

Centro de Estudos Africanos

The Mozambican Miner: A study in the export of labour

Part II: The mine labour force

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1971-72

1971-72 was a year of high unemployment. The figure for 1971-72 was 115,300. The highest previous level had been 104,000 in 1969-70. The 1971-72 recruits were 12,500 more than in 1970-71. The 1971-72 recruits were 12,500 more than in 1970-71. The 1971-72 recruits were 12,500 more than in 1970-71.

PART II

THE MINE LABOUR FORCE

Under the category of labour from Malaya (under the category of labour from Malaya) 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 Malaya and Malawi labour together made up between 30 and 40 per cent of the labour force. After the Malawian, Malawian mine workers served the second longest contract periods. It was not until mid 1977 that the first Malawian labour was recruited, following the conclusion of a new agreement with the Chamber of Mines and the approval of revised contract terms. (2)

1) See Graph of the percentage of services to experienced workers

2) Under the new agreement covering Malawian workers, after 13 months of employment, 50 per cent of the basic wage is retained and the remainder is paid to the worker through WEMBA with the Chamber of Mines and Malawi for payment to the miner on his return to Malawi. The agreement also provides for the payment of a bonus to the miner on his return to Malawi with terms and conditions laid down by the Chamber.

PERCENTAGE OF TRABALHADORES SEM EXPERIENCIA ADIETADOS

PLA M.N.L.A. NOS ANOS 1961-1977

PERCENTAGE OF NOVICES Mozambican Mine Labour after 1974 1977

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)

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	Nº TOTAL DE TRAB. RECRUTADOS PELA W.N.L.A. / TOTAL Nº OF 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	8 825	470	5

Até Março
Until March

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

no. de
trabalhadores

no of workers
(mil.)

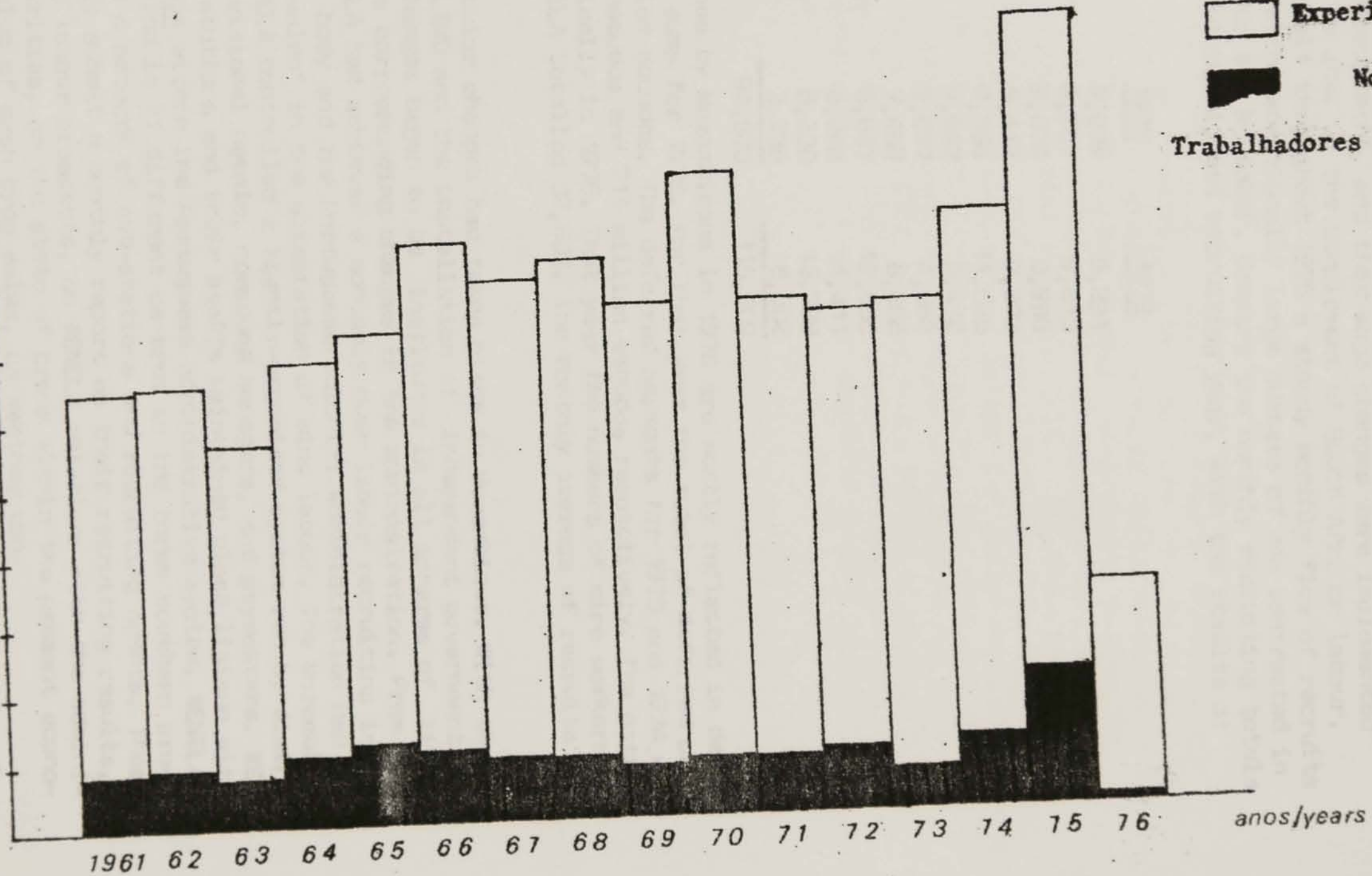
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

Trabalhadores com experiência

Experienced Workers

Novices

Trabalhadores sem experiência



anos/years

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:

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>
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
	<u>94,525</u>	<u>115,309</u>

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 divisions 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.

- 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 strategy 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 mine-workers 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 book number, particulars of his father, his left thumb

impression, his marital 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 than 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

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.

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 provinces 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 the mines 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.

A PROFILE OF THE LABOUR FORCE

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.

- 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 migrant.

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 based 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 peasant 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 worker.

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 extent 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 interfered 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 life¹ 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,

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

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.

<u>Mine labour time as % of total working life time</u>	<u>% of workers interviewed</u>
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 \pm 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 should 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:

<u>% of active working life spent on mine labour</u>	<u>% work force interviewed</u>
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 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

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 , $i = 1 \dots 12$ be the monthly number of recruits sent to the mines in that year. Then,

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

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

<u>Year</u>	<u>Method 1</u>	<u>Method 2</u>
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 \approx 16 months
 Method 2: period 1969-76 : 15 months
 1969-73 : 15.9 \approx 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:

<u>Compound</u>	<u>No. of miners interviews</u>	<u>Average length of contract</u>
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 is 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 information 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 starting 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 guaranteed 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 approximately 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!

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 differentials 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 PAYMENTS¹ FROM MINE LABOUR

<u>Deferred Payments</u>	<u>% of work force</u>
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

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.

The following are the main points of the study...

Detailed studies of the work processes...

In our brief study we have been unable to do...

- 1. To show the relative value of the different types of work...
- 2. To establish the relationship between the level of education...
- 3. To discover the range of work opportunities available...
- 4. To discover in general the level of skills attached to...

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 workplace 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 why 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

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 mechanics' 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,

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, chessa 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	Outras qualif.	TOTAL
									Sur- face Work- ers	Oth- er qual.	
Sem escol- arização Without schooling	5	9	15	37	36	29	15	19	1	12	178
1ª classe	1	4	3	4	6	7	4	0	1	6	36
2ª classe	1	6	7	10	14	9	7	6	1	4	
3ª classe	3	2	5	10	9	10	4	4	1	7	55
4ª 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 - Artífices ajudantes de mecânica / Artisans aides in engineering section

" " 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 super- visors

" " 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 de agrimensor/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 disabilities 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

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 Mg 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 Zefania 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 Engineers B.	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. 1000\$ was given to his father he paid 1,300\$ lobolo, and used the rest to buy clothes for his wife.
1948	New Largo Coalmine Assistant Electrician	A. 1sh/6d B. 1,500\$ C. 1,850\$	

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 Descrip- tion	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 Descrip- tion	A. Wage/day B. Money sent home C. Deferred Pay	Comments
1937- 1939	West Rand Labourer	A. 2sh B. 2,000\$ C. 1,000\$	Lobolo - 1,500\$. Father died & he became head of family supporting his mother.
1940 - 1941	Samaranjack Feeder boy	A. 2sh B. 3,000\$ C. 1,000\$	Bought food at home because there was a shortage.
1942 - 1943	Windrand-Deep Labourer	A. 2sh B. 2,000\$ C. 600\$	
1944 - 1945	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 Descrip- tion	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. Peo- ple who killed an animal would use them to weigh out the meat & pay him a kilo of meat. Gave 3,000\$ to younger bro- ther studying to be evange- list. Paid 2,700\$ for house in total after 7th & 8th con- tracts.
1954 - 1955	"	A. 5sh B. 4,000\$ C. 1,900\$	Bought ox - 1,500\$. Paid car- penter 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\$, trans- port 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 alvi- neira 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 author- ities said of bilharzia, hence paid only 600\$ compensation. Spent the money on the Funeral.
1968 - 1969	"	A. 8sh B. 4,000\$ C. 1,500\$	
1970 - 1971	"	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 child- ren.
1972 - 1973	"	A. R1 B. 3,000\$ C. 1,700\$	
1974 - 1975	Springfield Pumps	A. R.170 B. 4,000\$ C. 8,000\$	
1975 - 1976	Springfield Pumps	A. R.277 B. 7,000\$ C. 10,000\$	Built water storage tank - 3,120\$ for materials + 750\$ for transport of cement.