,000).

The agreement stipulated that should the mines wish to reduce the number of workers, they should do so at the rate of no more than 12,000 per year. Clandestine migration was to be repressed.
The tax paid by the mines for every contract was raised to five shillings. South Africa guaranteed a minimum volume of traffic of 340,000 boxes of citrus fruit for Lourenço Marques port and pledged to reduce the tariff rates that favoured the port of Durban as against that of Lourenço Marques.

13. 1961 Decrees
In September 1961 a series of decrees were promulgated which formally repealed the so-called Native Statute, while ensuring its continuation by other means. The new measures purported to abolish the distinction between Portuguese and 'natives'. The Department of Native Affairs was closed, and in its place a National Institute of Labour created. All matters connected with the recruitment of labour for South Africa were transferred to this Institute.
In 1963 a rural work code was adopted which created a series of contractual stipulations and imposed restrictions on recruitment. It was specifically stated that the Codes would not affect the workers dealt with in the conventions. The contract conditions were in fact more advanced than those in the Conventions.

14. The Agreement of 1964
The 1964 Convention followed closely the general lines of the previous ones, making the procedures more specific and strengthening the clauses protecting the workers.[1]

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1. Development of International Legislation recommendations over migrant labour - I.L.O.
1936. The problem of cultural disruption flowing from the migration of males. The states that received workers had to improve their working conditions.
1944. A series of recommendations. To improve the circumstances of transport. To facilitate where possible the movement of whole families, and where not possible to ensure financial support for the family. Non-discrimination in conditions of work and the right of migrant workers to engage in political activity.
1947. To improve working conditions and housing. Especially mentioned was the previously ignored question of migration in colonial territories.
1948. That recommendations of I.L.O. be translated into internal legislation of member states.
1949. Recommendations that countries which were exporters of labour should restrict the flow.
From 1957 to the present. Recommendations to integrate migrant workers briefly concerned: 1) Cultural problems. 2) Working conditions. 3) Conditions of communications and transport linking the worker and his family. 4) Movement of the whole family to the place of work. 5) Legislation against inequality between migrants and nationals. 6) Planning to reduce the need for migration. 7) Planning in the host states to substitute mechanisation for the employment of migrant workers.

The following innovations were introduced:
The role of protection at work to be given to representatives of the Institute of Labour.
The general welfare of the workers to be looked after by the Portuguese consulate, a logical consequence of the elimination of the formal distinction between coloniser and colonised. It was expressly stated that the Mozambican worker was not to be treated less favourably than the local worker. There was a new system of deferred payment and of compensation. The compensation law for pneumoconiosis was extended to Mozambique mines. The Accord was to be valid for five years.

15. Provisions of the 1964 Agreement

Unlike the normal contract between a worker and his employer, which is regulated by internal law and depends on agreement between the parties, the clauses relating to the labour of the Mozambican miner in South Africa are regulated by international agreement and cannot as such be departed from unilaterally.
The employer is thus not obliged to make any improvements to conditions of work other than those stipulated in the agreement. In particular there are no mechanisms for obtaining improvements in working conditions.
The Mozambican worker in South Africa gives his labour on specific terms:

- a set place of work
- for a determined wage
- for a specific period
- in specified living conditions.

The worker has no privileges at all other than work, food and shelter as laid down.
The more important clauses in the 1964 Accord relating to these conditions are the following:
a) Workers could only be employed with the knowledge and approval of a representative of the National Institute of Labour.
b) The contract was for 12 months (313 shifts), extendible up to a maximum of 18 months. A worker could rescind his contract after six months by giving one months notice. (Before 1964 there had been de facto rescission by desertion).
c) Each contract had to specify name of the employer, name, address and domicile of the worker, place of recruitment, place of work, type of work, minimum wage, payment and type of transport to /and repatriation from work.
d) Deferred Payment.
After six months, 60% of wages for the remaining period of the contract could be retained on behalf of the workers. The deferred payment could be made in the following ways:

- it could be remitted periodically to a member of the worker's family named by him
- it could be deposited in a bank
- it could be delivered to the worker in a lump sum when he returned. If the worker did not request the other methods this method automatically applied, to the detriment of the worker since he received no interest.

e) Workers had to pay the normal passport taxes.
f) The mine which employed the worker had to pay in two instalments, a registration fee of six Rand (one instalment immediately and one after six months) for each contract and two Rand for each renewal.

g) Form of payment of compensation.
If compensation was less than 20 Rand the worker was to receive it all immediately; if it was between 20 and 200 Rand the worker was to receive 20 Rand then and there; and if it was higher than that the worker was to receive 10% of the total sum immediately.
The balance was to be delivered to the worker on his return home. (For the rate of compensation, see section III para. 5a and appendix II)
h) The mines, through WENELA, were to deposit in a bank designated by Mozambique through the Institute of Labour, the sum of deferred payments. This was to be done on the fifteenth day of each month in respect of wages for the previous onth. At the end of each month the Institute of Labour was to arrange the appropriate deductions and payments.
The money was to be deposited in one of 4 places: Xai-Xai, Pafúri, Ressano Garcia and Maxixe. Workers could indicate at the time of entering the contract which place would be most convenient for the payment of deferred wages.
i) Secret gold clause.
The Portuguese Government could receive gold instead of money. (This was permitted, but did not happen automatically).
The amount for deferred wages was exchanged for gold at a fixed price in Rands. This rate remained the same, despite later increases on the world market. The gold would be sold by South Africa on the world market and the profit handed over to Portugal.

16. Amendments introduced in August 1970
Discussions were held in Lisbon in August 1970 which produced some alterations to the 1964 Agreement. It:
- Allowed recruitment for mines inside the Mine Labour Organisation (WENELA) other than gold or coal mines.
- Modified the system of compensation payments
- Specified that three years notice of any rescission of the contract be given.

17. The 1965 Agreement
An agreement concerning the establishment of control posts on the border between South Africa and Mozambique, and the movement of Portuguese and South African nationals from one country to the other, was signed in May 1965. This agreement, regarded as supplementing the one of the previous year, opened the possibility of employment of Mozambican labour by enterprises which did not belong to WENELA. As a result, three more agencies were set up in 1967: Atas, Algos and Camom. In the main, the provisions of the 1964 Agreement were extended to cover workers recruited in terms of the new agreement. As far as pay was concerned the worker was to receive his wages for the first two and last two months of his employment, with the remainder being deferred. All Mozambicans were to be repatriated after 18 months in South Africa. The only exceptions were those who had already spent many years there and who had families in the country - they could ask for the repatriation to be suspended.

18. Sundry Provisions re Recruitment: 1939-1970
Between 1939 and 1956 all recruitment in Mozambique, except by mines affiliated to WENELA, was prohibited by a South African Government Notice.

After 1956, however, a South African could employ Mozambicans (except for household work), although they could not actually recruit them. An Agreement of 1966 provided for recruitment for South Africa of Mozambican workers in the following manner:

- The employer had first to establish through local officials that no local workers were available, and only then, with the use of a 'No objection certificate' issued by the local labour officials, could he start recruiting Mozambicans.
- The 'No objection certificate' had to be sent to the local office of the Mozambican Department of Labour, for approval and for recording the name and address of the recruitment agency in Mozambique. This had quite an effect in South Africa, and the Mozambican authority there was able to say in March 1966 that several agencies interested in Portuguese labour had asked for information about how they could contact the employment agencies.

19. Finally, in August of 1970 discussions were held followed by an agreement in respect of the sending of agricultural workers from Ressano Garcia to the border areas of Barberton/Nelsprint/White River in South Africa.

20. Types of Workers in 1970: A Summary

By this time, there were four types of Mozambican contract workers in South Africa:

a) Workers contracted by WENELA for the gold, coal and platinum mines.
b) Workers contracted by one of the three other agencies for the mines and in some cases for agricultural work.
c) Workers contracted in Ressano Garcia for agricultural work over the border.
d) Long-time residents in South Africa whose repatriation was kept in abeyance.

21. Some further aspects of a comparative study of the 1928 and 1964 Conventions

A. Transport of Workers

1928. Recruitment, placement and repatriation up to the border are the responsibility of the recruiting agency.
1964. Recruitment and transport to the mines is the responsibility of the agency. The cost of repatriation is deducted from the workers pay packets in the first six months of his contract.

B. Health

1928. The cost of the return of those rejected in Ressano Garcia or in South Africa is to be borne by the recruiting agency.
1964. Youths under the age of eighteen are to be returned at the expense of the agency.

C. Labour Contracts

1964. The clause which insists on a worker remaining in Mozambique for 6 months between contracts disappears. Versions of the contract, without this clause, are printed in local languages.

D. Clandestine Immigrants

1928. In principle, immediate repatriation.
They were treated as having been clandestine, 'albinitio' if they did not return at the end of contract.
The immediate repatriation clause did not operate if more labour was required within the 65,000 - 80,000 limits of the convention.
1964. There was especially after the changes in 1970, legalisation of would-be clandestines in Ressano Garcia (the border station). This helped to avoid clandestine immigration.

E. Advance Payment

1928. Advances allowed. The advances were deducted from wages in the first six months.

1964. No advances were allowed until the contract ca e into force.

At the moment of signing, the worker could receive an advance for family and travelling expenses up to a maximum of one months wages, to be deducted from the next six months wages.

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APPENDIX II - THE MINERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE

Centro de Estudos Africanos

MINE LABOUR INVESTIGATION

Date:

Place of interview:

Section 1. - Biographical Information

1. Name:
2. Place of birth:
3. Age or date of birth:
4. Place of Residence:
   (district, locality, círculo)
5. Marital status: single married widowed divorced
6. Education:
   (class attained)
7. Number of children:
8. Their ages:
9. Numbers of children you support:
10. Who else do you support with your wages?
11. Are there other people in the family earning wages? yes no
12. Who are these?
13. Birth place of father:
14. Occupation of father:
15. Has your father been to the mines? yes no

Section 2. Work History

№ of Mine Contracts Worked:

A. Work Years (all wage employment, including Mine Contracts)

Year Month	Employer + place of work	Job Description	under ground	above ground	Wages start	Wages finish	Length of contract in months	Place and occupation between contracts
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								

Comments of Interviewer

Bonus Certificate

1. Name of mine:
2. Date of issue:
3. Description of job:
4. Payment: - weekly
   - shift
5. Service Increment:
6. Sum to be paid on re-engagement:

Section 3. Money and Spending

A. The Last Contract

1. After your last contract how much money did you bring back to Mozambique?

2. How much did you receive in Deferred Pay?

3. During this last contract, did you send regular money to your family? yes no

   If yes:

   - How?
   - How much?

B. The Next Contract

4. If you are returning to the mines, have you left money with your family? yes no

5. How long do you expect that money to last?

C. All Contracts

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWER

Taking the contracts of the worker in order, ask him what he remembers of how he spent his money.
Some examples, to be used in questions if necessary:

- Did he use mine wages to pay lobolo,
- Did he give money to this father? Uncles?
- Did most of the money go to buy food and clothes for the family?
- Was regular money sent to the family?
- Did he buy goods like: plough, oxen, sewing machine, mill } for own use or for hire
- Did he build a house? What kind of house:
- Did he buy land or a shop?
- Did you pay money to the chief? If so, why?

APPENDIX III

PEASANT HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

For Selective Households

A. IDENTIFICATION

District

Locality

Circulo

Celula

Name of Family Head

B. FAMILY HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

1. Members Present

	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to Household Head	No. Years Schooling	Occupation princ. Agricul. Yes	-if No, what,
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							

2. Persons Away

	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to Household Head	No. Years Schooling	Away at School	Work/Occupation
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

C. FARMING INFORMATION

3. Number of Machambas

Number	Distance from Home		Who works the Machamba?	Observations (note if rotation of land is used)
	Near	Far		
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

4a. How long have you worked this land?

b. How long have you had this land? - Before Independence
- After Independence

c. How was it acquired? (e.g. traditional authority (regulo), clearing of unoccupied land, bought, inherited, rented, etc.)

c. Do you have enough land? If not why not?

d. How can you get more land?

5. Farming Yield From the Last Harvest (approximately)

Crop	Estimated Yield Latas Bags	Did you consume all? yes	no	Observations
Maize				
Cassava				
Groundnuts				
Beans				
Sweet Potatoes				
Rice				
Cotton				

6. Permanent Cultivation

Trees	Nº	Yield			Do you consume all?		Observations
		Latas	Bags	Kg.	Yes	No	
Cashew							
Mafura							
Coconut							
Pineapple							
Coffee							

7a. How adequate is the harvest for feeding the family?

- never adequate
- adequate in good years
- always adequate

7b. If you cannot grow enough food, why not?

- floods
- drought
- rats/other pests
- not enough land
- poor land
- not enough seed
- not enough equipment
- not enough labour

8a. Cattle

Type	Nº	Origin * B/R/G/A	Nº sold this year	Type	Nº	Origin* B/R/G/A	Nº sold this year
Oxen				Sheep			
Cows				Goats			
Donkeys				Pigs			
Chickens							

*B - Bought; R - Reproduced; G - Gifts; A - Abandoned.

8b. If you have oxen do you use them for ploughing? Yes No

9. Farming Equipment

For the last harvest did you use:								
Type	Nº	Your own		Hired from whom	Payment	Borrowed		Payment
		yes	no			yes	no	
Tractor								
Ploughs								
Oxen								
Grades								

D. MONEY ECONOMY

10. Sources of Income since last harvest

Sale of produce	Approx. amt. (in Esc.)	Sold to whom? *	Exchanged for what?	With whom?
Maize				
Groundnuts				
Cashew				
Mafurra				
Cotton				
Sale of stock				
Chickens				
Sheep				
Pigs				

* e.g. shop, state, family member, other

11. Wages earned

By which family member?	Occupation	Location					Monthly Salary
		Outside Moz.	outside province	in prov. outside district	in dist.	in cell	
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

12. Wage-earners outside Mozambique

Bring/Send money home regularly	yes	no	How much	per month
Bring/Send goods?				

13. Other Income : Money earned from part-time work.

(e.g. sale of crafts, beer-brewing, house construction, pottery, etc.)

Activity	Quantity
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

Observations

14a. Savings/Debts

Did the family save money from last year's harvest?

- Much - Quite a lot - Little - Nothing

14b. Did the family borrow money?

	Shop	Bank	Neighbours	Other family member	Others
From whom					

Why

How, much? - Much - Little - Quantity

When must it be paid back?

15. Did the family employ wage labour/other forms of assistance?

Activities	No. of days	Kind of payment
Preparing the land?		
Planting		
Weeding		
Harvesting		
Other activities		

16a. What do you spend your money on?

16b. Do you have enough for the necessities of life? yes no

16c. If not, how much would you need?

16d. How much would a person need for a good life?

E. DIVISION OF LABOUR

17a. Who works the machamba? *

Crop	Land Preparation	Plant-ing	Weed-ing	Harvest-ing	Process-ing	Market-ing
Groundnuts						
Maize						
Cashew						
Cotton						

* Indicate woman, man, children

17b. Who is responsible for:

Cattle

Sheep

Pigs

Chickens

18. Men absent on Wage Work in the Last 5 Years

Relationship with household head	Type of work	Where	How long away?
1.			
2.			
3.			

19. Work history of Household Head

Year of first wage work

Year of last

Number of absences inbetween

Observations:

20. Returned Miners

Do returned miners work on the land?

Yes No Only Partially Only Occassionally

If not, what do they do?

21. Living Conditions

1. Housing

a. Roof: zinc
tiles

b. Walls & floor: bricks
cement
wood

Observations:

2. Goods: Transistor radio
Gramaphone
Sewing machine

Watch
Bicycle
Others

Where did you get the money to buy these goods?

COMMENTARY OF THE INTERVIEWER

APPENDIX IV

NOTES FOR FIELD INVESTIGATION

The investigation of the PEASANT BASE is the other side of the investigation into the mine labour force. This is obviously because the miners are migrants; behind every miner is a family household in the peasant economy.

Primitive accumulation in Southern Africa has not relied throughout on the separation of labour from the means of production, leaving it with no other means of subsistence than the sale of its labour power. Rather it has depended on the maintenance and re-structuring of pre-capitalist relations. Thus, individuals are not proletarianised for permanent wage labour but the communities from which they come are under pressure to send men of working age out to labour. This system is initially induced by force; in time it becomes economically self-reproducing.

What are the effects on the peasant economy? In the longer run this system of labour exploitation has led in general to the regression of that economy, even its disintegration (the case of the Transkei), and to a marked decline in the level of subsistence.

In the Mozambique case, and in the areas we have selected for field work, we need to study the peasant base in order to discover the extent to which remitted wages from mine work satisfy consumption needs i.e. are used for family reproduction. But also the extent to which capital accumulation in the rural economy relies on remitted wages, thus the extent to which migrant labour has become part of the reproduction cycle of the countryside. And the extent to which, in a single area, both processes are at work among different strata of mineworker-peasant households.

The PEASANT HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE accordingly asks questions organised in 4 principal sections :

The Composition of the Household from which we will analyse the numbers of households which have wage-earners away.

Farming Information from which we will analyse approximate levels of production, and try to get an impression of whether the family is/might be self-supporting on its land.

The Money Economy, in which section we will look at the range of productive activities of the household and the extent of its reliance on remitted wages but also on other sources of cash income. Note that it is very important

to investigate not only full-time wage work but also money earned from part-time, perhaps casual labour, Also, importantly, money from petty commodity activities - anything from milling, brewing to small trading and artisan activities.

Note too that in circumstances when a steadily increasing proportion of a population faces limited access to the job market, it has to find subsistence from non-wage sources, or indirectly through wages by access to the expenditure of wage-earners. Hence the growth of petty production and trade and services.

The Division of Labour. Note that labour migration from Mozambique is organised without reference to the demands of the agricultural seasonal cycle. The fact that the minimum period of contracts is 12 months means that the migrant cannot time his departure and return, and the length of his absence in order to integrate wage work into the production activities of the peasant household. This form of capitalist impact which retains peasant production even as it draws male labour from it has important consequences for household production and especially for women as producers.

The sexual division of labour is important. We need to learn about it and analyse it, and this even where questions in the Questionnaire do not specifically deal with it. (See below the note on the limits of the Questionnaire as a method).

This question of the sexual division of labour is particularly important in our investigation because the heavy efflux of labour appears now to be winding down, and these peasant economies will thus be confronted with a labour surplus and it cannot be taken for granted: (1) that the men will naturally revert to working on the land and (2) that the land's carrying capacity will permit this re-absorption.

We should discuss the Questionnaire thoroughly to ensure that it provides as well as possible for all these issues.

When we are in the field we shall continue to use the Miners' Questionnaire as well as the Peasant Household one. This will be so that we can interview recruits and repatriated workers at Marixe, but also so that we can enlarge our sample to include workers now in the peasant economy but who have previously worked on the mines.

The Limitations of Questionnaires:

We must use the Questionnaire as one method of enquiry but not

the sole, or even the most important one. Too often, questionnaires prevent the interviewer asking himself about the appropriateness of his assumptions. Thus, the selection of questions determines the areas on which you will get information, and whole areas could have been left out, and will not be discovered if the researcher sticks rigidly to the questions on the page and does not explore further. There is the difficulty too, that questionnaires produce quantitative answers which are easier to analyse, perhaps, but tell far less about complex social issues.

So, in addition to the Questionnaires, and as preliminary to them, we should use Group Discussions and Interviews with informants.

Group Discussions:

There is a list on page 4 of the kinds of group discussions that could be organised. Improvise others as you need them. At these discussions the method should NOT be to ask each member of the group in turn what they individually did or think. Instead, ask about the usual patterns they know about, and have observed, and discuss these.

Group discussions produce difficulties, of course. There could be conflicting views within the group which are not expressed. Keep a look out for these. Also for contradictions with other material you already know, and for self-contradictions expressed by the informants. But do not steer the discussion too rigidly. Ask some of the principal general questions - it is for you to judge which will be the most relevant and stimulating of discussion - and then let the discussion flow while you or other members of the team take note. Intervene with another question when the discussion has moved too far from our points of concern. Record what is said as fully as possible. Including all contradictions. Use the words of the speakers. This is very important.

Group Discussions and Interviews are intended to serve several purposes :

1. In Week 1 they are to enable us to learn about the area in which we are working. On page 6 there is a list of information that will be useful. But you do not need to get all this material from interviews. Ask people in the structures what data they already have; this will save much time.

2. Apart from the factual information we must also try to locate different trends in the area and differing perceptions of problems. And we must use the group discussions to identify subject matter not already identified in these notes and the questionnaires and which needs to be pursued.

3. The discussion in the first week or 10 days is to enable us to select the peasant households we will interview.

Selection of Peasant Households:

We cannot make an investigation based on a wide sample in the districts which we select; we don't have enough people or time. This means that we have to select the peasant households from among those which we use for this inquiry.

The selection criteria are as follows, keeping in mind the differences between the various areas in which we work.

1. We should mainly interview miners' families.

This means that they should constitute the majority of the investigations. But in the selection of these families, our choice should be based on social differentiation. This means trying to choose miners' families with big incomes and also with small incomes. And keep in mind that there are many reasons to differentiate one family from others. Here we present some:

- families whose men have had many contracts but still have the lowest salaries;
- families whose men worked in the mines only when they were young;
- Families of young miners;
- Families whose men are in the mines at the time of the investigation. i.e. at a time when only those who have a bonus are recruited;
- families whose fathers worked regularly in the mines, i.e. second generation mining families:

11. To give an idea of the social structure in the rural area, we should also choose rich and poor families.

Rich/richest families. When we ask "which is the richest family?", we should also ask why it is considered rich. And why it possesses/works a lot of land. Why does it have cattle and ploughs? Why does it have many trees? Does it have a shop? Does it have transport? Does it spend a lot of money?

Let us ask how it got rich.

Poor/poorest families.

How do you know you are poor?

How long have you been poor?

Group Interviews

Party responsaveis
RD members
Returned Miners
Migrant workers of different ages/generations
Women and Wives of Miners
Young People of 15/16 years
Young men looking for wage work

Informants

Functionaries in the Administration
- Party
- Ministry of Labour
- Ministry of Agriculture
- WENELA

School teachers
Members of FPLM
Shopkeepers (on turnover of essential goods; credit, debt etc.)
Missionaries and catechists

Institutions to Visit for Data

Agricultural Research stations
Artisan schools
State Machambas
Aldeias comunais
Co-operatives
Cotton Board offices (for reports of the cotton campaign in the area)

Themes for Group Discussions

These are only suggestions and should be used only as a guide. The order in which the questions are presented is not crucial and other questions must, of course, be put when necessary.

A. General

What are the most important things we should know about your area?
Do families cultivate enough food to feed themselves?
Land
Are there conflicts over land? Why? Who resolves these conflicts?
Are there legal problems over land?
Do people buy and sell land? To whom? From whom?
Is there inheritance of land?
Are there owners of land?
Are there large landowners (latifundarios?)
Are there legal titles to land?
Has any redistribution of land taken place since Independence?
How was this done?
What were the problems?

3. Miners

Do many men migrate to the mines?
Do fewer men go than before?
How do they explain the change?
How do the structures explain the change?
Do special kinds of families send men to the mines?
Do men of a certain age go?
How do the miners who go regularly decide when it is time to go again?
Do they decide to travel in groups, relatives and neighbours together?
Is it difficult for miners to send money back to their families?
How do they do this?
What do miners spend their money on?
Is much of their money earned spent on the way home?
What do the men say when they come back from the mines?
What do they say when they are getting ready to go?
Do miners work the land in between contracts?
Do miners become rich?
Do the men tell the women how much they earn?
How can miners be reintegrated when they return home?

4. Social Composition in the Countryside.

Which are the richest families in the area?
How did they become rich?
Who produces most for the market?
Who owns the mill/s?
Who owns ploughs and oxen?
Which are the poorest families?
What makes them poor?

5. Women and Young People.

What do the women say when the men are getting ready to go to the mines?
What in general are the relations between men and women?
What is the effect of migrant labour on family life?
Do the women work their own machambas?
Who in the family controls the money from the agricultural produce?
Do the men tell the women how much they earn in the mines?
What goods do the women expect when the men return?
What do the women feel about lobolo?
What do the women think about WENELA?
Are there women members of the Grupos Dinamizadores?
Do women speak at public meetings?
Have there been changes for the women since Independence?
What do the young people want to do in the future?
Do young people speak in meetings?

I. Perspectives : Social changes since Independence.

What has changed since independence? In what way?
What is the difference since the Regulos went?
How can the land be made more productive?
How can miners be integrated when they return home?
Would they like to be integrated in a co-operative? If not, why not?
Are there communal villages already being organised?
How close is contact with the higher political levels?

Questions relating to general information about the area.

NB: It is important to define as quickly as possible which unit/area you are investigating. Is it a village? An area around a posto? A celula? Part of a celula?

Then:

i. Find out how far the area stretches and use maps or make a sketch map. Where are the machambas? grazing land, school? Cantina? River? etc.

ii. Get all possible lists of structures, and names of GDs. Also, possibly names of former Regulos, for checking on earlier material for purposes of comparison.

iii. Collect as much of the following information as is possible or you judge necessary:

Approximate number of people in the Unit/Area.

If possible, get the numbers of men and women in different age groups (0-16; 16-55; over 55).
The number of widows

Men working on the Mines.

Approx. which families have men away at the time of the investigation; and which have had men working in the mines over sustained periods of time; (See the paragraphs on the Selection of the Peasant Households, page iv).

Which families have functionaries working in the structures? Or in wage work in the district? Outside the district but in Mozambique?

Agriculture

Which crops are grown? Which non-permanent and which permanent?
What is the extent of cattle and stock ownership?
Which crops are sold for money?
What do the people do with their surplus production? Sell on the market? Exchange with other families?

Where is the nearest market? How do people reach it?
To whom are the crops sold in general? Have there been changes recently?

Means of Production.

How widely used are tractors, ploughs?
How widely used are fertilisers, irrigation equipment?
Is any farming machinery/oxen hired out? Who hires?
How do people pay for hiring ploughs, oxen?
How much do people pay for the use of the mill?

Transport

Who owns the transport?
What kind is it?
Who uses it?
Do they pay?
How do the people get to town?
Describe the roads throughout the year.

Co-operatives.

Are there co-operatives? What kind? When formed?
What are its problems? Successes?
Are there communal machambas?
Is there an aldeia comunal?

Trade.

Who owns the cantinas?
What can people buy there?
Does it allow customers to buy on credit?
Are there 'lojos de povo'? 'Co-operativos de consumo'?

Use of Wage Labour.

Do any families have people of other families to work for them at some times of the year? At which times, and doing what?
Are they paid in money? In kind?

Tribute.

Has it been the custom to give part of the crop to the Chief?
How much? When? In labour?
Do miners pay monies to the chief, or did they in the past?
If this is stopped why and how?

Skills and Trades.

How many people are:

carpenters	dressmakers/tailors
teachers	beermakers
health workers	basket makers
administrators	pilão makers
shopkeepers	hunters
policemen	bricklayers
FPLM	mechanics
drivers	priests
blacksmiths	others - specify

Try to make a census of skills.

APPRNDIX V

BRIGADE REPORTS: A SUGGESTED STRUCTURE

1. The attached plan of contents is only a guide in order to systematise the information you have collected. It need not be rigidly adhered to, but rather it should be adjusted to the specific requirements and conditions of the areas you have studied. Material that illuminates the conditions of each particular region, or part of region, should be included even it it is not provided for in this structure, as long as it is consistent with the next requirement :

2. Concentrate on a systematic structured presentation of the material you have collected rather than on beautiful prose. The idea is not to write an essay rich in anecdotes but to present the material you have collected in an organised fashion. Use convenient ways of illustrating your data where this is possible, as in maps, graphs, tables, etc.

3. However, while it is important to present your information systematically, you should also try to reproduce the words of your informants, and actual quotations, where they illuminate the principal points you need to make.

4. Your Questionnaires will be analysed in detail concurrently with the preparation of these regional reports. Your reports could draw attention to the general trends you have detected, even if you do not include comprehensive summaries of the data drawn from all your completed Questionnaires It should also be possible at this stage to include your assessment of the problems confronting the region in the realms we are investigating, namely the relationship between migrant wage labour and the peasant base. So draw on some of your questionnaires and group interviews where necessary, but do not try to make an exhaustive analysis of them at this stage.

Suggested Structure

1) The area/district/circulo/ celula /part of - investigated; its extent and characteristics.
Also some general information about the wider region in which your study area is situated, so that the specifics of your own area can be seen against the general background.

2) Population data

Adults (men and women), children.
Ratio of men to women (check the system of registration: does it include absent men or not?)

widows
etc. etc.

3) Extent of labour migration

Such figures of mine labour as are available, going back as far as possible, to show the extent of labour export from

the area. Include here the random surveys you may have conducted at meetings and during group interviews. Is there much evidence of internal migration i.e. to other districts or provinces?

4) General information about agriculture

The type, quality and condition of the land, variations in the region. The availability of water.
Land access and utilisation; land conflicts
colonial patterns
post-Independence changes.
Crops cultivated
for consumption
for sale.
Production trends.
Ownership of the means of production.
Marketing/distribution facilities.
Assessment of degree of peasant differentiation, and tendencies towards differentiation. Include factors of office (traditional, political) in access to land; and also peasant debt; forms of wage and other labour.

5) Wage employment other than mine labour

What wage labour openings in the area? In what sectors, establishments?

6) Mine labour and the peasant economy

a. Dependence on the income from mine labour to maintain consumption levels i.e. fairly recurrent spells of mine labour from which wages are used for the purchase of necessities. Also for the construction of houses, wells, and for the purchase of means of production.

b. Mine labour wages as a source of accumulation.
Check how recent the commencement of this process; check also whether accumulation activities are through trade, through transport, or through agriculture.
Both the above processes should where possible be related to the final point in 4), namely the process of peasant differentiation.
Has the recent reduction in the demand for mine labour (from 1976 onwards) combined with the lack of rain, led to a growing indebtedness of the poorer peasantry?
Check the position of (a) young married couples and (b) widows.

7) The social impact of mine labour

Do the majority of mine workers consider themselves 'unemployed' when they are not engaged in wage labour?
Do they take part in agriculture when they are not working on the mines?
How does the division of labour in agriculture work?
How do women see and describe the social effects of migrant labour?
Do you have any material on the impact of migrant labour on family life?
How do the miners view the recent changes in recruitment policy?

How do they respond to government policy? Would they, for instance, accept work on state farms even if they do not participate directly in home agriculture?
Do the miners formulate alternatives (even if these are expressed only as wishes) and if so, which?

8) The politics of migrant labour

How do the political structures explain the problems of migrant labour and the shortage of mine work?
Give quotations from speeches by party responsavels if possible.
How do the people respond (1) at meetings (2) in interviews and group discussions?

9) Alternatives to Migrant Labour

Assess for your area/s the possibilities of alternatives to migrant labour.
How could the land be made more productive?
How extensive are economic activities outside farming (and mine labour)?
Could the peasant base sustain more people i.e. absorb part of the 'surplus' labour no longer absorbed in mine labour?
Do the patterns of migration in the area suggest that migration has been determined by climatic and ecological and economic forces or that, for perhaps a variable number, the choice of mine labour is optional, in the sense of not being essential for the survival of the family?

10) Other/General Conclusions

APPENDIX VI

COLONIAL REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS RELATION TO WENELA

A. Colonial Administrative Organisation in Mozambique 1902-1977

1. There were three districts south of the Rio Save in 1902. These contained Native Circumscrições (subdistricts) and capitanias-mores (areas not yet pacified). The District of Lourenço Marques was founded in 1895, Inhambane in 1889, and the Military District of Gaza in 1898.

2. In 1907 the situation changed. The military district of Gaza was integrated into Lourenço Marques District.

3. In 1934 the Province of Sul de Save (south of the Save) was created, which contained the districts of Lourenço Marques (which included Gaza) and Inhambane. The Districts were further subdivided into circumscricões (areas with little Portuguese influence) and conselhos (areas where the Portuguese presence was already important). The concelhos and circumscricões were formed from Administrative Ports which were themselves divided into 'regulodos'.

4. In 1946 the District of Gaza was formed. At the same time the Province of Sul de Save was reorganised to include only Inhambane and Gaza, with Inhambane as the capital city. Lourenço Marques became an autonomous province.

5. In 1954 Mozambique became known as a Province and not a colony, the the Sul de Save was no longer an administrative entity. Lourenço Marques, Gaza and Inhambane remained as Districts, however.

6. After 1963 there were, south of the Save River, the three districts which were organised into Administrative concelhos and circumscrições which in their turn were organised into Administrative Posts and 'regedarias'.

   The District of Lourenço Marques, after 1963, contained the Concelhos of Lourenço Marques, Manhiça, Matola and the Circumscrições of Maputo, Marracuene, Namaacha and Sofié. Gaza District consisted of Gaza, Chibuto, Bilene, Muchopes and Baixo Limpopo concelhos, and Guijá, Limpopo and Magude circumscrições. Inhambane District contained the Concelho of Inhambane and the circumscrições of Govuro, Homoine, Inharrime, Massinga, Morrumbene, Panda, Vilanculos and Zavala.

B. WENELA's Regional Organisation in Mozambique

1. WENELA's regional organisational division never coincided with the colonial administrative districts of Mozambique. WENELA's headquarters in Mozambique was Lourenço Marques with four 'divisions' (the name used until 1961) as follows:
   - Inhambane
   - Gazaland (which included Inharrime and Zavala , administratively included in Inhambane District)
   - Xinavane (including Guija and Moguda)
   - Matola.

After 1961 WENELA used the term District instead of Division which still did not correspond to the Colonial Districts.

2. In 1966-67 WENELA changed the name of Matola District to District of Lourenço Marques (which included as well Machava, Manhiça and Maputo).

3. In 1866-67 the District of Xinavane disappeared, being integrated into the Lourenço Marques District.

4. The name Lourenço Marques was changed to Maputo in 1975-76.

To summarise, in 1974 the following structures existed:

District of Inhambane	District of João Belo (Gaza)
Maxixe	João Belo
Funhalouro	Inharrime
Homoine	Chibuto
Vilanculos	Zavala
Jangamo	Manjaiase
Morrumbene	Alto Changane
Massinga	

District of Lourenço Marques

Alto Mahé	Guijá
Machava	Macia
Moamba	Magude
Manhiça	Xinavane

The non-correspondence in administrative organisation makes comparison of statistics doubly difficult, since District level statistics cannot easily be compared.

In each District there was a principal recruitment 'camp' to where normally deferred payment was made and where the recruits were concentrated before being sent of South Africa. There were also secondary camps run by WENELA recruiters, and, finally, recruitment stations, manned by the 'propaganda helpers' of the Company (the 'tchova' and 'Indunas').

C. Formal Contract Between the Two Asministrations - WENELA and Colonial Portuguese

Formal contact is made twice over each contract. The contract has to be confirmed in the presence of the government administrative authority. When deferred payment is made, an administrative official is present (normally of the Institute of Labour). The sums of money to be paid in an area are given to WENELA to pay the workers in the administrative building of the Institute of Labour.

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