

REPORT ON NATIVE LABOUR CONDITIONS
in the
PROVINCE OF MOZAMBIQUE, PORTUGUESE E.A.

GENERAL.

The Province of Mozambique is divided into various administrative areas. It contains:

- (a) Two Chartered Companies -
 The Mozambique Company (Beira),
 The Nyassa Company (Porto Amelia & Ibo).
- (b) The "Prazas" in the Quillimane district
 The Zambesia Co.
 The Madal Co.
 The Boror Co.
 The Lugella Co.
 and some others of less importance.

The Chartered Companies enjoy complete control of their own internal affairs, and the "Prazas" have a certain degree of autonomy.

- (c) The Central Government at Lourenco Marques, controlling the remainder of the Province, which comprises the districts of Lourenco Marques, Gazaland (Chai-Chai), Inhambane, Quillimane, and Mozambique including Angoche. Each district carries a District Governor, with the exception of Lourenco Marques, where the Governor General acts also in that capacity, and each district makes its own labour regulations, subject to the approval of the Governor General.

It will be found that labour conditions vary considerably in the different areas above mentioned.

Speaking generally, labour conditions and the treatment of natives become worse as the distance from Lourenco Marques increases. The force of public opinion has improved conditions considerably in the south. In the north every kind of abuse

flourishes.

There is a marked difference also in the type of officials north and south of the Zambesia. In the South the Administrators and sub-Administrators (Chefes do Posto) are usually men of education and intelligence, frequently ex-officers of the Portuguese military and naval services. A reasonable amount of justice and humanity is to be expected from such, and often exists. The northern districts - possibly being unable to pay men of this type - recruit their officials from a lower class, frequently ex-sergeants and corporals. Many officials are found of very indifferent education. They lack the intelligence to realise any sense of their responsibility, and have no traditions to follow. Being underpaid, they regard their positions (which are usually quite free from any supervision) merely as opportunities to be turned to their own advantage. Often they exhibit a brutality that feeds and grows on its own excesses. In the very worst areas there is no abuse, excess or crime against natives left uncommitted. Even murder is not unknown.

Corporal punishment is usual. The instrument used is the "palmatoria". This is a heavy, thick-handled weapon, carrying a round, flat surface at one end. A heavy knobkerrie, with a short thick handle, and two parallel surfaces of the knob cut down flush with the shaft would resemble a palmatoria. The instrument is used to inflict punishment by flogging the palm of the victim's hand. Rarely causing any permanent injury, such as broken or dislocate bones, its use quickly reduces a hand to a shapeless, swollen mass of lacerated and bleeding flesh.

In the north its use is universal for the most trivial offences on the part of natives. This instrument - the symbol of Portuguese authority in the province of Mozambique - is the most conspicuous ornament on the walls of every administrative office. Its use is not unknown in the south, even in Lourenco Marques itself, while the Fiscal at Rossano Garcia is a noted believer in

its efficiency as a means of native government.

Corporal punishment is entirely prohibited under Portuguese law, unless perhaps by sentence of a Judge, but the law is utterly ignored throughout the whole province, and the authorities wink at the lowest official in the interior inflicting punishment by means of the palmatoria.

The palmatoria is a relic of the barbarous age, and a Government which permits its universal use cannot be said to have emerged from the era of barbarity.

The worst point of the administration is that many officials engage in private business. The senior authorities are fully aware of this, but are either indifferent or unable to prevent it. Agriculture, planting, trading, the collection of beeswax, rubber, etc., and transport of merchandise to the coast occupy the attention of officials and practically the whole of the native labour required is forced, unpaid, and barely fed. Successful officials leave the country rich men. During their residence in the Province, the activities above mentioned leave them little time to give their attention to such matters as hygiene, native grievances, law, justice, and the diverse other subjects which occupy the lives of Administrators in the Colonies of other nationalities. On the contrary they discourage any attempt on the part of natives to discuss any such matters with them, as being a waste of their time, and too much trouble. A subject which offers no pecuniary return is of no interest to them. Especially is it futile for a native to complain of any theft or outrage committed by the native police. These functionaries, uniformed and armed both with authority and weapons, are the mainstay of the Hut Tax collection, and as such are entirely privileged persons; in fact they occupy the enviable position of licenced bandits. When abroad on their otherwise lawful occasions, they invariably steal fowls, foodstuffs, etc., and demand or seize women at every village visited. Should a native complain to a *Chefe de Posto* that his wife has been outraged by a police boy, the complainant will almost certainly receive a beating with the palmatoria for

daring to lay a complaint against the native police.

In brief, the officials exist not for the good of the country, but solely for the collection of the hut tax, and for their own gain. Native government in the Province of Mozambique means only the collection of taxes, calling in of forced labour, the arrest of criminals, and repression. A large gaol can be seen at every Post, and it represents the sole monument to Portuguese efforts for the benefit of the native population.

Forced unpaid labour for Government purposes was formerly universal. It is now *officially* permitted only for roadmaking. This, however, occupies a large amount of native labour.

During part of 1921 and 1922 some 2000 natives were employed for months on the road between Chai-Chai and Xinavaan. All this labour was unpaid and barely fed. In some cases the natives even had to provide their own hoes, which cost about 5s., and were worn out in Government service. Throughout the whole Province roads have to be maintained in fair repair by the local natives without payment; and *actually*, other Government service is also forced and unpaid in most Posts.

No improvement in general conditions can be expected under the present system. There is a complete absence of supervision over officials in the Interior, and each Administrator and Chefe do Posto is a despotic ruler in his own area. Excesses or atrocities coming to the notice of the senior officials on the coast may be deplored, but meet with no adequate inquiry or punishment. The policy of the Government is to hush up each scandal, and the worst that happens to an offender is suspension with the possibility of dismissal from the service. Real punishment of an official for any crime whatsoever committed against natives is unknown. An odd exception may however be found to prove the rule. It is stated that one case is on record in the Mozambique district of a Chefe do Posto being sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for the murder of a native. Such a case merely indicates that the official had incurred the

personal enmity of his seniors.

There is no intention to suggest that murder and atrocities are very common; but on the other hand they are not so very infrequent, as every year or so one hears of a native being done to death. Maltreatment, flogging, etc., is extremely common. Many cases of so-called murder are more correctly manslaughter e.g. a native being flogged to death.

With such examples of official conduct ever before them, it inevitably follows that many private companies and individuals permit themselves similar licence. The natives of the Province of Mozambique live in many areas under conditions but little removed from slavery. The legal minimum wage has to be paid by private employers, and natives cannot be bought and sold. Beyond this their lives are too often made up of neglect, privation and ill treatment. The worst areas are those administered by the Praza holders in the Quillimane district, Angoche, Mozambique and the Nyassa Company's territory. Conditions depend entirely on the character of the local official, who can ensure good treatment if he desires. Just and humane officials can be found, and their posts are often easily recognised by the considerable native population close to the seat of administration. The evil Administrator has for neighbours only his own native police. The trouble is that just and humane officials are rare, and until public opinion is much stronger and more articulate no amelioration of the natives' lot can be looked for.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE VARIOUS AREAS

a) As regards wages in the various areas it should be noted that in connection with the recent Currency Act an intention has been expressed of raising natives' wages in Escudos to a level representing the pre-war standard. It is very unlikely that this can or will be carried into effect, as the local currency is at present depreciated about twenty times.

b) The Hut Tax varies throughout the Province with the rate of wages paid, and usually represents the earnings of one month to six weeks.

c) The very low wages paid are largely due to depreciated currency. Before the war, when the Escudo was stable at about Esc. 5,00 to the £, the usual minimum wage was Esc. 1.20 per month, being nearly 4/10 per month. On the Prazas it is stated to have been Esc. 0.40 per month, about 1/7½.

d) The principle throughout is forced labour supplied by the Administrators.

LOURENCO MARQUES DISTRICT

Agricultural wages - 12/- per month with food
 Industrial wages - up to 24/- per month with food
 now paid in Escudos at the rate of the day. The usual period of employment is six months.

Farmers are known who so ill-treat their servants in the final month, that the natives abscond in terror, the farmer thus escaping the necessity of paying any wage at all in some cases. The Administrators in this district are now making a genuine effort to assist and protect their natives, and farmers with bad reputations are being refused further supplies of labour.

With no prospect of engaging much voluntary labour, the outlook for them is unpromising until they amend their ways. Public opinion in this district exercises considerable influence. The Intendente holds just and humane views, which ensure a considerable amount of protection for natives, who enjoy in the Lourenco Marques district a degree of freedom and consideration, which is not found elsewhere in the Province, except perhaps in some areas of the Mozambique Company's territory (Beira). Employers of enlightened views can also be found, among whom may be mentioned certain British ranchers, and the Xinavaan Sugar Estates. The latter Company employs a large number of natives, and

succeeds in engaging many of them voluntarily. The Company pays 20/- per month for adult males down to 10/- for children. Adequate rations and quarters are provided. In the town of Lourenco Marques wages are fairly high, daily labourers receiving 1/6 per day, paid in Escudos at the rate of the day. The Hut Tax is £1 plus Esc. 1.00.

It may be said of the Central Government at Lourenco Marques that they desire to carry out an enlightened Labour policy but are defeated by their own system. Distances, lack of supervision and an inferior class of officials are insuperable handicaps. To this add the national inertia and the national inclination to follow the line of least resistance, and it can easily be understood why the authorities fail to modify the repression and exploitation of natives, which marks in greater or lesser degree the life of the whole Province.

District of Gazaland

There is so little local employment that the district may be ignored, with the assumption that conditions are not so favourable as in the Lourenco Marques district, but better than in the district of Inhambane.

District of Inhambane

Practically no voluntary labour can be engaged, as natives prefer to go to Johannesburg. All labour is forced and supplied by the Administrators. Wages are fixed by a local "Labour Commission" under Government control. The rate was Esc. 6.00 per month until a few months ago, when it was raised to Esc. 12.00 to meet the depreciation in exchange. In each instance the value represented at first about 4/- per month, but continued depreciation reduced this. At the present time natives will not remain on farms for Esc. 12.00, and 15.00 may be stated to be the minimum wage, head boys receiving up to Esc. 30.00. The Exchange being now about Esc. 100.00 to the £, this amounts to 3/- and 6/- respectively. Recent local regulations determine that future agricultural wages shall be

payable in Escudos at a rate corresponding to about 8/- to 10/- per month. This is to come into force in a few weeks time. It may be confidently anticipated that these wages can never be paid. Farming in the Inhambane district is in a primitive and non-economic condition, and no farmers have sufficient capital to carry on, except on the former low wage costs. The only farmers who ever made money were the "Sope" farmers, and since the brewing of this sugarcane-beer has been prohibited, many of them have left the country.

As elsewhere, industrial wages are higher than agricultural wages, but the number of natives so employed (railway, etc.) is inconsiderable.

The Hut Tax is £1 plus Esc. 0.50.

The Mozambique Company (Beira)

Compulsory labour recruited by the Commandants at 26/- per month, of which the 6/- is a recruiting fee, the native receiving 20/- only. Voluntary labour can also be engaged at 20/- per month. In each case the payment is made in notes of the Banco do Beira, which are depreciated 30%, the actual payment being therefore the equivalent of about 14/-. A few hundred contracted labourers are imported occasionally from Mozambique on a system of deferred pay, the wages being 15/- per month, payable in Beira notes, equals 10/- net.

District of Quillimane

The greater part of the Quillimane district is occupied by the various Prazas - Zambesia Company, Madal Company, Boror Company, Lugeela Company, etc.

A Praza is an area of country leased for a term of years, for administrative and revenue collecting purposes, against an annual cash payment, which is determined by sale by auction. The essence of the contract is the farming of the Hut Tax, which the praza holder collects for his own account. He also acquires the right to maintain native police, and to call in forced labour. His chief obligations are to maintain a few roads, which he does

by forced unpaid labour, and to pay otherwise a local minimum rate of wage with food. The food, of course, is grown in his fields by more forced labour.

The wages are Esc. 6.00 per month, which at Esc. 100.00 to the £, is just under 1/3 per month.

Food is expensive, a ration being worth about Esc. 0.70 per day, i.e. for a kilo of any foodstuff. If he needs to buy food the labourer will cost his employer Esc. 21.00 per month for food.

The chief Praza Companies hold praza rights over very large areas in which are situated their plantation concession areas. They practically always make a profit out of the Hut Tax collection, usually a large profit, and they are ensured an abundant labour supply for their plantations. No neighbouring planter may recruit labour within the praza areas, nor are natives allowed to seek employment elsewhere. Being relieved of any pretence of Government control or supervision, it is only to be expected that labour conditions within the prazas are abominable. The praza system is synonymous with abuse and crime. All the praza holders conduct retail stores. Every penny paid out to natives is returned to the employer either as Hut Tax collection, or for purchases made in the stores. A native works here all his life under horrible conditions to buy scanty clothing for his wife and daughters. The men and boys can rarely afford proper clothing, and a small piece of rag, insufficient for decent covering, represents on a praza the reward allowed a native for the labours of a lifetime. Natives have fled from some of the prazas in such numbers that the former abundant supply of labour no longer suffices for the needs of the plantations, and labour has to be recruited outside their areas.

Quillimane and Zambesia areas represent the centre of the sugar planting and cocoanut planting industries, in which many thousands of natives are constantly employed. There is marked ill-treatment and neglect of natives on all estates. In 1913 - 1914 the Nyassa Consolidated Company recruited some

hundreds of natives in Nyassaland for work on one of the prazas. The reports of natives who returned was such as to cause the recruiting company to decline to supply any further labour to the Quillimane district.

Outside the prazas labour is supplied by the Administrators at Esc. 6.00 per month. At least one Administrator refuses to supply forced labour, although allowing voluntary engagement.

The Hut Tax is Esc. 6.00.

Mozambique including the district of Angoche

(Angoche, although a recognised port of entry for Customs purposes, is merely one sub-district of Mozambique).

Agricultural labour is usually compulsory at Esc. 6.00 per month with food, which costs about Esc. 6.00 per month. Voluntary labour can be engaged at Esc. 15.00 without food. There is a certain amount of industrial labour, chiefly the transport of stone for building material. This is paid Esc. 7.50 with food. Some Administrators encourage the engagement of voluntary labour, and allow natives to work wherever they may seek employment. Other Administrators in the interior entirely prohibit natives from leaving their own districts, and even prevent them, as far as possible, from engaging the voluntary labour close to their villages, desiring to retain all the labour close at hand, to supply forced unpaid labour for the Administrator's personal advantage. Such labour is chiefly engaged on plantations, either the private estate of the official, or the so-called Government plantations, which are found at every Post. The latter supply a certain amount of foodstuffs for Government native servants, police and prisoners, but are chiefly run for the personal profit of the Administrator, who sells the crops for his own account.

In this district may be found many private properties, now valuable, which were entirely planted by officials using unpaid forced labour.

The Hut Tax is Esc. 5.50.

In Mozambique a certain amount of labour is recruited on contract for Beira at 15/- per month, and for Hornung's Sugar Estate on the Zambesia at 12/- per month, payable in each case in depreciated currency.

Nyassa Company's Territory (Porto Amelia & Ibo)

Compulsory labour at Esc. 4.500 with food, which costs to buy about Esc. 0.50 per day. The labourer thus receives 10.8d per month, nearly elevenpence per month.

The Hut Tax is Esc. 4.50.

In this, the most northern part of the Province, the exploitation of natives reaches its worst degree.

Domestic slavery - trivial in extent and harmless in kind actually continues in the town of Ibo, whose inhabitants are chiefly old-established half-caste families, tracing their descent to the early settlement of the island by the Portuguese. Two generations back these families were engaged in slave trading and in the working of plantations by slave labour, and they accumulated considerable wealth. They are now more or less impoverished, but in many cases descendants of their old slaves still cling to the Patron's family, and remain in voluntary slavery drawing food and clothing from the Patron, and, although unpaid, enjoy a happy and lazy existence: in fact they are much better off than ordinary natives in the country. So much for the traditions of Nyassaland.

The Nyassa Company is practically insolvent, and in a hopeless condition. Sub-administrators, (Chefes do Posto) were formerly paid Esc. 80.00 per month (£16 per month) plus a commission on the Hut Tax collection. On account of depreciation an increase to Esc. 180.00 has been granted, but the Company cannot afford to pay more. That is £1-16-0 per month pay for a white official.

His commissions amount to something over £100 per

year. The total average pay of an Administrator is not more than £200 per year, and of a Chefe do Posto not more than £150 per year.

It is frankly recognised that they must live on the country. Formerly they were officially prohibited from owning plantations although the prohibition was usually ignored. Now such ownership is openly recognised by the Government. Every official in the country from the local Governor downwards is actively engaged in exploring some avenue of money making, chiefly by the exploitation of natives. Practically every official is the owner or part owner of the plantation, where some hundreds, in some cases some thousands of natives are employed constantly. Officially such labour has to be paid Esc. 4.50 per month, with food, which costs about Esc. 15.00 per month, say Esc. 19.50 per month for each labourer. Obviously an official whose total emoluments only amount to a few hundred Escudos a month can barely live on his pay himself, much less pay and feed hundreds of labourers. The whole of this labour is unpaid, and only half-fed with food also produced by forced unpaid labour. Wives and children of the labourers produce food for them as best they may; but often the wives and children are also seized and compelled to labour, then the entire family will have to subsist on the scanty rations allowed by the employer. The wretched natives, guarded and driven by armed police, are positively being worked to death. The district of Medo, - some 80 miles west of Porto Amelia, - contains large plantations worked by officials. An intelligent Indian trader resident in that neighbourhood estimates the deaths of carriers engaged in carrying to the coast the product of the plantations last year as not less than 1500 persons, - 1500 natives, unpaid, half-fed, carrying 25 Kilos. loads, driven along the roads by their brutal guards, until they dropped exhausted and died. The natives are not constantly employed, being "called" for varying periods; but they are "called" so often, and being overworked and under-fed become so exhausted and discouraged that they have neither time nor strength to make gardens for themselves. Food shortage obtains all over Nyassaland and semi-starvation is the constant

lot of its native inhabitants. Even when they succeed in growing any crops, the native police, more or less driven by circumstances to forage for themselves, and quite immune from any fear of punishment, will certainly steal at least half of the available food.

There is no need to write at length:- robbery, exploitation, oppression, cruelty, rape, outrages, atrocities, murder, - no words can be too strong, no phrases can exaggerate, no description can exceed the truth. The position becomes worse each year. It is the destruction of a race that is in progress in Portugese Nyassaland.

A brief note on the history of the Nyassa Company will show that Great Britain cannot escape some share of the blame for the evils here recorded. The Company was founded some thirty years ago, the capital being raised in London, Paris and Lisbon, and originally a Board of Directors sat in each country to safeguard the interests of their shareholders, the Governing Board being always the Lisbon Board. The French Board and French shareholders disappeared somewhat later, the French interest being chiefly bought up in London, largely by Messrs. Lewis & Marks, of London and Johannesburg. This firm presently floated a subsidiary Company, the Nyassa Consolidated Ltd., to consolidate their interests and holdings, and to finance the Nyassa Company. Since that time the Nyassa Consolidated Ltd. has always been in a position to control the senior Chartered Company, by virtue of the financial position. It owns large blocks of the Nyassa Company shares, and is also a creditor of the Chartered Company for very large sums of money.

On the outbreak of the late war, it was discovered that Lewis & Marks had sold out most, if not all, of their holdings in the Nyassa Consolidated to German financiers, the active firm being W. Philippi & Co. of Hamburg. The German interest was seized by the Trustee of Enemy Property, and eventually was acquired - at the request of the British Government - by Sir Owen Phillips. It is

believed that the Union-Castle Co. is interested.

There is every reason to believe that the British Government would be unwilling to make effective representations to Lisbon on the subject of Nyassaland, when there is a risk of endangering British capital or offending the feelings of Britain's most ancient ally, and thus the cries of an outraged people remain unheard. Possibly an appeal to the League of Nations would be of service, and such an appeal is now being spoken of by the few persons interested in native welfare in that country.

An unfortunate point is that the Nyassa Consolidated Co. have secured the position of British Vice Consul for their Manager at Porto Amelia. It can hardly be expected that he will report to the Foreign Office contrary to the interests of his employers, so there is no help for the natives in that direction.

The Charter of the Nyassa Company expires in about three years, and efforts are now being made to obtain an extension. If this be granted a further thirty years Government by the Nyassa Company will solve all problems; for the natives will all be dead, and the Europeans will have been compelled to leave the country owing to lack of native labour.

In general the employment of native labour throughout the Province of Mocambique is un-economical. Where wages are so low as here shown, it does not pay to buy machinery or transport vehicles. The fields are still hoed by hand, and all merchandise and building materials are carried on natives' heads often for long distances. The only port showing any large import of agricultural machinery is Beira, and here the goods are chiefly in transit for Rhodesia.

With the exception of the Zambesia sugar and coconut industries the labour requirements of the Province are small, and could be much reduced by the provision of adequate machinery and transport facilities.

TO PRODUCE IS TO LEARN. TO LEARN THROUGH
PRODUCING IS TO STRUGGLE BETTER.

In a short while we are going to begin preparing the farm land for a new cycle of production. For many people production perhaps appears to be a rite, some kind of necessity in which we are obliged to engage in order to eat and to dress. It is true that production must satisfy our fundamental biological needs. But it is also necessary in order to free ourselves from poverty and it is necessary in order better to know, dominate and use nature; it is necessary in order to form us politically.

We are revolutionaries; our acts have a political meaning, a political content. For this reason our production, besides having a commercial meaning and content, has a political content.

In the enemy zone, in capitalism and colonialism, people also produce. Men also take up hoes to strike the earth. Men also make objects in factories which we do not have in our zone. In fact, we say that production in the zone of the enemy is exploitation, while in our zone production frees man. Nevertheless, it is the same hoe, the same man, the same act of striking the ground. Why does there exist this distinction?

A Mocambiquan peasant who produces rice in Gaza province; what does his production serve for? Does it serve to feed him, to satisfy the needs of his family? Perhaps, to a certain extent. But what is certain is that with what he gets from his production he has to pay colonial taxes, taxes which finance the police who seize them, taxes which pay the salary of the administrators who oppress him, taxes to buy the guns of soldiers who tomorrow will expel him from his lands, taxes which will pay the transport and installation costs of the colonists who are going to replace him. The peasant is producing to pay his taxes; by his work he finances the oppression of which he is a victim.

Let us follow through this example of a peasant who produces rice. In order to live he needs other things besides rice. He needs clothing, he needs oil, he needs many things which he has to buy at

the trading store. To buy these things he needs money, and money does not fall from the sky.

This is to say that our peasant has to go to the trading store or to the company to sell his rice. He sells his things for a low price, and buys things at prices four or five times as high. With a sack of cotton many metres of cloth and many shirts can be made. But in fact, when he sells a sack of cotton the money which he receives is scarcely enough to buy one shirt. Our production, our sweat combined with the earth, benefits these companies and shopkeepers who do nothing.

These are the most delicate and least cruel forms of exploitation in the zone of the enemy. There are other much worse forms. There is the sale of workers for the mines. The young men are strong when they leave for the mines. Many die in accidents on the mines. More than 2500 die on the mines every year. Others, we do not know how many, come back without an arm or a leg, or with their lungs eaten up by tuberculosis. The masters of the mines are the richest people in the world. The gold taken out of the mines is sold at very high prices, but how much do the men who die in the mines earn?

Along the Zambezi are the rich lands of Sena-Sugar. Sena-Sugar earns many many thousands of contos a year. But what is earned by those who work on the rich lands of Sena-Sugar? In the coal mines of Moatize, in the palm plantations of the Zambezi Company, in the high tea plantations of Gurue, in all the places where the men of Mozambique cultivate rich farms, build high buildings, run factories with complicated machines, it is not those who work, those who sweat on to the earth, those who risk their lives in the mines, it is not they who benefit from the work.

In the zone of the enemy, the work which creates everything is done by the poor, by the "brutes". In the zone of the enemy manual work, physical work, hoeing, is done by the "brutes", the "savages", the "illiterates". The less one works the more educated one is, the less one works the more

civilised one is, the more one exploits the labour of others and the more one despises the workers, the more respected and the more elevated one is in the society. Who can imagine a governor, a doctor, a general, a banker, with calloused hands, with feet sunk into the earth, sweating with the force of his hoe? It would be considered dishonouring, shaming, low.

In the zone of the enemy, the exploiters, like lice, live off the work of the exploited. Everywhere, in the schools, on the radio, in the cinema, one is taught to despise manual work and to venerate the exploiters.

In our zone it is different. Work does not serve to enrich companies and merchants, speculators and parasites.

Work is designed to satisfy the needs of the people and of the war. For this very reason production is the object of constant attack by the enemy.

In our zone, work is an act of liberation, because the result of the work benefits the workers, serves the interests of the workers; that is, serves to liberate man from hunger, poverty, serves the progress of the struggle. In our zone we abolish the exploitation of man, because production is the property of the people, and serves the people.

So we produce for our own interests. It is in our interests to bring up healthy children, free of illness, strong children free from hunger and rickets.

In producing we contribute to the correct feeding of our children, of our people.

In cultivating, we produce food which is rich in vitamins; we produce carrots with vitamins which strengthen our eyesight; we produce an infinity of products, from grain to tomatoes, from beans to lettuce, which give strength to our bodies.

Products which through their diversity and richness enable us to benefit from a varied diet, which, being varied, is not only agreeable but also gives us a more balanced diet which in itself combats many illnesses and makes us more resistant. And

consider also that the physical labour of production, especially in agriculture, not only strengthens our muscles and enriches our bodies, but also keeps us in touch with nature, keeps us in the sun which gives us the vitamins (D,A) necessary for the resistance of our bodies, creates the conditions in which we can enjoy good health.

On the other hand, it is through production and its development, and only through production and its development, that we can satisfy our growing needs. In many regions, because we manage to export our excess production to friendly countries, the problem of clothing is attenuated; what we export gives us means to buy what we do not produce ourselves.

Our needs for clothing, shoes, soap, can only be solved in one of two ways: The first is by increasing our exports which increases the amount that we can buy. The second, and the more effective, although more long term, is to produce these goods ourselves.

We speak intentionally of textiles, footwear and soap. The reason is simple.

In our country our farmers produce the cotton with which cloth is made. Artisanal production of textiles is within the range of our possibilities. We have the hides of cattle, goats, and many other animals, from which leather is made. Artisanal production of leather and of shoes is within the range of our possibilities. We have the vegetable raw material from which soap is made, and experiments in Cabo Delgado show that we are able to produce soap.

On the other hand, the increase of production, through the better use of our resources - using manure and irrigation, the development of horticulture, the breeding of animals etc - is possible, as is proved by experiments carried out at certain military bases and pilot centres.

So production serves to solve the problem of a rich diet for health, and serves our needs. For this reason in our zone those who work are honoured

and praised, while those who wish to live by exploiting the labour of others are criticised, denounced, combatted and despised.

In our zone, because our struggle is to liberate the exploited workers, it is with pride that we see our hands calloused, and with joy that we sink our feet in the earth. The workers in our zone help us to develop a consciousness of our origins, help us to feel proud of our class; help us to liquidate the complexes that the colonialists and capitalists wish to impose on us.

We say therefore that in production we are increasing or reinforcing the consciousness of our origins, we are developing our class consciousness. We must say also that we are strengthening our unity.

When I, a Nyanja, am cultivating shoulder to shoulder, with an Ngoni, when I am sweating with him, drawing life out of the earth with him, I am learning with him, I appreciate his sweat, I feel united with him. When I, from the centre, discuss with a comrade from the north how to lay out a farm, how and what we will plant, and together we make plans, together we combat the difficulties, together we have the joy of gathering the crop growing by our common effort, I and this comrade love one another more.

When I, from the north, learn with a comrade from the South how to make a vegetable garden, to irrigate the plump red tomatoes, when I, from the centre learn with a comrade from the north how to grow manioc, which I have not come across before, I feel myself more united with these comrades. I live, materially, the unity of our Fatherland, and the unity of our class of workers. Together with them I destroy tribal, religious and linguistic prejudices, all that is inessential and which divides us.

Like the plant that grows, from the sweat and intelligence which we mix with the soil, unity grows.

Constantly in Frelimo we talk of production. We give our army the task of fighting, of producing, and of mobilising the masses. To our youth we

give the task of learning, producing and fighting. Constantly in our discussions and in our writings we speak of the importance of producing, and we say that it is an important front in our struggle and a school for us.

We have seen that production satisfies the necessities of life and at the same time frees and unites us. But we have not yet seen that production is a school: that in production we learn. Perhaps some people are surprised that in our schools the pupils spend long hours doing productive work, and that our army also has this task. These people will perhaps say that it is absurd, that the pupils would spend this time better reading books and attending lessons, that the task of the army is to fight, not to produce. These people think in that way because that is what has been taught to them by the capitalists and the colonialists.

Since they do not produce but live from our production, because they think themselves wise, and say that we are brutish and ignorant, the capitalists and colonialists cannot recognise that one learns in producing, that production is one of the most important schools.

But we know that production is a school, that production, the revolution and the struggle are fundamental schools.

We say this because we are enlightened by the consciousness and the experience of our class.

Ideas do not fall from the sky like rain. Our knowledge and experience does not come in our dreams while we are sleeping. Without ever having been to school, our illiterate peasants know more about manioc, cotton, peanuts and many other things than the learned capitalist who has never held a hoe. Without knowing how to read, our mechanics have deeper knowledge of a car engine, of how to assemble it, how to repair it and how to make the missing parts, than the learned capitalist who has never soiled his hands with engine oil. We see our "ignorant" masons, our "brutish" carpenters and cabinet-makers, despised by the learned capitalists, making beautiful houses, and the most beauti-

ful furniture which the learned capitalist will appreciate greatly, but about the making of which he will know nothing.

This shows clearly that it is *IN PRODUCTION* that we learn. We do not learn everything all at once. A plate full of porridge is not swallowed in one go, but rather bit by bit.

What we learn, we do; when we do it, we see if it looks bad. Thus we learn from our mistakes and from our successes. The mistakes show us the deficiencies in our knowledge, the weak points which have to be eliminated. That is, it is in producing that we correct our mistakes. It is production which shows us whether this ground is in order to give us good tomatoes, would need more manure and what kind of manure, and that more water is needed there. It was in carrying out experiments which failed that our students learned to make soap, and it was in making soap that they improved the quality of the soap.

Where do we apply our ideas? How do we know if our ideas are right or wrong? It was not through reading in the sky or in books that our pupils learned their weak points in making soap. It was not by dreaming that in Tete they began to produce manioc; no angel descended from the sky to give us vegetable gardens in Cabo Delgado.

Production is a school, because from it comes our knowledge, and because it is in production that we learn to correct our errors. It is among the people, working with the people, that we learn, and teach the people.

If our army had not produced, how could we have gone and produced manioc in Tete, when the people did not know manioc? If we had been content to have study sessions about the cultivation of manioc, would the manioc have grown? How could we have reinforced our capacity to resist in Tete, against bombardments, against chemical weapons and against attacks by the enemy, without diversifying our production, without introducing new products resistant to the attacks of the enemy? How could the people correct their methods of production,

see where it was good and where it was bad, without producing?

We usually say that in war we learn war, that in Revolution we learn the best way to make the revolution; it is in struggling that we learn how to struggle better; it is in producing that we learn to produce better. We can study much, read much, but what will be the use of all this knowledge if we do not take it to the masses, if we do not produce? If someone keeps grain in a drawer, will he gather a crop?

If someone learns much and never comes to the masses, does not go towards practice, it will remain dead knowledge, an engraving. He might be able to recite by heart many pages from scientific works, many pages from revolutionary works, but his whole life will not create a single new page, a single new line. His intelligence will remain sterile, like that seed shut up in a drawer.

We need to apply continually, we need to be plunged into the Revolution and into production in order to develop our knowledge, and in so doing we can carry forward the work of revolution and the work of production.

In the zone of the Portuguese colonialists there are more capitalist scientists and more technicians than there are in our zone. In the city of Mocambique alone there are more engineers, more doctors, more agronomists, and more teachers than in all the rest of Mocambique. But what use are they? We must ask, where are there more people who are vaccinated, in our zone or in the zone of enemy? It is clear that there are more in our zone, even though we have no doctors and hardly any medicine. Before, in Cabo Delgado, in Niassa, in Tete, the people did not know what medical treatment was, in spite of the fact that the enemy has doctors, medicine and a medical budget of thousands of contos. In spite of all his agronomists and economic plans, it was not the enemy who brought manioc to Tete or vegetable gardens

to Cabo Delgado; in spite of all his illustrious professors, it was not the enemy who created schools, and laboratories in primary schools, who began to alphabetize the adults, etc.

The science of capitalism and colonialism is sterile; it is like seed shut up in a drawer. It is sterile because it is separated from the masses, because it is based on the principle that the People are brutish, so that one cannot learn from the People; that since the People are brutish, it is not worth giving scientific knowledge to the people.

The seed of knowledge only grows when it is planted in the soil of production, of struggle. If we have been able to transform our country so greatly, if we have achieved such successes in production, in teaching, in health and in combat, it is because we have continually been with the masses; with them we have learnt, and to them we have transmitted what we have learnt. Continually, in production, in combat and in labour we have applied and enriched our knowledge.

But we must not be satisfied. It is not enough to apply. It is also necessary to know, to study.

Intelligence without practice, without being combined with physical force, is sterile. Force without intelligence, without knowledge, remains blind, remains brutish. An elephant is stronger than a man, but because man is intelligent, he can, in spite of being the smaller, make a cart which can carry more than any elephant. A man does not have wings like a bird, but because he has intelligence he can make an aeroplane which flies higher, faster and further than any bird.

We in our work still have many deficiencies which we can and must correct. These deficiencies result from an inadequate application of intelligence in our work. All our deficiencies can be reduced to two: political deficiencies, and deficiencies in scientific knowledge.

There are many places where we could produce more and better with less energy and with greater security against the enemy. We do not do it because we do not adopt in its entirety our political line, because we carry strong in us the individualism and the corruption inherited from the old society.

One man and his family, however energetic they are, however hard working they are, cannot at one time cultivate many little plots; they cannot disperse the targets of the enemy and, in other words, protect production. This man and his family can not at the same time be cultivating different plots which will give different products and thus a richer diet. It is impossible for them to organise a system of vigilance and protection for all these plots and all their food stores, and of their house and village, against the incursions and pillaging of the enemy. This man can not be producing and be patrolling different places to watch out for the enemy and to prevent surprise attacks.

By this we mean to say that individualism, the spirit of private property, "I have my land and my cattle, you have your land and your cattle; I have my granary and my house, you have your granary and your house", leads us to disasters and to the loss of cattle, land, houses and granaries.

Individualism, the spirit of private property, is the spirit of capitalism; it divides us and weakens us: if I want to strike a blow with a single finger, I open my fist and my opponent laughs at me; if I bring all my fingers together, with the whole hand, I will knock my opponent over with my blow.

Another serious consequence of limitations in the collective spirit of our production, and of inadquacies in our collective methods, is that these stop us from learning from one another benefiting from our mutual knowledge and experience. When we work collectively we can discuss collectively and together we can see

failures and successes, together we can ask about the causes of the successes and failures, together we can apply and correct what we have learnt. When we work together and learn together, we create progress, and practices which will enrich our ideas. When we work together there is progress and initiative.

In the past we did not progress because we did not discuss our knowledge and our experience. The knowledge and experience which we were given by the elders turned into a dogma which nobody discussed, and which remained sterile and without initiative.

When we do things we must discuss them in order to see what is good and what is bad; to keep the grain and throw away the chaff, to separate the rice from the stones. We must draw lessons from each success and from each failure, to enrich our knowledge, and, in consequences, to enrich our work. But when we act individually we are giving a blow with only one finger.

As responsible, fighting and militant cadres, we must work energetically to get the masses to adopt and to live the collective spirit, and to use collective methods of production, which will enable them to raise the spirit of unity, of class consciousness, of discipline and of organisation.

To adopt a collective work consciousness means to abandon individualism and to consider that all the plots of land are ours, are the peoples; to consider that all the granaries and houses are ours, the peoples. That is to say, it is to unite with others in a collective, in a production brigade. Together we cultivate and harvest, together we organise vigilance, together we protect what belongs, not to you or I, but to us. This field is neither mine nor yours; it is ours.

The pupil in the school, the soldier in the camp, the patient or the nurse in the hospital, have a collective consciousness. None of them think that that school, that camp or that hospital is his private property, and it is for that reason that each is enthusiastically interested in helping the work of that school, that camp and that hospital

to progress. The result is that there is progress, work goes ahead, the enemy cannot attack with such ease.

Because in this school, this camp, this hospital we abandon the spirit of individualism, the spirit of private property, because we adopt a collective consciousness, we are really able to be with the people, to develop the struggle and to improve our conditions of working and living, we are able to unify ourselves more, we are thereby better able to develop our class consciousness.

It is definitely for this reason, that we obtain superior results: where there exists a collective spirit we are better organised, there is more discipline, a correct division of labour, more initiative and more spirit of sacrifice, and we learn more, produce more, struggle better and with greater determination.

Our leadership at the level of the Central Committee should, after thorough discussion with the masses and the cadres, draw up statutes for co-operatives, both in artisanal and agricultural production and in commerce.

At the same time, and in collaboration with the Departmental and Provincial organisations of Production and Commerce, the Political Commissariat should exert itself to introduce methods of planning and orientation of production and commerce, rationalising labour in order to make it more efficient.

Other insufficiencies are the result of superficial or even incorrect knowledge of the laws of natural phenomena. Our scientific knowledge is insufficient.

Often we live near water sources - rivers or springs - waiting for the rain to bring water to our land, when we have the water that would solve our problems right there. At other times we go lamenting that our land is poor, while we are squandering natural fertilizers, the manure of

animals and people, which enriches the land. We have the raw materials for making soap, but we continue without soap ; we could produce, spin and weave cotton, and we continue without cloth. Many examples could be given, but they all show that the lack of scientific knowledge makes us blind. The solutions to the problems which we face are in our reach, but we do not see them, we do not have the courage to initiate. We must combat our inadequate knowledge by studying, learning, discussing and applying.

There are comrades who despise studying and who are ignorant of its value. Study is like a lantern at night, showing us the way. To work without studying is to go in the dark; we can advance, certainly, but there is a great risk that we will lose our way.

In some camps, among certain groups of comrades, the good habit has grown up of regularly giving some time to study. This is good, but it is not enough.

We wish to propose to all comrades, to all leaders and cadres, that they organise constant and regular study programmes amongst themselves with the units. That they give, depending on the situation, at least an hour a day to study activities. Study must be organised in the spirit of collective work, and collective consciousness, in small groups in which people learn from one another and all together struggle against ignorance.

In this first phase, because we are starting from a very weak position, we advise above all that effort should be given to raising the basic level of knowledge, in particular, to the task of liquidating illiteracy among the units and the cadres.

The Political Commissariat, together with Department of Education and Culture, working in close collaboration with the Provincial structures, must organise the programme of struggle against illiteracy and ignorance, in such a way that each Frelimo base becomes also a base in the struggle against obscurantism.

Entirely connected with this programme there should be introduced another programme, of Seminars to provide our comrades with more advanced scientific knowledge - agronomic, engineering, mechanical, sociological, medical etc. - which will raise the general level of knowledge of provincial and district cadres and leaders. These seminars must be specialised seminars with precise themes, such as irrigation, hygiene, the building of mills, the introduction of new plants and the introduction of new methods of production.

In this way our comrades can link their scientific studies with their practice, and can raise the level of their work and the level of the masses.

Earth without manure gives weak plants, but manure without earth burns the seed and nothing grows at all. Our intelligence and our knowledge are like manure; it is necessary to mix manure with earth, and it is necessary to mix intelligence with practice.

Capitalism and colonialism, because they need to exploit us in order to survive, must keep us ignorant and must keep knowledge separate from the masses and create a cultural elite which does not work and only serves to exploit the masses who are kept in ignorance.

We say that it is the workers who should know, who should govern, and who should benefit from their work. We say and practice this. It is for this reason that our armed struggle is transformed into a revolution, and it is for this reason that everything is in constant transformation, and it is for this reason that we are liberating the creative energy of the masses. It is for this reason, finally, that the enemy hates us.

Nothing exists without production, nothing exists without the workers. The aeroplanes and bombardments, the crimes of the colonialists, have the aim of keeping the workers producing for the capitalists, of keeping them exploited. The target of our arms, the objects of our struggle, definitely, is to destroy the exploitation of man by man, of which colonialism is today the principal

form in our Fatherland. Our aim is to devote the creative capacities of the masses to production.

We are about to enter our eighth year of war. In the next year we are going to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of our Front. We have grown much, but in order to grow more, in order to respond to the growing needs of the war and of the People, it is fundamentally important that our production be increased in quantity and in quality, and that more products be created in our country.

The revolution frees man and his intelligence, and frees his work. This liberation shows itself by the development of our knowledge, and by the development of our production; development which serves the people and which serves the struggle.

For this reason, at this moment at which our agriculture is preparing to begin another cycle of production, we say to all our comrades:

*TO PRODUCE IS TO LEARN. TO LEARN THROUGH PRODUCING
IS TO STRUGGLE BETTER.*