

Eduardo Mondlane: Dissent on Mozambique

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane (1920-1969) was one of the first black Mozambicans to earn a university degree, as well as the first president of FRELIMO from 1962 until his assassination by the Portuguese. The text printed here is an early statement condemning the Portuguese colonial system that he made in April 1962 — as a private citizen — to a United Nations special committee, two months before FRELIMO was founded in Dar es Salaam and over two years before the armed struggle against the Portuguese began in September 1964.

Mondlane had earned a doctorate from Northwestern University in Chicago, and was fluent in English; he had also spent more than four years working for the United Nations trusteeship division, and was familiar with UN procedures. His text therefore contrasts sharply in its measured, quasi-academic tone and its careful deployment of facts and figures from the confident populism of Machel's improvised speech in Beira, also printed in this volume.

Functionally, this text can be seen as a cautious beginning, a preliminary delineation of what the Mozambican nationalist project might later become. In early 1962, that project would have seemed optimistic — even utopian — to many people, in advancing the claim that Mozambican Africans could drive the Portuguese colonialists from the national territory. When Mondlane spoke at the UN, the three tiny nationalist movements that were soon to unite to form FRELIMO were still unarmed and impotent in neighbouring countries, without even a clandestine presence inside Mozambique. Nonetheless, armed nationalist revolts had already been launched in both Angola, and, a month earlier, in Guinea-Bissau, and Portuguese confidence had been shaken.

Mondlane spends time putting forward arguments against the most absurd assertions of the Portuguese — that Africans are lazy, that they have to be forced to work, that they are unable to benefit from education. His explanatory narrative of the working of migrant labour is tailored to refute the claim of African 'childishness' and completely omits the structural character of the system — he refers to young men seeking 'areas of adventure elsewhere' in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa.

Compared to Machel's vigorous and dramatic oratory, Mondlane's speech constructs an argument for an audience presumably ignorant of Mozambican conditions; he neither requires nor expects participation from his listeners. But FRELIMO's eventual victory depended on garnering support as much among the international community as among the Mozambican masses, and Mondlane's moderate and reasonable voice was an effective instrument right from the beginning.

Source

Statement submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration established under General Assembly Resolution 1699 (XVI). A/AC. 108/11. New York, April 10, 1962, pp 31.

References

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A full-length analysis of Machel's speech by Colin Darch and David Hedges, *Retórica política na transição à independência de Moçambique*, is scheduled to appear in 2012.

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Early in my life I took advantage of whatever educational facilities were available to the people of my race and culture. However, on finishing the first four years of school it was not possible for me to enter high school because at that time practically no black Africans could go on. Either they could not afford to or they were deemed too old to attend the only official high school then operating in Mozambique.

Consequently, in 1944, I had to go to the Transvaal, South Africa, to continue my studies. On finishing high school, by passing the South African Joint Matriculation Board Examinations in 1947, I entered the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg, and a year later entered Witwatersrand University, in the Faculty of Social Sciences. However, after the South African Nationalist party was voted into power, it refused to renew my visa. This resulted in my returning to Mozambique in September 1949, before finishing my studies toward the B.A. degree.

At that time the Portuguese government was engaged in a crackdown on all liberal groups in Mozambique, *i.e.*, groups that were in one way or another against Prime Minister Salazar's regime. As I had just returned to Mozambique from South Africa under rather unusual conditions, I became an easy subject for the activities of the state police. I was, therefore, soon arrested and kept incommunicado in prison for investigation for three days. Finally, when they were satisfied that I was not in any way implicated with any

of the White Portuguese whom they had already arrested, they released me. One of the main reasons for detaining me was that I had helped to organize an African students association in the capital city of Lourenço Marques a year before. Although the purpose of this organisation had been cultural and social, its popularity amongst our young African students had aroused the curiosity and fears of the Portuguese political police.

I feel that a few illustrative examples of the kind of questions that the police asked me and other members of the executive committee of the student organisation would be appropriate here, in order to show the basis of the fears felt by the Portuguese government. Even though our organisation was attached to an officially sponsored African organisation, the police kept asking us who was the source of our financial support, with prodding [sic] questions leading to an outside group or nation. Also, even though my studies at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg had been mainly supported by bona fide religious groups, the police tried to insist that my funds might instead be emanating from some overseas country.

By this time, *i.e.* in 1949, rumblings of nationalism were being reported in connection with West African British colonies, especially Nigeria and Ghana, where Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah were already pressing for the independence of their countries. Therefore, the Portuguese police insisted on finding out if there was any relationship between our student association and those West African nationalist leaders.

One of the last questions I was asked before I was released concerned my own conception of the moral, intellectual, and cultural capabilities of people of my own race. The question was phrased generally this way, "Do you think that the Black man has evolved morally, intellectually, and culturally enough to be able to govern himself?" Since my answer was obviously a strong "Yes", while I was shivering in my boots, the gentleman who had been investigating me, after recovering from the unexpected answer, asked further why then only purely African independent states were in his view so backward and primitive. Then he gave me a stern lecture concerning what I had said. After they were satisfied that we had no direct relationship with the White Portuguese political group they were after, they released us from prison.

A few weeks later I received a copy of a summary of the remarks of the Attorney General of Portugal on the investigations. One of the major conclusions arrived at by the Attorney General concerning me and the student organisation I had formed was that we were an embryo African nationalist organisation, and that as such we should be closely watched. In order to do this, the Attorney General counselled the Mozambique

government to give us every facility possible, while encouraging trusted African students to join the group and report on its activities. I was judged to have a “nationalist virus”, which might grow to dangerous proportions unless it was quickly encysted and rendered harmless to the rest of the African population. He then suggested that I be closely watched and, if possible, encouraged to go overseas, preferably to metropolitan Portugal, to continue my studies.

A few days later the Director of Civil Administration of Mozambique asked me to see him in his office. He suggested first that I seek a government scholarship to study in Portugal, and secondly that my student organisation should work more closely with other government-sponsored youth organisations. The first suggestion I declined, in view of the fact that I had already been promised a scholarship by a humanitarian organisation in New York City to study at Lisbon University. With regard to the second suggestion, I told him that I had no power as an individual member to decide what the group should do. Obviously we could not accept subjecting ourselves to government guidance, especially when we knew the intention of the interest it had in our organisation.

While I was in prison, I received several messages from Africans of all persuasions encouraging me to stand for the rights of the African peoples. They took my imprisonment as a token of the determination of the African people to free themselves from colonial control.

In June 1950, I left for Lisbon to continue my studies. Here, for the first time, I met the first group of really educated Africans from Africa under Portuguese colonial control. All my life in Mozambique I had never met a single Black man who had ever finished high school in any Portuguese colony.

At Lisbon University in mid-1950, there were fewer than ten Black African students who were attending university or equivalent institutions; all of them were from the West African Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guiné, Cabo Verde, and the little island of Sao Tomé. Even if one counted those who were attending the other two Portuguese universities of Coimbra and Oporto, one could not arrive at a total of more than twenty Black African students. While I was understandably pleased to meet people of my own race attending a Portuguese university, I was disappointed to find such a small number of them, when even South Africa had at that time more than fifty Black African students at the Witwatersrand University alone. When counting those who were attending Fort Hare University College, Cape Town and Natal, the number of Black African university students (in South Africa) at that time must have been more than five hundred.

I had also read reports of African students from countries that were under British and French colonial control who were studying in the so-called metropole universities. The British universities boasted more than ten thousand African students, while France had more than twenty thousand African students. I shall return to this point when dealing with actual statistical information on education in Mozambique.

During my one year of studies at the Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, I was harassed by the political police. Twice they came to search my room, probably hoping to find some documents (which they thought I had) that would enable them to arrest me.

Nor was this harassment confined to me alone. Practically all of the other African students lived in fear of being picked up by the political police for one reason or another, but most of all because the Portuguese government, feeling guilty in its relationship with its colonial wards, wished to make sure that those of us who were studying in their midst did not plot to change our people's status.

By the end of my first year, the tension was so great that I could not study. I was afraid that if that situation continued, I might not be able to finish my education. I had already noted that most of the other African students had been dragging in their studies for the same reasons. So I applied for scholarships and admission to American colleges.

In the fall of 1951 I entered Oberlin College, Ohio, where I continued my studies in sociology and anthropology. I obtained the B.A. degree in June 1953 and, in the fall of the same year, registered at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, where I obtained the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in 1956 and 1960, respectively. Before completing my dissertation for the Ph.D. degree, I spent one year at Harvard University as a visiting scholar, studying and preparing the theoretical materials for my research. It was from Harvard that I was invited by the United Nations to join the Trusteeship staff. This was in May 1957. For the following four and one-half years I worked at United Nations Headquarters.

In the fall of 1960, I was sent to the British Cameroons as a member of a United Nations team to observe the preparations for, and the carrying out of, the 1961 plebiscite of that territory. In February of that same year, I flew back to Mozambique on home leave. On returning from Mozambique I tendered my resignation to the United Nations in order to devote my attention to writing and speaking on behalf of my people. At the present time I am teaching anthropology at the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University.

I should like to give a brief outline of the situation in Mozambique as I understand it. In so doing I shall take into account the fact that a previous committee of the United Nations recently presented a report on conditions in the Portuguese colonies of Africa in which it provided this organisation with a great deal of factual information that I would not wish to duplicate.

Therefore, I wish to stress two areas of life about which I believe this Committee would be interested to hear: namely, the economic situation, especially as it affects the freedom of the people of Mozambique in their quest for a decent standard of living; and the educational policies of Portugal as they affect the African peoples of Mozambique.

We Mozambicans are, like all other Bantu south-east Africans, an agricultural people. For centuries our economic activities have centered around the tilling of the land, around raising mainly those crops that are directly related to our staple foods, such as peanuts, African corn, manioc, yams, sorghum, beans, peas, and a large variety of tropical and subtropical fruits. In addition, we are also well-known for our cattle culture. Our whole social structure is organised around an agriculture in which the rearing of cattle, goats, and occasionally sheep, plays an important role. Our family life, for example, is to a large degree based on the land. Land, however, is owned communally, with individual claims to any piece of it as property made on the basis of use only. Livestock is owned by individual families, but the grazing for livestock belongs to the whole community.

Traditionally, the division of labour was based on sex, with women specialising in the lighter chores of cultivating the fields and preparation of foods while men felled the trees, took care of the livestock, hunted, and defended the community against both wild animals and any human invaders. When our country was finally conquered and controlled by the Portuguese about the middle of the last century, many of our younger men were released from their traditional military chores and began to seek new areas of adventure elsewhere. The most important of these were the newly discovered diamond and gold mines of South Africa.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese had actively anticipated in the capturing of many of our people to be sold overseas as slaves. When this was finally stopped, either because there were no markets for selling slaves or because the slaves were more economically useful in Mozambique itself, the Portuguese encouraged private companies to use more and more local African slave labour. As the practice of forcing African men to work for local Portuguese planters for unreasonably low wages was intensified, more and more of our young men left the country to work in the

neighboring territories of the Transvaal (in mines), Natal (on sugar cane plantations), and Southern Rhodesia (on White farms).

Most of the publicity that resulted from this kind of slavery hit the world press with reference to Angolan labour only, in connection with the Sao Tomé cocoa plantations. But, in fact, the excesses that aroused the ire of several European cocoa using industrial groups were relevant to Mozambique also, in that several thousand labourers from the East Coast had been sent to São Tomé.

The Portuguese have always argued that Africans are lazy and won't work unless they are forced to do so. Therefore, Portugal, in order to fulfill her so-called 'civilizing mission', decided to establish laws aimed at compelling Africans to work in European institutions. The belief that the African must be forced to work is part of a Portuguese philosophy in which she regards herself as a civilizing force in a continent she considers primitive and inhabited by 'children'. This Portuguese attitude toward Africa and the African peoples is typified by the following statement made by Professor Marcello Caetano, who was for a long time Prime Minister Salazar's theoretician and, until last week, the Chancellor of the University of Lisbon. Professor Caetano once wrote:

The Blacks in Africa have to be directed and indoctrinated by Europeans... The Africans have not learned how to develop alone the territories that they have inhabited for thousands of years; they have not produced one useful invention, made no valuable technical discovery... and have done nothing that can be compared to the accomplishments in the land of Culture and Technics, which is Europe...

A former Portuguese minister of colonial affairs phrased the same idea thus: "It is necessary to inspire in the Black the idea of work and of abandoning his laziness..."

Although it is not my intention to refute these obviously ignorant and prejudiced statements about the African peoples, I should like to mention, albeit in passing, that our willingness to work, in whatever we wish to engage in, has been demonstrated beyond doubt by various groups with which we have been in contact over the years. For example, the tendency of many thousands of Mozambicans to emigrate to neighboring countries to seek work was initiated by our own desire to improve our own standard of living, rather than by what they, the Portuguese, try to claim. Long before our traditional governments were destroyed, we were actively engaged in the development of our own economies and, where these did not suffice to provide outlets or remunerative work for our able-bodied men, we sought

alternative areas of work, sometimes even trekking hundreds of miles on foot to get employment. There was no need for the Portuguese to use the various legal and extra-legal devices they now use to push Africans from their own traditional means of making a livelihood into serving European economic interests.

As the situation stands today, we are probably the most exploited nation in the whole of Africa, in that we have one of the highest proportions of our able-bodied population working hundreds of miles away from our own homes. While the Portuguese government is presenting to the outside world the false picture of a people who it alleges need to be civilized by forcing them to work, the truth is otherwise.

The annual emigration of Mozambicans to South Africa is estimated at five hundred thousand able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five and is governed by a series of agreements between South Africa and Portugal, beginning in the year 1897. In that year an agreement was made between Portugal and what was then the Republic of the Transvaal; it was followed by the *Modus Vivendi* of 1901, the Transvaal – Mozambique Convention of 1909, and the Portuguese – South African Convention of 1928, revised in 1934, 1936, and 1940. All of these agreements between Portugal and South Africa arranged for the gold and diamond mine interests of the Transvaal to be granted large-scale labour-recruiting privileges in at least the southern province of Mozambique in return for guaranteeing that a certain proportion of the sea-borne traffic of the industrial center of South Africa, which includes Pretoria and Johannesburg, must pass through the Port of Lourenço Marques rather than through the South African ports of Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town.

Other benefits accruing to Portugal are direct monetary payments per African recruited, guaranteed repatriation of all clandestine emigrants, maximum contract time, and permission to establish Portuguese Native Affairs inspection and tax-collecting facilities (*Curadorias*) on South African territory.

At the turn of the last century about three-quarters of the total African labour force at the mines of the Transvaal was from Mozambique. According to a Transvaal Labour Commission report, for the first twenty years of the industry's development, the gold mines were almost entirely dependent upon the East Coast for their labour. As another reporter puts it, "The Mozambique boy [sic] may, therefore, be described as the pioneer coloured labourer of the Witwatersrand". Since then the African people of Mozambique have spent the most productive years of their lives helping to develop an economy — a labour for which they themselves received almost nothing — that has, as it is

well-known, enriched and continues to enrich the White people of South Africa and, to a certain extent, has profited and continues to profit the Portuguese government.

Without going into the details of hazards that generations of Mozambicans have undergone and in which thousands of our people have lost their lives, we would like to underline a few points. In the twelve years between 1902 and 1914, over forty-three thousand Mozambicans died as a result of mining accidents and disease while employed by the Chamber of Mines of the Rand. It is quite likely that a greater number of our people died at home from diseases and accidents that resulted from labour at the mines. Remembering my experience in Mozambique, I cannot recall a single family that does not count the loss of at least one man who either died in the mines of South Africa or came home with an illness contracted in the mines and died a few years later. The death toll between 1902 and 1940 stands at 81 166. Even if this great loss of our people were related to the economic development of our own country and for the benefit of our own people, it would be greatly deplored. However, the situation is worse. These thousands of Mozambicans have died to satisfy the economic greed of both the South African Whites and the Portuguese.

Having grown up in the area from which most of the people composing this labour force come, I should like to indicate in a few words some of the consequences this migratory system of labour has for the workers' families in Mozambique. Most of the labourers stay an average of fifteen months in the mining areas, even though the contract allows for a maximum sojourn of eighteen months. During those fifteen months their services are lost to their wives and children. Not only do the men normally help to build the huts and granaries of the family, in addition to clearing the forests and thickets to enable the women to cultivate the land and sow the seeds, but they also provide an important element in the total life of a family. The many emotional problems the wives of these men have to face as a result of their husbands' prolonged absence from home cannot be described in a statement of a few minutes' duration.

Nor is this all. In order to make certain that sufficient men leave their homes to work either in South Africa or in Mozambique — on plantations, in industries, or on government projects — the Portuguese government has, from time to time, passed laws that force Africans to leave. These are the so-called contract labour laws. In order to justify this, of course, the same kind of arguments and rationalisations that we have already pointed out are brought forth. Even as late as the 1940's, a Portuguese governor stated the following:

The problem of native manpower... is probably the most important preoccupation of European agriculture. Generally speaking, throughout the various seasons of the year there is an insufficient number of workers for the accomplishment of the undertakings that have been planned. The recruiters struggle with great difficulties to engage the needed number of workers... The rendering of work in Africa cannot continue to depend upon the whim of the Black man, who is, by temperament and natural circumstances, inclined to expend only that minimum of effort which corresponds to his minimum necessities...

When I returned to Mozambique last year, I had great hopes of seeing some improvements, which I thought might have resulted from the present political situation in Africa. But, alas, I was disappointed. If anything, the situation is in many ways worse. In the first place, the South African mining interests boast the highest number of Mozambicans workers ever. Secondly, the southern district adjoining Zululand and Swaziland is now so thinly populated that many people fear that unless things change drastically it will be completely emptied of its erstwhile teeming population. Thirdly, the African traditional rulers have become virtual policemen for the local administrators rather than a link between the people and their conquerors. So that even where one might once have expected some rapport between the people and the government, none now exists.

With regard to wages, African workers earn monthly salaries lower in value than those earned by European workers. As I travelled all over the southern province, I heard complaints of inadequate wages, illegal extensions of contracts with the conniving of some of the local government officers, the use of women and minors on government road projects, and many other charges.

One of the most common irregularities in the administration of the labour codes occurs in the actual recruitment of the workers. As happens with most legal provisions of the Portuguese government, there is no concern for impartiality in their application. For example, the local administrative officer is also the highest judicial authority as he is the highest executive authority for any given group of Africans. Except for the very small number of 'assimilated' persons, the vast majority of the African people must depend on the local administrative officer for the interpretation of the law as well as for the adjudication of differences among the people. Therefore, if an employer wished to have a given number of workers on a given date, the administrative officer often breaks his own governmental regulation and orders the local chiefs to bring in the needed people or else. Even though a chief understands

the law and disagrees with the officer, he dares not oppose him, for there is no independent authority to which he may appeal.

One of my major disappointments in Mozambique during last year's visit was to discover that the educational policies and practices of the last twenty years have not changed.

The gap between the Portuguese theory of education in its overseas territories and its actual practice has been a very wide one. Some five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique have resulted, not in the creation of millions of full-fledged black Portuguese citizens, but in the evolution of barely thirty-six thousand *assimilados* out of a total population in the two territories of over ten million. Universal education, even at the beginning *adaptacao* level, is still a long way off. Schooling beyond the fourth grade is reserved for a few hundred Africans a year. Moreover, the continuing encouragement of large-scale migration of Portuguese settlers to Angola and Mozambique raises new questions regarding the ultimate intent of Portuguese policy.

Despite the oft-repeated official claim that there is no discrimination along racial lines in the Portuguese territories, the fact is that most African education is both separate from and decidedly inferior to that available to non-Africans in Angola and Mozambique. The official rationalisation for the maintenance of a completely separate system of schools for Africans is that the purpose of these schools is to introduce African children to Portuguese culture and language and that the approach required would be too elementary for children born into that culture. This argument would have more validity if the same measuring stick were applied to children of other non-European cultures as well; but the Asians in Mozambique, most of whom share the Africans' unfamiliarity with the Portuguese language and culture and usually are not Christians, are eligible for entry into government and private schools catering to Europeans. On the other hand, it is quite true that fully assimilated Africans who have already become citizens of Portugal by official act have been accepted with a minimum of color bias in Portuguese schools, although their role in Portuguese society has remained ambiguous.

However sincere the original intent of Portuguese educational policy may have been, educational practice in recent years has clearly been directed toward keeping the lid on African education. This is accomplished by isolating the Africans under Portuguese jurisdiction from the mainstream of African thought and education, discouraging the use of indigenous languages by prohibiting them even at the primary level of education, and educating Africans to a minimal level in a highly controlled, Portuguese-oriented

educational environment.

While I was in Mozambique last year, I had the opportunity of discussing educational problems with two of the highest officials of the Board of Education of the country. One of these was the Director of Education for the whole country and the other was the principal of Salazar High School, the largest government high school. In talking to these two gentlemen, I was interested in finding out, first, the government's plans for expanding African education so that it may take more students and, second, whether the government intends to correct the anomaly existing in high schools, where there is such a paucity of African children in a country in which more than 95 percent of the people are Africans. With regard to the first question, the Director of Education told me that nothing can be done to increase the number of African grade school children until more money is available to expand the whole system. I told him that in talking to Roman Catholic priests, whose church monopolised African education, I was told that the government does not give enough financial support to their work and that, therefore, they are not able to either improve the quality of education given or increase the number of students that they can take. Out of an annual revenue estimated at over \$6 million from the total of individual African headtax collected, only some \$1 050 000 is given to the Roman Catholic missions, which monopolize African education in Mozambique. With a ET capita expenditure of less than \$3 a year per African child of school age, it is not surprising that the rate of illiteracy in Mozambique should remain at over ninety-nine percent.

The priests gave me some pamphlets written by the late Clemente Cardinal Gouveia in which he mildly questioned the government's not giving enough financial support to the Roman Catholic Church to run the African schools. One of the paradoxes here is that he is the Cardinal mainly responsible for the closing of many non-Catholic schools during his twenty years as Archbishop of Lourenço Marques.

During my conversation with the principal of Salazar High School, I had sought to discover how many African students they had in Lourenço Marques government high schools and how they compared with White students in academic performance. The principal of Salazar High School evaded my first question by saying that, although there were not as many as he personally would wish for, there were more than when he began teaching at the same school some years back. As to how these students stood academically in comparison with the Whites, he said that in the physical sciences and mathematics they compared quite favorably with all other students, but that in the Portuguese language and literature, they did not do so well. The reason for this poor performance in Portuguese, he continued, is that Portuguese is a

second language to the African students. They need to be given a special preparatory course that will enable them to meet the standards of their White fellow students. He also suggested that their poor Portuguese affected their performance in other subjects, in that even though the examiners do not know the races of the candidates, they can tell by the poor Portuguese grammar that they are Africans. He would not give me any figures on the number of African students in his school, with the excuse that the government does not allow student registration to mention race. He took me to the school dining hall to show me how the government was making it possible for the less privileged students to have a meal at noon. In spite of the fact that there were no more than twenty Africans in a high school that has more than a thousand pupils, practically all of those who needed a school lunch were Africans. There were also a few Mulattoes and Asians. Of the twenty-odd students who were eating in the dining room, there were about three who looked White. On leaving the school grounds I met a couple of African girls who were students at the high school. They told me that there were six African girls at the Salazar High School during the 1960-61 school year. As for African boys, they estimated their number at twelve.

I later met one of the Roman Catholic priests who was acquainted with the school system and asked him if he could estimate the number of African students at the Salazar High School. After noting proudly that students in Portuguese Africa are not identified by their race, he went on to make an estimate of twenty. When he noticed disappointment in my face, he quickly added that there were more African students at the uptown government high school. However, when I later visited that school I found that the proportion was also heavily in favor of Whites. On talking to some of the African students, I gathered that there must have been no more than forty African students out of an estimated total of eight hundred at that school.

In Beira, the second largest city in Mozambique, the educational situation is even worse. Even though no statistical information on racial distribution in the schools there was available, I was recently able to gather some facts from talking to White and Goan students who came from that city and who are now studying in European universities. They told me that out of an estimated total of five hundred high school students in the official high school at Beira, there cannot be more than five black African students.

In order to understand the educational situation in Mozambique, one must see it as linked to all other aspects of life in that Portuguese colony. But the most central of these is the economic situation. Now let us turn to the economic picture in order to shed more light on why the Portuguese are refusing to develop the peoples of Mozambique toward self-determination.

The economy of Mozambique can be divided into two main parts. The first of these is the export trade, which currently earns an average of \$75 million per year. But since the value of imports is about twice as high as that of exports, the above figure can pay for only fifty percent of the imports. Remittances from the four hundred thousand Africans working in South African and Rhodesian mines compensate for a large portion of the difference. The rest is taken care of by proceeds from the annual influx of sixty thousand White South African tourists. As the whole economy is completely controlled by Lisbon, the largest portion of Mozambicans trade is with Portugal in order to help meet her pressing need for foreign currency resulting from her own annual trade deficit, which runs at about \$150 million.

While prices for raw materials and foodstuffs are officially kept below world levels and some commodities, such as cotton and sugar, are sold exclusively to Portugal, imports into Mozambique are subject to protective policies with the purpose of maintaining the market for continental Portuguese manufacturers by eliminating the necessity for them to compete with foreign manufacturers. Thus, Mozambique uses practically all the foreign exchange left after covering its own trade gap to meet its large deficit in payments to Portugal. It is obvious that this constant need for foreign exchange must leave the Portuguese colonial policies open to diplomatic pressure from South Africa and the Rhodesias, and, furthermore, it creates a situation whereby the burden of economic development, which is subject to exploitation by Lisbon, falls on the substructure of the African workers.

It must be kept in mind that African labour is the main factor behind the production of raw materials and foodstuffs for both the Portuguese industries in Europe and the export trade. The extraordinarily low wages paid to African workers cannot be justified by any arguments based on the capital expenditures and know-how that the Portuguese provide.

A brief analysis of economic policies in Mozambique, as they relate to the production of cotton, will illustrate at least in part what we mean. Most of the cotton is produced in the northern areas. These areas are divided into concessions given to White-owned companies, in most cases companies closely associated with textile companies operating in Portugal. Each African adult is assigned 1.2 acres of land on which to plant cotton, using whatever means of cultivation are available to him. The local government officers, in cooperation with the concessionary companies, provide police to supervise the cultivation, planting, weeding, and harvesting of the cotton. It often happens that all members of a family are driven out of their homes to work in the cotton fields, which are supposed to be their own, even if such labour acts

to the detriment of all other traditional economic activities. From what I have witnessed in the areas in which I have lived, this is the worst of the three methods of human exploitation. In classical slavery, the exploiter owns his slave and, therefore, must invest a certain amount of money to keep him well, physically strong, and happy; with absentee landlords, the squatters farm the land, producing anything they wish as long as they ultimately pay a certain proportion of their produce to the landlord; but in the Portuguese cotton concessions of Mozambique, the concessionary companies assume no economic or moral responsibilities except, probably, for what they spend in lining the pockets of some of the government officers who have direct control of the African cotton farmer.



Introduced by Colin Darch.