

Centro de Estudos Africanos

The Mozambican Miner: A study in the export of labour

Part IV: Conclusions and comments; Appendices

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Part IV

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

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- I
1. This investigation has emphasised throughout the extent of export of labour in the three southern provinces. Our Brigades working in the field found hardly anyone who had never worked a mine contract. The only men who had never been were the sick and the disabled; or teachers or self-employed craftsmen like carpenters. Furthermore men do not work the occasional contract, say at the beginning of their working lives when they are young men needing to find money to marry. On the contrary, men work large numbers of contracts; they work long contracts; and they spend a large proportion of their working lives as workers in the mines. Part II The Mine Labour Force sets out all the evidence.

We have set out at some length - in the chapter Mozambican Labour After 1974 - the changes that have occurred in the Mozambican mine labour force since the 1970s. These facts are summarised below:

- a) While 1975 was a peak year for the recruitment of Mozambican mine labour, and the record number of 115,309 was contracted, 1976 and 1977 figures have dropped to an all-time low.
- b) On the Mozambican side among the reasons for the decline in 1976 was the inauguration of new forms of immigration control by the Independent Government. This resulted in the reduction of WENELA recruiting camps from 21 to 4.
- c) On the South African side by October 1976 the Chamber of Mines and its labour recruiting organisation (WENELA/MLO) had devised a policy for the restriction of foreign labour recruitment. This policy was reflected in the quota for Mozambique of only 30,000 mine recruits during 1977. It was operated by decisions that (1) no novices (new miners) be contracted; (2) only holders of re-engagement certificates or bonus cards are eligible for re-employment; (3) experienced miners who held certificates, but certificates which had expired, could be eligible for recruitment only when specific orders were transmitted through WENELA for their re-hire. A limited number of mines recruited Mozambican labour during 1977. By end-August 1977 the recruitment total for the year stood at 25,561.

In mid-1977 Malawian labour which had been withheld from the mines since April 1974 began to return and it seemed likely that the Chamber of Mines would try to play off the two supply sources against one another, to the disadvantage of Mozambican labour even when the latter, as a result of the abolition of the gold premium clause

of the Mozambique Convention, could become price-competitive to the mining employers.

- d) The effect of the Chamber of Mines policy of reducing the Mozambican labour force and of recruiting only certain categories of workers meant that the Mozambican workers who continued to be recruited constituted a very special, relatively more skilled, kind of labour force.
2. The long-standing system of migrant labour (officially organised by WENELA for over eight decades) has created great distortions in the peasant economy, by interfering with the pre-colonial patterns of production and distribution.

The following are the effects of migrant labour on the peasant economy:

- a. Poor peasants are dependent on the wages from mine labour for their very reproduction, that is, for the purchase of the basic necessities of family life.
 - b. A great part of peasant households have been dependent on wage labour, not the proceeds of agriculture, for the purchase of instruments of production, like ploughs, oxen, mills.
 - c. Because the pre-colonial patterns of production and distribution have been disintegrated, a labour surplus has been created in the peasant economy. That is, agriculture has been so interfered with and distorted that the peasant base cannot sustain the population. (See the section in Part III on Petty Commodity Production).
 - d. Artisan crafts and skills have been made dependent on the proceeds of mine work. Petty commodity production is thus reliant on money earned from outside the peasant economy.
 - e. Young families in the rural areas cannot establish their own households - build their homes, establish agricultural production - without access to wage work (to start the cycle going). (The Brigade Reports or Case Studies of Maimela and Homoine explain this aspect).
1. The effects on agriculture are likely to be serious. We would suggest that in the slightly longer-term an incipient crisis could develop. This is because of a combination of factors. On the one hand, because mine recruitment is now restricted, cash earnings from wage work circulating in the peasant economy have dropped.

This means, in the second place, that petty commodity production is being cut back and the livelihood of petty commodity producers as well as wage workers is being undermined.

Thirdly, the results of the distortion of agriculture during the colonial period are now becoming serious.

We should like to summarise the crisis created by the colonial period in order to argue that the crop patterns instituted by the colonial state will not solve the problem of surplus (mine) labour. That is to say, unless there is a break from colonial patterns of agriculture, including the crop patterns, the countryside will not only be unable to absorb extra labour - that is, labour that does not migrate - but it will experience crisis conditions in production anyway.

In brief the agricultural crisis created by colonialism consists of the following : Since the 1940s in the southern provinces, the colonial state forced peasants to cultivate certain crops. These were cotton (for export) and rice (for the internal market). Coconut tree cultivation for fibre was already in operation. Large-scale commercialisation of groundnuts and cashew began in the 1950s. This forced cultivation of crops and the introduction of new crops came into conflict with the food-growing needs of the people, and also with the use of their labour during concentrated agricultural seasons. The result has been, to give only one example, that land needed for cashew was taken away from groundnut (amendoim) production. The peasant producer who has to ensure his family's survival consequently was driven to practising inter-cropping. That is, he grew maize and cashew nut trees side by side; he grew long-term cash crops as well as food crops to safeguard himself in times of drought from the withering of food crops. We have tried to explain these processes in the Case Studies from the different field investigations. In short, the land was over-taxed; its fertility has dropped; and some serious planning must be done on the question of renewing soil and seeds; but above all, of altering the colonial crop patterns.

Crop planning is essential to restore soil fertility; to economise on labour and to ensure the security and survival of the peasant family. Our timetable of the seasons of agricultural production shows that at certain times of the year, for instance, during December and January, weeding of groundnuts (amendoim) and collecting cashew nuts has to be done at the same time. Cotton has to be planted at the same time as food crops. Careful planning of crop patterns and thus the use of labour is necessary.

This is only one aspect of the transformation of agriculture that is required in the Transition period. The transformation of agriculture will, of course, take place through the construction of aldeais comunais (communal villages).

But within the policy of communal villages and collective rather than individual production we would like to draw attention to the following considerations, based on our study in Inhambane Province.

- a. Within the policy of aldeais comunais the above-mentioned study and planning of crop patterns is particularly important, or there will be production problems and the peasants will not only see their security at risk, but they will not gain confidence in the policy.
- b. Within the aldeais comunais a certain division of labour that is, specialisation in function, as for instance of craftsmen and artisans, must be organised. Otherwise new forms of agricultural organisation will fall back to lower levels of division of labour and thus production. We would like to stress the importance of establishing, for instance, small repair shops for agricultural machinery. They would need supplies of metal for used ploughs but could be an invaluable way of re-integrating former wage-worker migrants. Forms of petty commodity co-operatives could be organised, with a careful study of the basis for such cooperatives, and attention paid to their role in raising production by introducing improved instruments of production and ways of organising production.
- c. The citing of aldeais comunais is critical. In the case of Sitila (see the Report of the Brigade) there can be no solution to agricultural production in the shape of communal villages unless there is a solution to the water shortage. The problem begins there with water; building housing without solving the water problem will only create problems. The people live in dispersed households precisely because of the shortage of water. Their investment of mine wages in water tanks has been a pre-condition for survival.
- d. There are other problems in starting aldeais comunais in the coastal littoral where there is not private ownership of land, but there is tree proprietorship. These areas need special study. We did not have time or opportunity to make any special study of these problems.
- e. From discussions with peasants in different areas, we have learned a great deal about the knowledge that peasants themselves have about production, about kinds of crops and soils, and the reasons for falling productivity. It is, of course, an assumption of FRELIMO policy that mass work among the peasants consists in learning from them as well as leading them. We would suggest that the size of aldeais would have a great deal to do with the ways in which production can not only be well-organised and sustained, but the ways in which peasants can themselves take part in democratic discussion and mobilisation for production.

- f. From discussions with peasant households we learned that there is some considerable ignorance and doubt about the effects of aldeais comunais and the ways they will work. This is not to say there is hostility to aldeais comunais. There is tremendous confidence, on the whole, in FRELIMO. But there is a lack of information on how the aldeais will work and how they will affect different strata of peasants. We would suggest that guidelines on certain questions should be elaborated and spread among the people in the countryside.

But the way in which the policy of aldeais comunais will affect the peasantry does bring us to a discussion - referred to in the chapter on Social Differentiation in the countryside - of the class or strata composition of the peasantry.

- g. It is important to look at the peasantry in class terms. The peasantry is not a homogenous mass. In our chapter on Social Differentiation of the Peasantry we have shown that the great majority of rural producers are either Middle or Poor Peasants. We have set out our criteria for the two groups. There are some rich peasants (who employ some wage labour, often part-time, but they constitute an extremely small group). There are also small African commerciantes and transporters who form a nucleus of a commercial petit-bourgeoisie but this is a small and unstable class. There are very few agricultural labourers, though this class may grow with the effects of the cutback in mine wage work.

The middle and the poor peasants have differing reliance on mine wage work. Essentially the difference between them (apart from our criteria of ownership of means of production, size of family labour force, number of trees, extent of land and extent of petty commodity production earnings) is that the poor peasantry is totally reliant on mine wage worker for family reproduction. The middle peasants have also done mine contracts but they have managed to extricate themselves from this and build a sounder agricultural base.

There is no exploitative relationship between the middle and the poor peasants, except that in the case of shared or communal labour the better-off peasant will take a greater share.

The middle peasants are the backbone of agricultural production in the peasant economy. Many of them are excellent agriculturists, and they work extremely hard on the land.

But it is this class of peasants which is most apprehensive and ignorant about the policy of aldeais comunais. They have acquired means of production and large numbers of trees through hard work and they are unclear about what will happen to them and their agriculture if they join units for communal production.

It seems to us that some careful study must be done on the question of the strategy towards the middle peasant. They will want to know in detail what will happen to their ploughs and their cattle, their mills and their trees. They are not aware of detailed plans which could allow for them to pool their means of production and to be paid later from the surplus generated by communal production.

It seems to us (1) that intermediate forms of mutual work would be a good preliminary step towards aldeais comunais in order to build confidence and establish the practice of collective work. The machambas de povo are a small start in this direction but often not very successful, and they do not appear to be leading to a higher level of collective work; (2) careful explanatory guidelines need to be prepared to win the middle peasants to the revolution in the countryside. They are not in any exploitative relationship to the poor peasants; but they are nervous of a 'poor peasant line' which they fear will undermine their standards.

On the poor peasants. Any policies directed towards easing the problem of mine workers who can no longer go to South Africa would have to be directed towards the problems of the poor, younger peasants first. The young are poor because they have not yet found the means to establish agricultural production (See the report of the Maimela and the Homoine Case Study). Measures needed could include : the allocation of sufficient good land either in the area from which they come or elsewhere (individually or collectively) to enable them to begin farming; and assistance either by integrating them into already established communal enterprises, or by providing credits for new communal enterprises, or by at the minimum encouraging the older generation to contribute more to the establishment of their children on the land.

- h. Some **areas** have graver problems than others. Priority should be given to solutions in such areas as Sitila and Pembe which are off the littoral, and poor agricultural areas. In these areas dependence on mine labour is so acute that any further cutback in wage openings could produce alarmingly serious problems.
- i. There are serious problems concerning cattle and other stock. The evidence shows that the reproduction of cattle is extremely unreliable. That is, from one year to the next large amounts of cattle die, especially in drought years. It seems to us guidelines and advice are needed on the maintenance of stock.
- j. One question of marketing is important. Peasant surpluses can be increased with attention to production methods and forms but there appear to be serious problems in getting surpluses to the market. In the colonial period when there was a drive for export crops, the network of privately owned shops and businesses collected the crops from the peasantry and transported

them to the market. This private sector also obtained short-term credit from the banks, and paid farmers on delivery of their crops.

We understand that the intention is that the lojo de povo should not only serve as centres for retail sales but should be centres for collection and purchase of peasant crops. Till this is possible there will be serious bottlenecks in the availability of surplus for the market. The marketing bottleneck will in turn have an adverse effect on surplus production in the peasant economy.

5. These questions, it seems to us, are not of a regional character, and do not concern either one Ministry or the other, neither the Ministry of Agriculture nor the Ministry of Labour. They are problems which run to the heart of the country's economic planning, and especially to the heart of certain basic planning concepts.

We understand that the basic strategy of the Economic Plan in the immediate period is for the concentration on State Farms in order to guarantee the country's food supply; and that the surplus from this sector should then be available to build the peasant sector.

The problem is that phasing out of mine labour has shortened this timetable. It has meant that the peasant sector is operating not at the same previous levels, but at considerably reduced levels. Economic planning and the relationship of the two agricultural sectors should, it seems to us, take into account this sudden drop in mine labour and thus the availability of money in the peasant sector, and the consequent threat to peasant production and livelihood.

This runs to the question of the allocation of resources. If a strategy concentrates on routing resources to the State farm sector in agriculture, there will surely be correspondingly less for the peasant sector. That sector no longer has the alternative of mine wages to the same extent that it did in the past.

We would urge that this matter of the resources allocated in the immediate period to the peasant sector be studied. We would also stress in this connection that a surplus of labour, even if only in the interim period, while mine labour is phased out and the economy is being restructured, appears to us to dictate policies based on labour-intensive methods of production, not capital-intensive methods.

II

The Worker-Peasants: an attempt at synthesis

1. One of our principal objectives in this report has been to show how the peasant societies of southern Mozambique have been subordinated to the requirements of capitalist accumulation. For from being a "traditional sector" existing side by side with a "modern sector" with no inter-relations, - as conventional bourgeois theory asserts - we have shown that capitalist accumulation takes place on the base of surplus labour extracted from the peasant economy. The principal function of the peasant societies has become, as a result of colonial domination and capitalist exploitation, to serve as a reserve army of cheap labour for the accumulation of capital. Under the domination of the capitalist mode of production, the 'traditional' cycle of production, distribution and consumption of the peasant economy was partially destroyed so as to generate a continuously reproduced labour surplus, which, out of economic necessity on the part of the peasantry, was transformed ~~in into~~ a source of cheap wage labour.

Thus, the in-built reproduction of a labour surplus, and the consequent dependence on wage income from such labour surplus to assure the reproduction of the peasant economy itself, are the two distinct features of the subordination of the peasantry to the capitalist mode of production in Southern Mozambique.

This process of accumulation of capital on the base of the dissolution/conservation of the pre-capitalist modes of production, created the 'worker-peasant' - a producer who is neither totally divorced from his means of production, nor an independent producer relying only on his own means of production. This raises the question of class determination of this social group of worker-peasants. Are they part of the proletariat or of the peasantry? Our research, to date, - does not allow us to tackle these questions in all their complexity, and therefore, we shall only confine ourselves to pinpoint some elements which may aid toward analysing these questions further.

One thing is clear: we are dealing here with transitional forms. Transitional in the sense that it concerns the domination of the capitalist mode of production over pre-capitalist modes through the partial dissolution and partial reproduction of the latter so as to extract surplus labour, - the source of cheap wage labour. It follows that such transitional or intermediate forms of production cannot be analysed solely in terms of class contradictions within the capitalist mode of production proper. Rather they should be analysed as processes of formation and destruction of classes. Transitional forms of production should however not be misinterpreted as being necessarily short-lived: whether they are or not depends on whether they continue to serve the requirements of capital on the one

hand¹, and whether the peasant economy can sustain the continuous drain of labour power without disintegrating completely, on the other.²

The worker-peasant stands with one leg in peasant production and with the other in industrial production. As such, he has acquired experience of labour organisation and discipline of a modern proletariat, as well as having obtained a certain skill in operating modern technology. As a worker on the mines, he has experienced the direct oppression of capital and participated in workers' struggle against capital. Thus, part of his consciousness has been shaped by his proletarian experience. On the other hand, he is not totally freed of petty-bourgeois aspirations: to establish himself as a peasant-farmer, a craftsman or small shopkeeper, still remains a possibility open to some. The peasant and the worker are blended together in one man, and produce an ideological outlook which borrows from both.

This contradiction within the migrant labour system can also be looked upon as a continuous process of concentration and dispersion of the labour force. As a miner, he forms part of a concentrated labour force, while on returning home the labour force disperses in the peasant economy. This concentration/dispersion process imposes its limitations on forms of labour organisation and action, i.e. on the extent to which the worker-peasant is involved in class struggle.

5. However, this process of semi-proletarianisation of the peasantry is not uniform and equal in intensity for the different strata within the peasantry. As we have tried to show in this report, practically all men with few exceptions, went to the mines, but the intensity and extent of dependence on mine labour was not homogenous among them. Some managed to establish themselves as independent producers in

1. So, for example, increased mechanisation of the mining industry may eventually require a stable labour force to guarantee the maximum extraction of surplus value. This may be so because the migrant labour system imposes its limits on skill acquisition by such labour force, and hence at a certain point such a system may become redundant from the point of view of capital.

2. The case of the Transkei, for example, seems to indicate that the combination of bantustan confinement and migrant labour led to the erosion of the peasant base to such an extent that mine labour has become the predominant factor in the survival of the people. (See particularly the work of Colin Bundy and Roger Leys, cited in the bibliography.)

agriculture or craft or both, while others continued to be dependent on mine labour for the whole of their life. To the former, mine labour was a means to an end, while to the latter it became the end itself. As we have shown, the dividing line between them is not clearly drawn, which shows that differentiation among the peasantry (in Inhambane) is not as yet very pronounced.

6. For those who managed to establish themselves as middle peasants (usually combined with crafts activities) and consequently became less dependent on income from mine labour, it is clear that property consciousness will be more strongly manifested. However, as we have tried to show in this Report, the position of the middle peasant remains inherently unstable, - illness in the family, loss of livestock through disease, droughts and floods, etc., continuously threaten the basis of his existence. In the present time with the reduction in recruitment of miners, the precarious position of the middle peasant is even more compounded by the fact that mine labour is no longer an alternative open to them to compensate for whatever setback they experience, and furthermore, by the fact that in-so-far as they are dependent on income from craft activities, these depend to a large extent on the continued inflow of income from mine labour of other worker-peasants. The middle peasant's experience as a worker as well as his precarious position as a middle peasant, may make him more receptive to the introduction of collective forms of agricultural production such as co-operatives, if mobilisation is done in such a way as to take account of his specific ideological outlook and material position.

His property consciousness leads him to fear forms of collective production since in many instances he interprets these as an attempt to confiscate his cattle, his trees, his chickens, his plough, etc. Proper explanation of what co-operatives entail may reduce his aversion for such forms of collective production. Specifically, the adoption of a "poor peasant line" may lead to antagonising the middle peasant and thus fail to mobilise an important section of the peasantry.

7. For the middle peasant mine labour became a supplement to agricultural and craft production, while for the poor peasant it constitutes the principal source of his livelihood. Even the day-to-day consumption needs of his family became dependent on income from mine labour, and as such his social position becomes increasingly more similar to that of the working class proper. This group will consider themselves effectively unemployed if they are not engaged in wage employment since their agricultural base does not constitute any viable alternative. Their weak material base in agriculture does not allow them to establish themselves independently as agricultural producers within the present system. Their consciousness is probably closest to that of a worker, and as such, it appears to us that this group constitutes an important force in the transition to socialism. Either, part

of them can be transformed into a stable industrial and agricultural wage labour force, or be a nucleus around which co-operatives and communal villages can be constructed.¹ Their experience in labour organisation and discipline, and in many cases technical skills, could be a powerful base for creating new social relations in the countryside, but this would require a well-prepared program of mobilisation and organisation on the part of political and administrative structures.

8. The mobilisation of this poorer strata of worker-peasants which also includes the great majority of young people, appears to us to be an immediate task because of the precarious position these people find themselves in nowadays due to the reduction in recruitment. Failure to do so, may produce either a rural proletariat of poor peasants working on the land of richer peasants, or a drift to the towns where they would join the ranks of the unemployed. Such a process would entail a serious demobilisation of what could constitute a powerful force in the transition to socialism.

III

Mine Labour

Our conclusions and suggestions on the subject of Mine Labour can be read on p76. An extended version forms the subject of a separate Memorandum to the Ministry of Labour.

September 30, 1977

1. In Tanzania, for example, extremely successful Ujamaa villages were constituted predominantly by ex-plantation workers (especially sisal workers) i.e. peasants with working class experience. In Gaza Province, there is some evidence that ex-mine workers are taking a lead in the construction of communal villages.

APPENDIX ITHE CONVENTIONS ON MINE LABOUR BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

(Note: This Appendix was prepared from the Portuguese text)

1. Regulations before 1897

In 1857 authorisation was given for voluntary migration from Lourenço Marques to Natal by sea. (Decree no. 152, 2nd August, 1857). In this connection a representative of the Natal Government resided in Lourenço Marques, while an Inspector for the Control of Migration was appointed in Durban. In 1875 the authorisation was extended to permit Mozambicans to work in the Cape Province (Decree no. 246, 18 July 1875).

2. The Regulations of 1897

The first statute governing migration - Regulations for the Employment of Native Mozambicans in the South African Republic (Transvaal) - was enacted in 1897 (approved by Decree no. 100, 18 November 1897, issued by Colonial Governor of Mozambique, Mouzinho de Albuquerque).

It was designed to create the first system of migration control, and to this end established the post of Trustee for 'Natives' in South Africa, who was to regulate the position of African migrant workers until the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1903).

In 1897 the Rand Native Labour Association, a South African company, came into existence with a monopoly of recruitment of miners in Mozambique, which reflected the growing importance attached to the control of labour.

The fighting in the Anglo-Boer War brought about an almost complete shutdown of industrial, mining and agricultural activity, and led to the repatriation of large numbers of workers. In 1901 a decree was promulgated imposing a total ban on the movement of workers to the Transvaal (Decree no. 177, 9 May 1901 - referred to later in the discussion on problems concerning the port of Lourenço Marques).

3. The Modus Vivendi of 1901

After the takeover of the Transvaal by the British in 1901 an agreement was signed between the Portuguese government and the new colonial administration, which limited the contract period on the mines to one year a concession to pressure from the settler community in Mozambique (agreement signed on 18 December 1901). This time limit, coupled with the effects of the war and competition for labour from the Transvaal Railway, led to a noticeable drop in the flow of migrant labour to the mines, and gave rise to the insertion into the Agreement of the so-called 22nd Parallel clause, prohibiting recruitment by WENELA north of that latitude.

The Modus Vivendi re-established the post of Trustee in terms of the 1897 regulations subject to 'new safeguards adopted by the parties'. The Trustee was to 'control' the movement of 'natives' in the Transvaal, and to use his position to ensure that taxes could be paid, that the miners would return to Mozambique at the end of their contract periods, that they could then pay their contribution to the public service tax

(the so-called braçal tax) and fulfil their compulsory labour obligations (chibalo). The Modus Vivendi was thus quite favourable to Portugal. For their part, the South African authorities retained the right of veto over South African recruiting agencies wishing to operate in Mozambique. The Modus Vivendi was accompanied by a secret agreement between Mozambique and WENELA¹ which effectively gave the latter a monopoly over the recruitment of labour south of 22°. The agreement in practice meant that recruiting licences of companies not part of WENELA were cancelled. In 1906 the J.B. Robinson group of mining companies which had broken away from the Chamber of Mines, sought authorisation from the Portuguese government to recruit in Mozambique. It obtained this in theory, but in practice was unable to recruit since no actual licence was given.

4. The Creation of the Department of Native Affairs

In the meanwhile in Mozambique - in 1907 - the various agencies concerned with the administration of the colonised people were merged into the centralised Department of Native Affairs. The Department was concerned with the functioning of the indigenous political system, and the study of uses and customs; the appointment, dismissal and substitution of chiefs; the maintenance of order; the creation of a 'native' police force, indigenous justice; the passing on of instructions to the population; the development of the colonial economy (the promotion of agriculture, recruitment for private and public purposes, the taking of censuses and the collection of taxes, public work etc.)²

5. The Convention of 1909

On 1st April 1909 the first Convention between the Government of the Province of Mozambique and of the Transvaal was signed.

The Convention provided that:

- a) Permission to recruit labour for the Transvaal mining industry was restricted to the territory under the direct control of the Portuguese Government, in effect therefore to the area south of the 22nd parallel.
- b) The Mozambican Government retained the right to prohibit any recruiting which failed to 'conform to the terms of the Convention'. This right could be exercised at first hand by local officials (administradores de circunscrição), and because of the vagueness of the provision and the way in which

1. In 1902 the main Transvaal mining companies felt it was necessary to cease fighting with each other, and so they decided to form a cartel for recruitment and marketing called the Chamber of Mines, which in turn established a joint recruiting organisation called Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA). The latter used as its agent in Lourenço Marques the firm of Breyner and Wirth.

2. It will be important to study the involvement of the administration in the recruitment activities of WENELA (amongst others). When in 1962 a ban was placed on the participation of public officials in the processes of recruitment, there proved to be a wholesale exodus from the service.

it was converted into an instrument of blackmail, it gave rise both to corruption and to close links between the colonial state apparatus and WENELA.

c) The Transvaal Government guaranteed there would be no forced renewal of contracts (which would have served the interests of neither the Portuguese nor the South Africans, both of whom wished to keep the workers tied to their rural communities).

d) 'Control' of workers would continue to vest in the Trustee, who would be responsible for:

Liason with the Transvaal authorities;

Collection of pay and taxes owed in respect of workers in Mozambique;

The granting or refusal of passes to illegal immigrants;

Collection of taxes owed by the mines to the Portuguese State;

The extension or withdrawal of passes (withdrawal in effect meant expulsion from South Africa);

The development of as complete as possible system of registration of Mozambican workers employed in the Transvaal;

The organisation of the first Deposit Agency and the transfer to it of moneys owing to the workers (this was the start of control of the workers money, something which encountered resistance from commercial and mining circles. Contrary to talk and Modus Vivendi, Portugal wished to retain exclusive control over the sale of liquor to its 'own' workers).

6. Characteristics of the 1909 Convention

The 1909 Mozambique Convention centered around the question of the harbour and railways of Lourenço Marques - the section on migrant labour being merely a complement. There were three phases in the Portuguese-South African relationship with respect to the port of Lourenço Marques: The first, which lasted until the end of the Anglo-Boer War, during which the harbour occupied a position of central importance. The British victory led to a decline in its importance which was marked even before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. A decree of May 1901 issued at a time of crisis in the employment sector, prohibited the departure of labour for the mines, thus worsening relations between the two countries; it brought out sharply the connection between the issue of labour (essential to the South African mines) and that of the port of Lourenço Marques (essential to the Mozambican economy). The third phase was heralded by the Modus Vivendi of 1901, and reflected the indissoluble ties between labour and the port, involving a relaxation of restrictions on recruitment of labour in return for a restoration of the harbour arrangements of 1875.¹

1. To give an idea of the benefits accrued by the port, the salient income was as follows: in 1896-97 Mozambique had an income of 2,934 contos, the share of Lourenço Marques being 1886 contos. In 1906 total receipts were 4,813 contos, Lourenço Marques' share being 3,280 contos.

With regard to railways and harbours, the 1909 Convention broadly provided for:

- The maintenance of a 'sphere of competence' for the port of Lourenço Marques in respect of the Rand area as defined by the Conference of Johannesburg in 1895;
- The guarantee of 50% of the traffice from this zone to the port of Lourenço Marques;
- The Maintenance of the railway tariffs as set in 1875;
- The constitution of a mixed commission, presided over by a Portuguese, that would co-ordinate the two railway systems.

The major provisions with respect to the regulation of migrant labour and the activities of the Trustee were as follows:

- 'Native' tax was to be collected at the mines;
- VENELA was to receive a monopoly of recruitment in Mozambique;
- Payment of wages could be deferred, but only on a voluntary basis;
- The Portuguese Government was to receive directly a tax of 15 centimes for each employee;
- Contracts would remain at 12 months, but be renewable.

7. The Attempted Agreement of 1912

The Chamber of Mines and the Portuguese Government negotiated in 1912 an agreement on the compulsory deferment of wages and the increase of the contract period from 12 to 18 months. The South African Government did not ratify it and it never came into force.

8. Re-introduction of the 'Parallel 22' Clause in 1914

The 22^o provision was revived in 1914. This is usually explained as being based on health grounds: persons from the Tropics were said not to be able to adapt to the altitude and climate of the Reef. This explanation is not satisfactory since in reality many workers from the tropical regions worked on the mines clandestinely. The actual reason was that it was intended to avoid labour competition between the mines and the chartered companies and estates. This clause became inoperative between 1926 and 1928 (because of a labour shortage) but revived finally thereafter. In 1922 South Africa announced that it was repudiating the agreement, attempting thereby to strengthen its hold over the port. The Portuguese government agreed to allow only the first section of the agreement to remain in force, namely that which concerned 'native' labour and which gave the name of the convention. In 1927 the Portuguese Government retaliated to South African pressure over the port by restricting the recruitment of labour for the mines. (Legal decree of May 1927).

9. The Convention of 1928

"There were no major problems concerning the railway. The South African delegates did not complain about the administration of the port or the railway. The same 'zone of competence' was allotted to Lourenço Marques which continued to receive the guaranteed share of imports by rail. There were also new provisions which sought to restrict the capacity to establish independent tariff levels for lines other than that to Lourenço Marques.

"With regard to commerce, the existing principles were maintained, save that the principle of reciprocity was extended from the Transvaal to the whole of the Union of South Africa, a country with a high degree of industrialisation. All payments were to be made in gold (article 36). Any differences between the Governments were to be submitted to arbitration. After five years either party could claim revision of the provisions of the convention, which was to remain in force for ten years."

Dr. José de Almada in : "As negociações sobre a convenção de 1928."

The convention did not alter the monopoly of recruitment enjoyed by WENELA.

10. The Port Question after the 1928 Agreement

The 1928 agreement kept in force the 14 articles relating to the railways and harbours. The Union Government guaranteed to Lourenço Marques 50-55% of imports by sea and rail to the 'zone of competence' on the Rand.

The accords of 1934, 1940 and 1964 consistently lowered this figure: to 47.5% (1940) to 40% (1964). In 1969 the requirement to route a fixed level of traffic through Lourenço Marques was lifted altogether.

11. The 1928 Agreement in Respect of Labour

a) Labour contracts in the light of the Agreement:

There is hardly any mention of labour contracts in the document, and no reference at all to the demands of the workers or the abusive treatment which shaped them. Questions of repatriation, sanitary conditions, wages and other matters are dealt with only in the most general way under the heading of recruitment.

The convention permitted recruitment only in the territory south of 22° and stipulated a reduction in the number of miners as follows:

1929 -	to 100,000
1930 -	" 95,000
1931 -	" 90,000
1932 -	" 85,000
1933 -	" 80,000

The other major stipulations were:

- To maintain and develop the provisions of the earlier Convention concerning the recruiting personnel;
- To regulate medical inspection of recruits as well as their rights in respect of accidents at work or tuberculosis contracted in the mines;
- To subject migration to possession of identity cards and passports;
- To limit the contract period to 12 months, extendible for a further 6 months, and to prohibit the re-employment of workers before they have spent at least 6 months in Mozambique.

b) Deferred Wages:

A system of deferred pay was established in terms of which a portion of the miner's wages was to be held by the Portuguese Trustee and only paid over to the worker after he had returned to Mozambique. Thus, after nine months of work and for whatever remained of the contract period (or the extended

period), half of the miner's wages was to be retained pending his return to Mozambique.

This handover of pay was done by recruiting officials in Ressano Garcia or other points of entry agreed upon by the governments of Portugal and South Africa.

c) The mines paid to the Portuguese government through the Trustee a series of taxes in respect of each contract.

d) Compensation, property of deceased miners and savings: The Convention provided for:

Regulation of medical inspection and the rights of persons injured at work or contracting lung disease. Two medical inspections were made to guarantee a minimum level of physical fitness. It should be emphasised that the 'rigour' of the inspection was determined primarily by the labour requirements of the Chamber of Mines - in times of shortage, instructions were given to 'liberalise' inspection, while in times of surplus extremely rigid criteria were used.

Collection by heirs of the property and savings of deceased workers. No time was fixed, the question being left to internal legislation. In 1916 the period for claiming inheritance was fixed at one year. After that time, the money reverted to the state, which was to use it for 'the native population' in a way left undefined. The time period for clauses in respect of other injuries was so short that flagrant injustices resulted. The accord of 1928 reaffirmed that all payments were to be made in gold.

12. Alterations to the 1928 Convention

The 1928 Convention was revised in 1934, 1936 and 1940.

The 1934 amendments introduced some changes in the labour clauses.

The Portuguese Government reserved the right to limit or stop recruitment in areas where, for public or private purposes it became necessary, for the time being to furnish local labour. The number of workers was fixed at a maximum of 80,000 and a minimum of 65,000 subject to alteration.

The mines were to pay their taxes through the Trustee, at a rate of one shilling and sixpence for every registered contractor or for each worker recruited, and two shillings and sixpence per month per worker for the period of the contract.

In sum, from 1935 onwards the state received on average an annual amount equal to 44 shillings and sixpence per worker. If at the end of the year this total was not in fact met, the mine was responsible for the shortfall.

For their part the miners were required to pay ten shillings for a passport, valid for 12 months, and six shillings for a renewal.

As a result of the abandonment of the gold standard in 1932, it was agreed that payments to Portugal would in future be made in cash at the current rate of exchange, with mines paying over an indemnity of £135,000 in respect of non-payments since that date (art. 36).

In 1940 it was agreed in an exchange of notes that the Portuguese Government should have the option of receiving deferred payments in gold and also that the maximum number of workers should be raised to 100,000, (with the minimum remaining at 65,000).

The agreement stipulated that should the mines wish to reduce the number of workers, they should do so at the rate of no more than 12,000 per year. Clandestine migration was to be repressed.

The tax paid by the mines for every contract was raised to five shillings. South Africa guaranteed a minimum volume of traffic of 340,000 boxes of citrus fruit for Lourenço Marques port and pledged to reduce the tariff rates that favoured the port of Durban as against that of Lourenço Marques.

13. 1961 Decrees

In September 1961 a series of decrees were promulgated which formally repealed the so-called Native Statute, while ensuring its continuation by other means. The new measures purported to abolish the distinction between Portuguese and 'natives'. The Department of Native Affairs was closed, and in its place a National Institute of Labour created. All matters connected with the recruitment of labour for South Africa were transferred to this Institute.

In 1963 a rural work code was adopted which created a series of contractual stipulations and imposed restrictions on recruitment. It was specifically stated that the Codes would not affect the workers dealt with in the conventions. The contract conditions were in fact more advanced than those in the Conventions.

14. The Agreement of 1964

The 1964 Convention followed closely the general lines of the previous ones, making the procedures more specific and strengthening the clauses protecting the workers.¹

1. Development of International Legislation recommendations over migrant labour - I.L.O.

1936. The problem of cultural disruption flowing from the migration of males. The states that received workers had to improve their working conditions.

1944. A series of recommendations. To improve the circumstances of transport. To facilitate where possible the movement of whole families, and where not possible to ensure financial support for the family. Non-discrimination in conditions of work and the right of migrant workers to engage in political activity.

1947. To improve working conditions and housing. Especially mentioned was the previously ignored question of migration in colonial territories.

1948. That recommendations of I.L.O. be translated into internal legislation of member states.

1949. Recommendations that countries which were exporters of labour should restrict the flow.

From 1957 to the present. Recommendations to integrate migrant workers briefly concerned: 1) Cultural problems. 2) Working conditions. 3) Conditions of communications and transport linking the worker and his family. 4) Movement of the whole family to the place of work. 5) Legislation against inequality between migrants and nationals. 6) Planning to reduce the need for migration. 7) Planning in the host states to substitute mechanisation for the employment of migrant workers.

The following innovations were introduced:

The role of protection at work to be given to representatives of the Institute of Labour.

The general welfare of the workers to be looked after by the Portuguese consulate, a logical consequence of the elimination of the formal distinction between coloniser and colonised. It was expressly stated that the Mozambican worker was not to be treated less favourably than the local worker. There was a new system of deferred payment and of compensation. The compensation law for pneumoconiosis was extended to Mozambique mines. The Accord was to be valid for five years.

15. Provisions of the 1964 Agreement

Unlike the normal contract between a worker and his employer, which is regulated by internal law and depends on agreement between the parties, the clauses relating to the labour of the Mozambican miner in South Africa are regulated by international agreement and cannot as such be departed from unilaterally.

The employer is thus not obliged to make any improvements to conditions of work other than those stipulated in the agreement. In particular there are no mechanisms for obtaining improvements in working conditions.

The Mozambican worker in South Africa gives his labour on specific terms:

- a set place of work
- for a determined wage
- for a specific period
- in specified living conditions.

The worker has no privileges at all other than work, food and shelter as laid down.

The more important clauses in the 1964 Accord relating to these conditions are the following:

- a) Workers could only be employed with the knowledge and approval of a representative of the National Institute of Labour.
- b) The contract was for 12 months (313 shifts), extendible up to a maximum of 18 months. A worker could rescind his contract after six months by giving one month's notice. (Before 1964 there had been de facto rescission by desertion).
- c) Each contract had to specify name of the employer, name, address and domicile of the worker, place of recruitment, place of work, type of work, minimum wage, payment and type of transport **to /and repatriation from work.**
- d) Deferred Payment.

After six months, 60% of wages for the remaining period of the contract could be retained on behalf of the workers.

The deferred payment could be made in the following ways:

- it could be remitted periodically to a member of the worker's family named by him
- it could be deposited in a bank
- it could be delivered to the worker in a lump sum when he returned. If the worker did not request the other methods this method automatically applied, to the detriment of the worker since he received no interest.

- e) Workers had to pay the normal passport taxes.
- f) The mine which employed the worker had to pay in two instalments, a registration fee of six Rand (one instalment immediately and one after six months) for each contract and two Rand for each renewal.

g) Form of payment of compensation.

If compensation was less than 20 Rand the worker was to receive it all immediately; if it was between 20 and 200 Rand the worker was to receive 20 Rand then and there; and if it was higher than that the worker was to receive 10% of the total sum immediately.

The balance was to be delivered to the worker on his return home. (For the rate of compensation, see section III para. 5a and appendix II)

h) The mines, through WENELA, were to deposit in a bank designated by Mozambique through the Institute of Labour, the sum of deferred payments. This was to be done on the fifteenth day of each month in respect of wages for the previous month. At the end of each month the Institute of Labour was to arrange the appropriate deductions and payments.

The money was to be deposited in one of 4 places: Xai-Xai, Pafuri, Ressano Garcia and Maxixe. Workers could indicate at the time of entering the contract which place would be most convenient for the payment of deferred wages.

i) Secret gold clause.

The Portuguese Government could receive gold instead of money. (This was permitted, but did not happen automatically).

The amount for deferred wages was exchanged for gold at a fixed price in Rands. This rate remained the same, despite later increases on the world market. The gold would be sold by South Africa on the world market and the profit handed over to Portugal.

16. Amendments introduced in August 1970

Discussions were held in Lisbon in August 1970 which produced some alterations to the 1964 Agreement. It:

- Allowed recruitment for mines inside the Mine Labour Organisation (WENELA) other than gold or coal mines.
- Modified the system of compensation payments
- Specified that three years notice of any rescission of the contract be given.

17. The 1965 Agreement

An agreement concerning the establishment of control posts on the border between South Africa and Mozambique, and the movement of Portuguese and South African nationals from one country to the other, was signed in May 1965. This agreement, regarded as supplementing the one of the previous year, opened the possibility of employment of Mozambican labour by enterprises which did not belong to WENELA. As a result, three more agencies were set up in 1967: Atas, Algos and Camom. In the main, the provisions of the 1964 Agreement were extended to cover workers recruited in terms of the new agreement. As far as pay was concerned the worker was to receive his wages for the first two and last two months of his employment, with the remainder being deferred. All Mozambicans were to be repatriated after 18 months in South Africa. The only exceptions were those who had already spent many years there and who had families in the country - they could ask for the repatriation to be suspended.

18. Sundry Provisions re Recruitment: 1939-1970

Between 1939 and 1956 all recruitment in Mozambique, except by mines affiliated to WENELA, was prohibited by a South African Government Notice.

After 1956, however, a South African could employ Mozambicans (except for household work), although they could not actually recruit them. An Agreement of 1966 provided for recruitment for South Africa of Mozambican workers in the following manner:

- The employer had first to establish through local officials that no local workers were available, and only then, with the use of a 'No objection certificate' issued by the local labour officials, could he start recruiting Mozambicans.

- The 'No objection certificate' had to be sent to the local office of the Mozambican Department of Labour, for approval and for recording the name and address of the recruitment agency in Mozambique. This had quite an effect in South Africa, and the Mozambican authority there was able to say in March 1966 that several agencies interested in Portuguese labour had asked for information about how they could contact the employment agencies.

19. Finally, in August of 1970 discussions were held followed by an agreement in respect of the sending of agricultural workers from Ressano Garcia to the border areas of Barberton/Nelspruit/White River in South Africa.

20. Types of Workers in 1970: A Summary

By this time, there were four types of Mozambican contract workers in South Africa:

- a) Workers contracted by WENELA for the gold, coal and platinum mines.
- b) Workers contracted by one of the three other agencies for the mines and in some cases for agricultural work.
- c) Workers contracted in Ressano Garcia for agricultural work over the border.
- d) Long-time residents in South Africa whose repatriation was kept in abeyance.

21. Some further aspects of a comparative study of the 1928 and 1964 Conventions

A. Transport of Workers

1928. Recruitment, placement and repatriation up to the border are the responsibility of the recruiting agency.

1964. Recruitment and transport to the mines is the responsibility of the agency. The cost of repatriation is deducted from the workers pay packets in the first six months of his contract.

B. Health

1928. The cost of the return of those rejected in Ressano Garcia or in South Africa is to be borne by the recruiting agency.

1964. Youths under the age of eighteen are to be returned at the expense of the agency.

C. Labour Contracts

1964. The clause which insists on a worker remaining in Mozambique for 6 months between contracts disappears. Versions of the contract, without this clause, are printed in local languages.

D. Clandestine Immigrants

1928. In principle, immediate repatriation.

They were treated as having been clandestine, 'albinitio' if they did not return at the end of contract.

The immediate repatriation clause did not operate if more labour was required within the 65,000 - 80,000 limits of the convention.

1964. There was especially after the changes in 1970, legislation of would-be clandestines in Ressano Garcia (the border station). This helped to avoid clandestine immigration.

E. Advance Payment

1928. Advances allowed. The advances were deducted from wages in the first six months.

1964. No advances were allowed until the contract came into force.

At the moment of signing, the worker could receive an advance for family and travelling expenses up to a maximum of one month's wages, to be deducted from the next six months wages.

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APPENDIX II - THE MINERS' QUESTIONNAIREUNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANECentro de Estudos AfricanosMINE LABOUR INVESTIGATION

Date:

Place of interview:

Section 1. - Biographical Information

1. Name:
2. Place of birth:
3. Age or date of birth:
4. Place of Residence:
(district, locality, círculo)
5. Marital status: single married widowed divorced
6. Education:
(class attained)
7. Number of children:
8. Their ages:
9. Numbers of children you support:
10. Who else do you support with your wages?
11. Are there other people in the family earning wages? yes no
12. Who are these?
13. Birth place of father:
14. Occupation of father:
15. Has your father been to the mines? yes no

AII/11

Section 2. Work History

No of Mine Contracts Worked:

A. Work Years (all wage employment, including Mine Contracts)

Year Month	Employer + place of work	Job Des- cription	under above		Wages		Length of con- tract in months	Place and occupation between contracts
			ground		start	finish		
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								

Comments of Interviewer

Bonus Certificate

1. Name of mine:
2. Date of issue:
3. Description of job:
4. Payment: - weekly
- shift
5. Service Increment:
6. Sum to be paid on re-engagement:

APPENDIX IIIPEASANT HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIREFor Selective HouseholdsA. IDENTIFICATION

District

Locality

Circulo

Celula

Name of Family Head

B. FAMILY HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION1. Members Present

	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to Household Head	No. Years Schooling	Occupation princ. Agricul.	
						Yes	-if No, what,
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							

2. Persons Away

	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to Household Head	No. Years Schooling	Away at School	Work/Occupation
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

C. FARMING INFORMATION3. Number of Machambas

Number	Distance from Home		Who works the Machamba?	Observations (note if rotation of land is used)
	Near	Far		
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

4a. How long have you worked this land?

b. How long have you had this land?

- Before Independence
- After Independence

c. How was it acquired? (e.g. traditional authority (regulo), clearing of unoccupied land, bought, inherited, rented, etc.)

c. Do you have enough land? If not why not?

d. How can you get more land?

5. Farming Yield From the Last Harvest (approximately)

Crop	Estimated Yield	Did you consume all?		Observations
	Latas Bags	yes	no	
Maize				
Cassava				
Groundnuts				
Beans				
Sweet Potatoes				
Rice				
Cotton				

6. Permanent Cultivation

Trees	No	Yield			Do you consume all?		Observations
		Latas	Bags	Kg.	Yes	No	
Cashew							
Mafura							
Coconut							
Pineapple							
Coffee							

7a. How adequate is the harvest for feeding the family?

- never adequate
- adequate in good years
- always adequate

7b. If you cannot grow enough food, why not?

- floods
- drought
- rats/other pests
- not enough land
- poor land
- not enough seed
- not enough equipment
- not enough labour

8a. Cattle

Type	No	Origin *	No sold	Type	No	Origin*	No sold
		B/R/G/A	this year			B/R/G/A	this year
Oxen				Sheep			
Cows				Goats			
Donkeys				Pigs			
Chickens							

*B - Bought; R - Reproduced; G - Gifts; A - Abandoned.

8b. If you have oxen do you use them for ploughing?

Yes No

9. Farming Equipment

For the last harvest did you use:

Type	No	Your own		Hired from whom	Payment	Borrowed		Payment
		yes	no			yes	no	
Tractor								
Ploughs								
Oxen								
Grades								

10. MONEY ECONOMY

10. Sources of Income since last harvest

<u>Sale of produce</u>	Approx. amt. (in Esc.)	Sold to whom? *	Exchanged for what?	With whom?
Maize				
Groundnuts				
Cashew				
Mafurra				
Cotton				
<u>Sale of stock</u>				
Chickens				
Sheep				
Pigs				

* e.g. shop, state, family member, other

11. Wages earned

By which family member?	Occupation	Location					Monthly Salary
		Outside Moz.	outside province	in prov. outside district	in dist.	in cell	
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

12. Wage-earners outside Mozambique

Bring/Send money home regularly	yes	no	How much	per month
Bring/Send goods?				

13. Other Income : Money earned from part-time work.

(e.g. sale of crafts, beer-brewing, house construction, pottery, etc.)

Activity	Quantity
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

Observations

14a. Savings/Debts

Did the family save money from last year's harvest?

- Much - Quite a lot - Little - Nothing

14b. Did the family borrow money?

From whom Shop Bank Neighbours Other family member Others

Why

How, much? - Much - Little - Quantity

When must it be paid back?

15. Did the family employ wage labour/other forms of assistance?

Activities	No. of days	Kind of payment
Preparing the land?		
Planting		
Weeding		
Harvesting		
Other activities		

16a. What do you spend your money on?

16b. Do you have enough for the necessities of life? yes no

16c. If not, how much would you need?

16d. How much would a person need for a good life?

E. DIVISION OF LABOUR

17a. Who works the machamba? *

Crop	Land Preparation	Planting	Weeding	Harvesting	Processing	Marketing
Groundnuts						
Maize						
Cashew						
Cotton						

* Indicate woman, man, children

17b. Who is responsible for:

Cattle

Sheep

Pigs

Chickens

18. Men absent on Wage Work in the Last 5 Years

Relationship with household head	Type of work	Where	How long away?
1.			
2.			
3.			

19. Work history of Household Head

Year of first wage work

Year of last

Number of absences inbetween

Observations:

20. Returned Miners

	Yes	No	Only Partially	Only Occassionally
Do returned miners work on the land?				

If not, what do they do?

21. Living Conditions

1. Housing

a. Roof: zinc tiles

b. Walls & floor: bricks
cement
wood

Observations:

2. Goods:

Transistor radio
Gramophone
Sewing machine

Watch
Bicycle
Others

Where did you get the money to buy these goods?

COMMENTARY OF THE INTERVIEWER

APPENDIX IVNOTES FOR FIELD INVESTIGATION

The investigation of the PEASANT BASE is the other side of the investigation into the mine labour force. This is obviously because the miners are migrants; behind every miner is a family household in the peasant economy.

Primitive accumulation in Southern Africa has not relied throughout on the separation of labour from the means of production, leaving it with no other means of subsistence than the sale of its labour power. Rather it has depended on the maintenance and restructuring of pre-capitalist relations. Thus, individuals are not proletarianised for permanent wage labour but the communities from which they come are under pressure to send men of working age out to labour. This system is initially induced by force; in time it becomes economically self-reproducing.

What are the effects on the peasant economy? In the longer run this system of labour exploitation has led in general to the regression of that economy, even its disintegration (the case of the Transkei), and to a marked decline in the level of subsistence.

In the Mozambique case, and in the areas we have selected for field work, we need to study the peasant base in order to discover the extent to which remitted wages from mine work satisfy consumption needs i.e. are used for family reproduction. But also the extent to which capital accumulation in the rural economy relies on remitted wages, thus the extent to which migrant labour has become part of the reproduction cycle of the countryside. And the extent to which, in a single area, both processes are at work among different strata of mineworker-peasant households.

The PEASANT HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE accordingly asks questions organised in 4 principal sections :

The Composition of the Household from which we will analyse the numbers of households which have wage-earners away.

Farming Information from which we will analyse approximate levels of production, and try to get an impression of whether the family is/might be self-supporting on its land.

The Money Economy, in which section we will look at the range of productive activities of the household and the extent of its reliance on remitted wages but also on other sources of cash income. Note that it is very important

to investigate not only full-time wage work but also money earned from part-time, perhaps casual labour. Also, importantly, money from petty commodity activities - anything from milling, brewing to small trading and artisan activities.

Note too that in circumstances when a steadily increasing proportion of a population faces limited access to the job market, it has to find subsistence from non-wage sources, or indirectly through wages by access to the expenditure of wage-earners. Hence the growth of petty production and trade and services.

The Division of Labour. Note that labour migration from Mozambique is organised without reference to the demands of the agricultural seasonal cycle. The fact that the minimum period of contracts is 12 months means that the migrant cannot time his departure and return, and the length of his absence in order to integrate wage work into the production activities of the peasant household. This form of capitalist impact which retains peasant production even as it draws male labour from it has important consequences for household production and especially for women as producers.

The sexual division of labour is important. We need to learn about it and analyse it, and this even where questions in the Questionnaire do not specifically deal with it. (See below the note on the limits of the Questionnaire as a method).

This question of the sexual division of labour is particularly important in our investigation because the heavy efflux of labour appears now to be winding down, and these peasant economies will thus be confronted with a labour surplus and it cannot be taken for granted: (1) that the men will naturally revert to working on the land and (2) that the land's carrying capacity will permit this re-absorption.

We should discuss the Questionnaire thoroughly to ensure that it provides as well as possible for all these issues.

When we are in the field we shall continue to use the Miners' Questionnaire as well as the Peasant Household one. This will be so that we can interview recruits and repatriated workers at Maxixe, but also so that we can enlarge our sample to include workers now in the peasant economy but who have previously worked on the mines.

The Limitations of Questionnaires:

We must use the Questionnaire as one method of enquiry but not

the sole, or even the most important one. Too often, questionnaires prevent the interviewer asking himself about the appropriateness of his assumptions. Thus, the selection of questions determines the areas on which you will get information, and whole areas could have been left out, and will not be discovered if the researcher sticks rigidly to the questions on the page and does not explore further. There is the difficulty too, that questionnaires produce quantitative answers which are easier to analyse, perhaps, but tell far less about complex social issues.

So, in addition to the Questionnaires, and as preliminary to them, we should use Group Discussions and Interviews with informants.

Group Discussions:

There is a list on page 4 of the kinds of group discussions that could be organised. Improvise others as you need them. At these discussions the method should NOT be to ask each member of the group in turn what they individually did or think. Instead, ask about the usual patterns they know about, and have observed, and discuss these.

Group discussions produce difficulties, of course. There could be conflicting views within the group which are not expressed. Keep a look out for these. Also for contradictions with other material you already know, and for self-contradictions expressed by the informants. But do not steer the discussion too rigidly. Ask some of the principal general questions - it is for you to judge which will be the most relevant and stimulating of discussion - and then let the discussion flow while you or other members of the team take note. Intervene with another question when the discussion has moved too far from our points of concern. Record what is said as fully as possible. Including all contradictions. Use the words of the speakers. This is very important.

Group Discussions and Interviews are intended to serve several purposes :

1. In Week 1 they are to enable us to learn about the area in which we are working. On page 6 there is a list of information that will be useful. But you do not need to get all this material from interviews. Ask people in the structures what data they already have; this will save much time.
2. Apart from the factual information we must also try to locate different trends in the area and differing perceptions of problems. And we must use the group discussions to identify subject matter not already identified in these notes and the questionnaires and which needs to be pursued.

3. The discussion in the first week or 10 days is to enable us to select the peasant households we will interview.

Selection of Peasant Households:

We cannot make an investigation based on a wide sample in the districts which we select; we don't have enough people or time. This means that we have to select the peasant households from among those which we use for this inquiry.

The selection criteria are as follows, keeping in mind the differences between the various areas in which we work.

1. We should mainly interview miners' families.

This means that they should constitute the majority of the investigations. But in the selection of these families, our choice should be based on social differentiation. This means trying to choose miners' families with big incomes and also with small incomes. And keep in mind that there are many reasons to differentiate one family from others. Here we present some:

- families whose men have had many contracts but still have the lowest salaries;
- families whose men worked in the mines only when they were young;
- Families of young miners;
- Families whose men are in the mines at the time of the investigation. i.e. at a time when only those who have a bonus are recruited;
- families whose fathers worked regularly in the mines, i.e. second generation mining families;

11. To give an idea of the social structure in the rural area, we should also choose rich and poor families.

Rich/richest families. When we ask "which is the richest family?", we should also ask why it is considered rich. And why it possesses/works a lot of land. Why does it have cattle and ploughs? Why does it have many trees? Does it have a shop? Does it have transport? Does it spend a lot of money?

Let us ask how it got rich.

Poor/poorest families.

How do you know you are poor?

How long have you been poor?

Group Interviews

Party responsaveis
 ED members
 Returned Miners
 Migrant workers of different ages/generations
 Women and Wives of Miners
 Young People of 15/16 years
 Young men looking for wage work

Informants

Functionaries in the Administration

Party
 Ministry of Labour
 Ministry of Agriculture
 WENELA

School teachers

Members of FPLM

Shopkeepers (on turnover of essential goods; credit, debt etc.)

Missionaries and catechists

Institutions to Visit for Data

Agricultural Research stations

Artisan schools

State Machambas

Aldeias comunais

Co-operatives

Cotton Board offices (for reports of the cotton campaign in the area)

Themes for Group Discussions

These are only suggestions and should be used only as a guide.
 The order in which the questions are presented is not crucial and
 other questions must, of course, be put when necessary.

A. General

What are the most important things we should know about your area?

Do families cultivate enough food to feed themselves?

Are there conflicts over land? Why? Who resolves these conflicts?

Are there legal problems over land?

Do people buy and sell land? To whom? From whom?

Is there inheritance of land?

Are there owners of land?

Are there large landowners (latifundarios?)

Are there legal titles to land?

Has any redistribution of land taken place since Independence?

How was this done?

What were the problems?

1. Miners

Do many men migrate to the mines?
 Do fewer men go than before?
 How do they explain the change?
 How do the structures explain the change?
 Do special kinds of families send men to the mines?
 Do men of a certain age go?
 How do the miners who go regularly decide when it is time to go again?
 Do they decide to travel in groups, relatives and neighbours together?
 Is it difficult for miners to send money back to their families?
 How do they do this?
 What do miners spend their money on?
 Is much of their money earned spent on the way home?
 What do the men say when they come back from the mines?
 What do they say when they are getting ready to go?
 Do miners work the land in between contracts?
 Do miners become rich?
 Do the men tell the women how much they earn?
 How can miners be reintegrated when they return home?

2. Social Composition in the Countryside.

Which are the richest families in the area?
 How did they become rich?
 Who produces most for the market?
 Who owns the mill/s?
 Who owns ploughs and oxen?
 Which are the poorest families?
 What makes them poor?

3. Women and Young People.

What do the women say when the men are getting ready to go to the mines?
 What in general are the relations between men and women?
 What is the effect of migrant labour on family life?
 Do the women work their own machambas?
 Who in the family controls the money from the agricultural produce?
 Do the men tell the women how much they earn in the mines?
 What goods do the women expect when the men return?
 What do the women feel about lobolo?
 What do the women think about WENELA?
 Are there women members of the Grupos Dinamizadores?
 Do women speak at public meetings?
 Have there been changes for the women since Independence?
 What do the young people want to do in the future?
 Do young people speak in meetings?

3. Perspectives : Social changes since Independence.

What has changed since independence? In what way?
 What is the difference since the Regulos went?
 How can the land be made more productive?
 How can miners be integrated when they return home?
 Would they like to be integrated in a co-operative? If not,
 why not?
 Are there communal villages already being organised?
 How close is contact with the higher political levels?

Questions relating to general information about the area.

It is important to define as quickly as possible which unit/area you are investigating. Is it a village? An area around a posto? A celula? Part of a celula?

Then:

- i. Find out how far the area stretches and use maps or make a sketch map. Where are the machambas? grazing land, school? Cantina? River? etc.
- ii. Get all possible lists of structures, and names of GDs. Also, possibly names of former Regulos, for checking on earlier material for purposes of comparison.
- iii. Collect as much of the following information as is possible or you judge necessary:

Approximate number of people in the Unit/Area.

If possible, get the numbers of men and women in different age groups (0-16; 16-55; over 55).

The number of widows

Men working on the Mines.

Approx. which families have men away at the time of the investigation; and which have had men working in the mines over sustained periods of time; (See the paragraphs on the Selection of the Peasant Households, page iv).

Which families have functionaries working in the structures? Or in wage work in the district? Outside the district but in Mozambique?

Agriculture

Which crops are grown? Which non-permanent and which permanent?
 What is the extent of cattle and stock ownership?
 Which crops are sold for money?
 What do the people do with their surplus production? Sell on the market? Exchange with other families?

Where is the nearest market? How do people reach it?
To whom are the crops sold in general? Have there been
changes recently?

Means of Production.

How widely used are tractors, ploughs?
How widely used are fertilisers, irrigation equipment?
Is any farming machinery/oxen hired out? Who hires?
How do people pay for hiring ploughs, oxen?
How much do people pay for the use of the mill?

Transport

Who owns the transport?
What kind is it?
Who uses it?
Do they pay?
How do the people get to town?
Describe the roads throughout the year.

Co-operatives.

Are there co-operatives? What kind? When formed?
What are its problems? Successes?
Are there communal machambas?
Is there an aldeia comunal?

Trade.

Who owns the cantinas?
What can people buy there?
Does it allow customers to buy on credit?
Are there 'lojos de povo'? 'Co-operativos de consumo'?

Use of Wage Labour.

Do any families have people of other families to work for them
at some times of the year? At which times, and doing what?
Are they paid in money? In kind?

Tribute.

Has it been the custom to give part of the crop to the Chief?
How much? When? In labour?
Do miners pay monies to the chief, or did they in the past?
If this is stopped why and how?

Skills and Trades.

How many people are:	carpenters	dressmakers/tailors
	teachers	beermakers
	health workers	basket makers
	administrators	pilão makers
	shopkeepers	hunters
	policemen	bricklayers
	FPLM	mechanics
	drivers	priests
	blacksmiths	others - specify

Try to make a census of skills.

APPENDIX VBRIGADE REPORTS: A SUGGESTED STRUCTURE

1. The attached plan of contents is only a guide in order to systematise the information you have collected. It need not be rigidly adhered to, but rather it should be adjusted to the specific requirements and conditions of the areas you have studied. Material that illuminates the conditions of each particular region, or part of region, should be included even if it is not provided for in this structure, as long as it is consistent with the next requirement :
2. Concentrate on a systematic structured presentation of the material you have collected rather than on beautiful prose. The idea is not to write an essay rich in anecdotes but to present the material you have collected in an organised fashion. Use convenient ways of illustrating your data where this is possible, as in maps, graphs, tables, etc.
3. However, while it is important to present your information systematically, you should also try to reproduce the words of your informants, and actual quotations, where they illuminate the principal points you need to make.
4. Your Questionnaires will be analysed in detail concurrently with the preparation of these regional reports. Your reports could draw attention to the general trends you have detected, even if you do not include comprehensive summaries of the data drawn from all your completed Questionnaires. It should also be possible at this stage to include your assessment of the problems confronting the region in the realms we are investigating, namely the relationship between migrant wage labour and the peasant base. So draw on some of your questionnaires and group interviews where necessary, but do not try to make an exhaustive analysis of them at this stage.

Suggested Structure

1. The area/district/circulo/ **celula** /part of - investigated; its extent and characteristics.

Also some general information about the wider region in which your study area is situated, so that the specifics of your own area can be seen against the general background.

Population data

Adults (men and women), children.

Ratio of men to women (check the system of registration: does it include absent men or not?)

widows

etc. etc.

Extent of labour migration

Such figures of mine labour as are available, going back as far as possible, to show the extent of labour export from

the area. Include here the random surveys you may have conducted at meetings and during group interviews. Is there much evidence of internal migration i.e. to other districts or provinces?

4) General information about agriculture

The type, quality and condition of the land, variations in the region. The availability of water.

Land access and utilisation; land conflicts
colonial patterns
post-Independence changes.

Crops cultivated
for consumption
for sale.

Production trends.

Ownership of the means of production.

Marketing/distribution facilities.

Assessment of degree of peasant differentiation, and tendencies towards differentiation. Include factors of office (traditional, political) in access to land; and also peasant debt; forms of wage and other labour.

5) Wage employment other than mine labour

What wage labour openings in the area? In what sectors, establishments?

6) Mine labour and the peasant economy

a. Dependence on the income from mine labour to maintain consumption levels i.e. fairly recurrent spells of mine labour from which wages are used for the purchase of necessities. Also for the construction of houses, wells, and for the purchase of means of production.

b. Mine labour wages as a source of accumulation.

Check how recent the commencement of this process; check also whether accumulation activities are through trade, through transport, or through agriculture. Both the above processes should where possible be related to the final point in 4), namely the process of peasant differentiation.

Has the recent reduction in the demand for mine labour (from 1976 onwards) combined with the lack of rain, led to a growing indebtedness of the poorer peasantry?

Check the position of (a) young married couples and (b) widows.

7) The social impact of mine labour

Do the majority of mine workers consider themselves 'unemployed' when they are not engaged in wage labour?

Do they take part in agriculture when they are not working on the mines?

How does the division of labour in agriculture work?

How do women see and describe the social effects of migrant labour?

Do you have any material on the impact of migrant labour on family life?

How do the miners view the recent changes in recruitment policy?

How do they respond to government policy? Would they, for instance, accept work on state farms even if they do not participate directly in home agriculture?
Do the miners formulate alternatives (even if these are expressed only as wishes) and if so, which?

8) The politics of migrant labour

How do the political structures explain the problems of migrant labour and the shortage of mine work?

Give quotations from speeches by party responsavels if possible.

How do the people respond (1) at meetings (2) in interviews and group discussions?

9) Alternatives to Migrant Labour

Assess for your area/s the possibilities of alternatives to migrant labour.

How could the land be made more productive?

How extensive are economic activities outside farming (and mine labour)?

Could the peasant base sustain more people i.e. absorb part of the 'surplus' labour no longer absorbed in mine labour?

Do the patterns of migration in the area suggest that migration has been determined by climatic and ecological and economic forces or that, for perhaps a variable number, the choice of mine labour is optional, in the sense of not being essential for the survival of the family?

10) Other/General Conclusions

APPENDIX VI

COLONIAL REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION
AND ITS RELATION TO WENELA

A. Colonial Administrative Organisation in Mozambique 1902-1977

1. There were three districts south of the Rio Save in 1902. These contained Native Circumscrições (subdistricts) and capitánias-mores (areas not yet pacified). The District of Lourenço Marques was founded in 1895, Inhambane in 1889, and the Military District of Gaza in 1898.
2. In 1907 the situation changed. The military district of Gaza was integrated into Lourenço Marques District.
3. In 1934 the Province of Sul de Save (south of the Save) was created, which contained the districts of Lourenço Marques (which included Gaza) and Inhambane. The Districts were further subdivided into circumscrições (areas with little Portuguese influence) and conselhos (areas where the Portuguese presence was already important). The concelhos and circumscrições were formed from Administrative Posts which were themselves divided into 'regulodos'.
4. In 1946 the District of Gaza was formed. At the same time the Province of Sul de Save was reorganised to include only Inhambane and Gaza, with Inhambane as the capital city. Lourenço Marques became an autonomous province.
5. In 1954 Mozambique became known as a Province and not a colony; the the Sul de Save was no longer an administrative entity. Lourenço Marques, Gaza and Inhambane remained as Districts, however.
6. After 1963 there were, south of the Save River, the three districts which were organised into Administrative concelhos and circumscrições which in their turn were organised into Administrative Posts and 'regedarias'.

The District of Lourenço Marques, after 1963, contained the Concelhos of Lourenço Marques, Manhica, Matola and the Circumscrições of Maputo, Marracuene, Namaacha and Sofiá. Gaza District consisted of Gaza, Chibuto, Bilene, Muchopes and Baixo Limpopo concelhos, and Guijá, Limpopo and Magude circumscrições. Inhambane District contained the Concelho of Inhambane and the circumscrições of Govuro, Homoine, Inharrime, Massinga, Morrumbene, Panda, Vilanculos and Zavala.

B. WENELA's Regional Organisation in Mozambique

1. WENELA's regional organisational division never coincided with the colonial administrative districts of Mozambique. WENELA's headquarters in Mozambique was Lourenço Marques with four 'divisions' (the name used until 1961) as follows:
 - Inhambane
 - Gazaland (which included Inharrime and Zavala, administratively included in Inhambane District)
 - Xinavane (including Guija and Moguda)
 - Matola.

After 1961 WENELA used the term District instead of Division which still did not correspond to the Colonial Districts.

2. In 1966-67 WENELA changed the name of Matola District to District of Lourenço Marques (which included as well Machava, Manhiça and Maputo).
3. In 1866-67 the District of Xinavane disappeared, being integrated into the Lourenço Marques District.
4. The name Lourenço Marques was changed to Maputo in 1975-76.

To summarise, in 1974 the following structures existed:

District of Inhambane

Maxixe
Funhalouro
Homoine
Vilanculos
Jangamo
Morrumbene
Massinga

District of João Belo (Gaza)

João Belo
Inharrime
Chibuto
Zavala
Manjaiase
Alto Changane

District of Lourenço Marques

Alto Mahé	Guíja
Machava	Macia
Moamba	Magude
Manhiça	Xinavane

The non-correspondence in administrative organisation makes comparison of statistics doubly difficult, since District level statistics cannot easily be compared.

In each District there was a principal recruitment 'camp' to where normally deferred payment was made and where the recruits were concentrated before being sent of South Africa. There were also secondary camps run by WENELA recruiters, and, finally, recruitment stations, manned by the 'propaganda helpers' of the Company (the 'tchova' and 'Indunas').

C. Formal Contract Between the Two Administrations - WENELA and Colonial Portuguese

Formal contact is made twice over each contract. The contract has to be confirmed in the presence of the government administrative authority. When deferred payment is made, an administrative official is present (normally of the Institute of Labour). The sums of money to be paid in an area are given to WENELA to pay the workers in the administrative building of the Institute of Labour.

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