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**Forced labour and rural resistance in the tobacco farms
in Nampula Province: a history of rural change in
Mozambique, 1961-1975**

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**FORCED LABOUR AND RURAL RESISTANCE
IN THE TOBACCO FARMS IN NAMPULA PROVINCE:
A HISTORY OF RURAL CHANGE IN MOZAMBIQUE,
1961-1975**

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Submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
History Department
University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg, 2010

Supervisor: Professor Peter Delius

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Ernesto Augusto Navohola

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My deep thanks to Núcleo de Estudo de Terra (at Eduardo Mondlane University) for having granted me a scholarship and an opportunity to study at one of the most respected academic institutions in the world.

I dedicate this thesis to Emília and Júnior, my mom and son respectively.

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on forced labour and rural resistance in the tobacco producing farms in Nampula Province during the period 1961-1975. Key changes in the period include the introduction of new incentives to produce raw materials for the economy of the metropolis (Portugal); the abolition of the Regulation of Native Labour established in the 19th century; the institution of a new law of rural work to guarantee the co-operation of the African labour force; the construction of settlements and a new salary scale to guarantee the wages of the workers. The adoption of new methods of recruitment of workers and the introduction of forced marriages and unpaid child labour by the Roman Catholic Mission of Nampula are also important factors.

The study outlines tobacco production in Nampula, from its beginning until the year of 1960. This theme is explored in the wider context of the colonial experience in Northern Mozambique.

The thesis suggests that the production of tobacco was done in a discriminatory manner. White settlers took the forefront of tobacco production and peasants were not allowed to grow tobacco. Although the change of 1960s allowed for a few blacks producers the majority of the Makua population continued working as forced labourers on settlers' farms. This study explores the impact of the system on men, women, youths and children in rural Makua, and their relationship with the colonisers. It also demonstrates the way the colonizers sought to organize work and how Africans practised forms of resistance as part of their response to colonial exploitation.

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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW, METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

1.1 General introduction

This study explores the problem of forced labour and resistance in tobacco farms in Nampula, Mozambique, between 1961 and 1975, an era of rural transformation during which compulsory labour and forms of resistance re-emerged. From 1961 the colonial government decided to abolish the Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena (Regulation of Native Labour), a form of forced work that had been enforced since 1899, when it was decreed by the then Royal Commissioner to Mozambique, António Enes.¹ From the time that tobacco production was enforced in Mozambique in 1941, it was produced by settlers based on forced labour. The logic of the system was to benefit settler tobacco producers to the detriment of the interests of workers in Nampula.²

The decision of the colonial government to abolish compulsory labour in 1961 has been well covered in the existing literature.³ But, what is less studied is what the changes resulted in the structure of production and in the patterns of actions of workers in tobacco farms in Nampula in the years 1961-1975. These questions constitute the main focus of this dissertation.

¹ Vail & White, 1980:252; see, also, Enes, A. Moçambique, Lisboa, 1893 (re-ed.: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1913); “Relatório e Projecto da Comissão presidida pelo conselheiro António Enes”, Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos relativos às Possessões Ultramarinas.

² Bettencourt, 1945,I:275; Leitão, 1969,I:226-231; Leitão, 1969,II:258-266

³ Capela, 1977:257-274; Clarence-Smith, 1985:214-216; Dinerman, 1999:126; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, No 36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961, Decreto 43.893; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série No 20 de 21 de Maio de 1962:903, Decreto 44.309

Although the work focuses on the period from 1961 to 1975, it also takes a longer view. The experience of tobacco production in Nampula prior to 1961 provides an important context to what tobacco followed. From 1961, eshiparo (forced labour, in Emakua language) – in fact, the recruitment of workers for tobacco farms based on volunteers and contract⁴ - was abolished in Mozambique, but this abolition constituted the main conditions that led to the unrolling of events on tobacco production sector until 1975, the Independence of Mozambique was proclaimed. Independence set in motion the final dissolution of colonial forms of political and administrative control and created new conditions of tobacco production which are beyond the scope of this study.⁵

1.2 Literature review

This work is mostly a study of archival sources on questions relating to tobacco production, forced work and rural resistance. The work will help to complete, systematize and analyze the empirical material collected. However, there is very limited literature that deals with tobacco production. There are two main articles which were written in the 1940s, that are central to this study. The first one is by Beatriz who analyzed the beginning of tobacco production in Mozambique. He focused on the origins of tobacco from America at the end of the sixteenth century, and argued that tobacco was brought to the African coast by Portuguese navigators and slave traders from Brazil.

⁴ Interview, Anita Murula, 29/12/05, Malema; see, also, Penvene & Manghezi, 1981:9; Isaacman, 1996:5; Chilundo, 2001:243; O'Laughlin, 1981:20

⁵ Malauene, 1988:2; see, *inter alia*, Mendes, C.B. Quental. "Reestruturação das Empresas do sector estatal agrícola na Província de Nampula". [Ministério da Agricultura. Direcção de economia Agrária. Unidade de Reestruturação de Empresas Agrícolas], 22 de Maio de 1991; República de Moçambique. Província de Nampula. "Administração do Distrito de Ribáuè". Monografia do Distrito de Ribáuè. 1992

He further explained that the production of tobacco was developed primarily in the Zambezi Valley on prazos (was a territory leased by the Portuguese Crown to a settler). He also mentioned other regions of Mozambique where tobacco was later cultivated by Africans, including Nampula, Sofala and Inhambane Provinces.

He argued that there was increasing development of tobacco production after the complete occupation of the country by the Portuguese. According to him tobacco produced in Mozambique was exported to places such as Zanzibar, Angola and São Tome, etc. He talked of countries to which Mozambique imported processed tobacco such as Angola, the United States of America, the then Rhodesia and South Africa. Beatriz also mentioned the process of the installation of the first system of tobacco production in Mozambique in 1941.

The same perspective shaped the work of Pimenta. While both articles are useful in terms of understanding tobacco production in Mozambique in the context of the tobacco production system of 1941, they neither show what the form of production on tobacco farms was nor deal with the experiences of laborers on white farms.⁶

Vail and White also touch on tobacco farming. They argue that the expansion of tobacco production was part of the search for new crops after 1915 when companies such as the Sena Sugar Factory, the Boror Company, the Zambezi Company and the Madal Company competed with each other for new concessions and laborers to

⁶ See Regulamento da produção e comércio agrícola do tabaco: diploma legislativo Nº753, de 16 de Junho de 1941, Actualizado pelo Diploma nº 976 de 11 de Agosto de 1945. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1945; Governo-Geral de Moçambique, Repartição do Gabinete. Inspeção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indigenas. Circular Nº 818/D-7. Lourenço Marques, 7 de Outubro de 1942, AHM, Secção de Reserva, Cx.95

establish new plantations. Thus, the Zambezi Company was involved in tobacco production as an alternative to cotton in Morrumbala.⁷ In 1919 a small group of Portuguese settlers in Íle area of Alto Molócuè attempted to start a tobacco industry during the mid-1920s; Vail and White mention the experimental plantations owned by Boror Company abandoned completely after 1930.⁸ They highlight the difficulties caused by the absenteeism of workers between the 1930s and 1940s, but the work does not deal directly with the nature of industry in Nampula.⁹

In researching the impact of tobacco production on tobacco laborers in Nampula, it is important to place tobacco production in a wider context. Chilundo analyzed workers in the context of the construction of roads and railways in the hinterland of Nampula in Macuana region (a vast region in the hinterland consisting of Ribáuè, Imala, Malema, Muite, Mecuburi, Lalaua, Chinga, and Nampula), between 1900 and 1961. Chilundo's book gives a brief account of the competition for African labour in the Nampula Province in the 1940s. However, his work does not deal with the issues of a changing labuor system from 1960 to 1975, which is a central question in this study.

Forced labour in Nampula for the period before 1961 was also covered in a book by Allen Isaacman written in 1996 on cotton production. Similarly, Habermeir writing on the system of cotton production in Netia (Nampula Province) after 1961 argues that nothing had been altered in terms of forced labour. According to him, forced labour was based on the direct and coercive state intervention in the organization of production, in order to exploit peasant labour in the maximum way possible.¹⁰ But,

⁷ Vail & White, 1980:160

⁸ Vail & White, 1980:254

⁹ Vail & White, 1980:145, 280 and 366

¹⁰ Habermeir, 1981:40

while the book of Isaacman and the article of Habermeir refer forced labour in the context of compelling the population to produce cotton under the state supervision, this study explores forced labour in terms of those Africans who through the contract (forced labour) were sent to work in settlers' farms of tobacco.¹¹

Vail & White examine the administration and forced labour between 1930 and 1974. They explore the intense dissatisfaction within Mozambique in response to the Labour Code of 1930 and the Circular of 1942. In the context of forced work on colonial plantations in Quelimane district, they show the men who acquired recruiter's licence, and who in some cases even became the new Administrators during this period were those who had already handled recruiting for the discredited prazos companies. Also the work of Vail & White explores the nature of recruitment: "His recruitment arrangements were 'atrocious', with recruits compelled to walk distances far in excess of those prescribed by the Labour Code".¹² The same work explores the songs sang by workers as protest against forced labour. The songs and the distance are two aspects that will be examined in this work.

The question of colonial labour regimes has been focused on article of O'Laughlin. Her article argues that from 1890 to 1975, Mozambique was subordinated to three major forms of capitalist exploitation, based on a regional division of dominant labour regimes. These were the export of labour to South Africa in the South, recruitment of workers for sugar, tea and copra plantations in the Centre, and forced smallholder production of cotton in the North. Cross-cutting the three major forms of exploitation of rural labour was a highly differentiated sector of settler farms and ranches, ranging

¹¹ For more detail on these two fundamentally different forms of forced labour see, O'Laughlin, 1981:20; Chilundo, 2001:27 and 243

¹² Vail & White, 1980:289

from small family-based enterprises to large professionally managed estates, employing forced shibalo (eshiparo) labour as well as low paid contract and casual labour. Rural migrants were forcibly recruited for construction and port work in urban areas.

She further noted that, all of labour regimes were unfree. Under the indigenato (native) the legal code applied to black Mozambicans, until the early 1960s all adult men were required to do six months of forced labour or to cultivate a hectare of cotton. In many areas women were also obliged to integrate cotton or rice as cash-crops with their subsistence production. A pass system restricted labour mobility to put downward pressure on wages and tie urban workers to their rural families. Forced labour and control of labour mobility were reinforced by a rigidly dualistic system of control of land.¹³ This study its main focus is on forced labour, dispossession of land, wages, administrative measures on labour code that became key elements that state and settlers used to coerce Africans from their communities for supply labour on settlers farms. Also the study is engaged with the African resistance during the change years.

The book of Capela published in 1977, analyses the 1962 Rural Labour Code, particularly the implications of the Code for social and judicial discrimination. Despite being influenced by racism and the denial of Portuguese citizenship the Code did abolish forced labour.¹⁴ The broader of this study on the nature and impact of the Code will be tested in specific area as on colonial tobacco farms of Nampula.

¹³ O`Laughlin, 1996:7

¹⁴ See Capela, 1977:259-273

As noted above there is very limited literature on the abolition of the system of forced labor in tobacco in Nampula. The existing literature shows that between 1960 and 1975 there were socio-economic changes in the Portuguese colonies, which affected tobacco farming. In the economic field, programs known as Development Plans were introduced in 1960, and in 1961 the Regulation of Native Labour was abolished.

A number of causes led to the changes in labour regulations. But the first factor was that Portugal was under pressure from international forums about the use of forced labor in its African colonies.¹⁵ The second factor was the rise of African nationalism in general in the 1950s particularly the rise of the struggle for the Independence of Angola in 1961.¹⁶ Isaacman points out that Lisbon's abolition of the native rural work on forced cotton production in 1961 was part of the reform efforts designed to strengthen Portugal's hold on its colonies at the time when other European nations were in the process of withdrawing from the African continent and creating forms of neo-colonialism.¹⁷

These changes also had an impact on tobacco production. While cotton production was obligatory for all peasants, tobacco production was not permitted for Africans after the imposition of tobacco production in 1941, but during the period of changes, in 1960 Tobacco Boards were created to promote the production of tobacco and new settlers were sent to Nampula in order to produce tobacco for internal consumption as well as for export.¹⁸ Two articles by Leitão show this commitment, arguing that the

¹⁵ Newitt, 1995:408

¹⁶ Coelho, 1993:160; Neves-Tembe, 1998:153; Dinerman, 1998:91; Negrão, José. "A política económica Portuguesa e a luta de libertação em Tete: a circunscrição de Bene, 1968-1974". Eduardo Mondlane University, 1986:16 [Licenciante-BA Hons equivalent final essay]

¹⁷ Isaacman 1996:12

¹⁸ Leitão, 1969,I:227-230; Mendes, 1991:17; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966

region of Northern of Mozambique was chosen to increase settlement based on tobacco production.¹⁹ In this area there were very few blacks permitted to produce tobacco by colonial state. This study explores the criteria used by the colonial state to select blacks to integrate them into tobacco farming.

In same perspective, the work of Malauene and the work of Mendes deal with tobacco production in Nampula. While the study of Mendes is directed to a wide range agrarian enterprises established in Nampula, the work of Malauene focuses on the state enterprise of tobacco production created after National Independence, a topic beyond the scope of this dissertation.²⁰ The aim of study is to explore the profitability of land, the reasons for the growth of tobacco production and the problems of tobacco trading and prices which are important factors to measure the development as well as other factors related to the supply of labour, conditions of work and forms of resistance between 1961 and 1975.

While the literature on the role of forced labour on tobacco farms is limited for the period after the 1960s, there is a substantial body of writing on forced labour in other areas of production, particularly on cotton. Wuyts writing on the economic consolidation of Portuguese capitalists in Portugal and Mozambique has argued that this process consisted of “the development of a process of accumulation of capital on

¹⁹ Leitão, (1969,I); Leitão, (1969,II); see, also, Ferreira, (1970)

²⁰ See Malauene, João. de Deus, et.al, “História da Empresa de Tabacos de Malema, E.E”. Nampula: Ministério da Agricultura. Direcção Provincial da Agricultura, 1988; Mendes, C.B. Quental. “Reestruturação das Empresas do sector estatal agrário na Província de Nampula”. [Ministério da Agricultura. Direcção de economia Agrária. Unidade de Reestruturação de Empresas Agrícolas], 22 de Maio de 1991

the basis of the extraction of absolute profitability by rationalization and institutionalization of the forced labor system”.²¹

Finally, Clarence-Smith notes that forced labour was abolished gradually.²² Thus, the literature review reveals that while forced labour – more broadly also the abolition of the system of indigenato - was officially abolished in 1961, this abolition was only done on paper.²³ In reality, forced labour continued being a problem throughout the period 1961 – 1975 and the abolition was only enforced after Independence.

1.3 Methodology and sources

Due to the limitation of literature, much of this study is based on the various types of the colonial-period documentation (archival sources) and material collected during field work. After Independence some provincial colonial records were incorporated into the national archive - the Historical Archive of Mozambique (AHM). Thus this became the single most important repository of material about tobacco in the colonial period. This material is currently being reclassified and integrated into large collection. The national archives house two other important collections. The reports of inspectors working for the Department of Native Affairs (ISANI)²⁴ provide an unusually rich and critical view of economic and social changes taking place in the Mozambique countryside, and the correspondence from local administrations and from provincial governors describes conditions in their respective domains.

²¹ Wuyts, 1980:11

²² Clarence-Smith, 1985:213-214

²³ For more information with respect to the abolition of the system of Indigenato (native) see, *inter alia*, Capela, 1977:265; Coelho, 1964:13; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961, Decreto 43.893

²⁴ For a discussion on this collection see, *inter alia*, Michel Cahen, “O Fundo ISANI do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique: Uma fonte Importante da História Social Contemporânea do Colonialismo Português”, Arquivo, 7, 1990:63-83

Many agronomists and agricultural technicians wrote articles on environmental conditions, detailed reports on seed experiments, soil types, mentioned the progress of annual tobacco campaigns and local farming practices.

Tobacco Board officials compiled massive amounts of quantifiable data telling a story of tobacco farming. The inspectors wrote in detail about the difficulties involved in trying to implement tobacco legislation. All reports on tobacco production in Nampula provide names, dates of events as well as the accounts of development of settlers' farms. However, they neither include a picture of rural impoverishment and lack of consumer goods in Nampula over the course of the period of tobacco production, nor the uncertain conditions of men, women and children who worked on the settler farms in the countryside. These are key issues that this study explores.

Despite the fact that the Historical Archive of Mozambique is a major repository of written material, it contains an array of uncatalogued documents in relation to almost every aspect including the tobacco production system. This material on tobacco has not received significant attention from researchers and thus has not been systematized. At present it is being reclassified and integrated into larger collections. This study also explores documentation located in the archives of the following places: Ministry of Agriculture, the Provincial Coordinating Commission for Socialization of the Countryside of Nampula; Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and District Directorate of Agriculture of Ribáuè-Malema, Administrative archive of Ribáuè, and Administrative archive of Malema. The profound challenge in all these institutions is the lack of systemized documentation of information related to tobacco production.

The novel of *Caramelo* was used in this work because it draws heavily on historical events in terms of dates and spaces, and in some cases it presents the participants and quotes official colonial document such as the Official Bulletin of Mozambique. Some points made in novel were confronted by oral testimonies during the field work and other colonial written document in view to verify their veracity. For example, the matters on unpaid children on the farms of the Roman Catholic Church of Iapala that this novel describes are matters reported by colonial documentations, and oral testimony confirm the question.²⁵ In fact, as the introduction of the novel says it was based on field work from January to May of 1966, and the intention of the writer was to study the problems of settlers of tobacco production of Northern Mozambique. The novel was not permitted to be published in Portugal and it was not also distributed to public reader during the colonial period.

Despite their advantages written documentations also have their limitations. For all the valuable details, these written documents often mirror the colonial discourse that masks the social realities of tobacco workers' life. The voices of workers do not appear in these official colonial documents. Even the richest of these documentations is a colonial artifact. As such, employee's words, ideas, and ideologies have been mediated through the eyes and ears of nonworker's chroniclers whose agendas were shaped by their own class, gender, and position within the colonial order.

²⁵ See *Caramelo*, 1966:38-40 and 230; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l.]: 1970:115, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

One example will illustrate this. Colonial accounts attributed the negative results of the Africans economy as to “resistance to change”, etc.²⁶ Thus, they do not capture laborers' words, ideas, and ideologies.²⁷

Because this study is concerned with the lived experiences of the tobacco workers, their testimonies figure prominently. Therefore, some chapters moved away from the tobacco farms, markets, tables and prices to explore the implications of tobacco productions on the employees of settler's tobacco farms. Thus, the documentation for critical parts of this study rests primarily on interviews.²⁸ The study analyzes interviews from former tobacco workers and their families, and from former colonial administrators, overseers, local settlers, merchants, Catholic priests, and other state employees.

However, oral testimonies also have their limitations.²⁹ During interviews in Nampula, tobacco laborers and their families were at first reticent to share their stories with the researcher, arguing that they were afraid of reprisals. Both men and women only agreed to share their histories when the researcher indicated that he was a student. But they spoke very sadly about their lives and those of their families in the tobacco production system. Oral evidence can offer insight into the lives and struggles of laborers.³⁰

²⁶ For more detail on these accounts, see, for example, Junta de Investigação do Ultramar. Promoção Social de Moçambique. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos do Serviço Social e Desenvolvimento Comunitário Junto do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas Ultramarinas, 1964:93, Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais N°71

²⁷ See, also, Negrão, José. “A política económica Portuguesa e a luta de libertação em Tete: a circunscrição de Bene, 1968-1974”. Eduardo Mondlane University, 1986:12-16 [Licenciate-BA Hons equivalent final essay]

²⁸ See, inter alia, Chapters 3-5

²⁹ Vansina, 1985:174-177

³⁰ Delius, 1996:229-236

This study of tobacco workers also involves both individual and group interviews. The hope was that the combination of both forms could help improve the quality of the oral information. The interviews and songs were collected in both Portuguese and local language - Emakua - because a significant number of tobacco workers do not speak Portuguese.

1.3.1 The rationale for the selection of the study area

This study focused on Nampula. This choice was influenced by the fact that Nampula was the main area chosen for the promotion of tobacco production during colonial period and by the conclusion that the Mozambican historiography has few works written on this province on social and economic history, despite the economic importance that Nampula Province had during the colonial era.³¹ In the 1960s decade colonial authority spoke about the modernization of tobacco production and the abolition of forced labour. But while the existing literature has shown the changes on agrarian sector during the colonial and post-colonial period;³² but little has been spoken in relation to Northern Mozambique in comparison with Southern

³¹ There are exceptions as the works written by Bravo (1962); Isaacman (1980, 1982, 1985, 1989, 1992, 1996); Fortuna (1993); Dinerman (1998); Chilundo (2001)

³² For more information see, *inter alia*, Y. Adam, “Cooperativização agrícola e modificação das relações de produção no período colonial em Moçambique”. Eduardo Mondlane University, 1986 [Licenciante-BA Hons equivalent final essay]; D. Antonio, “A produção do açúcar no Vale do Incomati, 1950-1980”. Eduardo Mondlane University, 2000 [Licenciante-BA Hons equivalent final year essay]; E. Navohola, “A produção do tabaco em Ribáuê, 1941-1974”. Eduardo Mondlane University, 2003 [Licenciante-BA Hons equivalent final essay]; M. Bowen, “Lets Build agricultural producer cooperative. Socialist agricultural development strategy in Mozambique, 1975-1983”. Unpublished Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D, University of Toronto, 1986; A. Chilundo, “Quando começou o comércio das oleaginosas? (1850-1875)”. Cadernos de História 7, Novembro, 1988:107-123; O. Roesh, “Peasants and collective agriculture in Mozambique” in: J. Barken (ed), The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa, Sage, Berkeley Hisls, 1984; A. Isaacman, Cotton is the mother of poverty. (Forthcoming Portsmouth, 1996); L,Vail & L,White. Capitalism and colonialism in Mozambique: A Study of Quelimane District. London: Heimann, 1980; L. Vail & L. White, “Forms of resistance: songs and perceptions of power in colonial Mozambique”. American Historical Review, 88, 1988:883-919; D. Hedges & A. Chilundo, “A luta dos camponeses e trabalhadores e a contestação da situação colonial, 1945-1961”. Cadernos de História 7, Novembro, 1988:45-90; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, “Relatórios Sectoriais”, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966

Mozambique; and the continuation of forced labour and resistance is a controversy that is missing in agrarian Mozambican historiography.

The selection of the two areas of Nampula Province, was informed by pattern of tobacco growing that emerged. While Dark tobacco was produced in Lalaua (the Council of Ribáuè) and in Circunsprition of Malema; Virginia tobacco was also produced in Nataleia and Iapala (in Ribáuè) and Malema; and finally Burley tobacco was only produced in Ribáuè-centre.³³

1.4 Chapter outline

The format of the study is as follows: chapter 2 briefly examines the relevant aspects of the colonial era with regards to the administrative nomenclature, population, forms of colonial administration and the colonial economy of Northern Mozambique. The effects of the regime of tobacco production and the crisis of labour supply on farms will also be analyzed.

Chapter 3 analyses the principal changes such as provision of incentives, new financial investments, land and abolition of the Regulation of Native Labour and approval of new code of rural labour. Although the chapter explores the effects of changes, it also arose some of the economic problems faced by settlers during the period of transformation include the delay in the provision of financial resources and scarcity of markets for produced tobacco.

³³ Chilundo, (2001); Leião, 1969,I; Leitão, 1969,II

Chapter 4 examines and questions the problem of employment of local peasant in tobacco farming. This study aims to analyse the recruitment of forced labour in the context of the labour Code of 1962, the continuity of forced labour by settlers including for example the voices of the forced labourers as people that narrate their own history; a gap that the researcher sees as not having been discussed in the literature on tobacco production in Nampula.

Chapter 5 explains how the workers of settler's farms responded to the recruitment and hard working conditions in tobacco farms. The researcher's objective is not to only limit the study to an appreciation of the resistance as a result of forced labour, but to analyse how the resistance contributed to the empowerment of the social structure of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) after its emergence in the 1960s.

CHAPTER 2: ASPECTS OF THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE IN NORTHERN MOZAMBIQUE [THE PRE-1961 PERIOD]

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine issues of population, forms of colonial administration and the colonial economy of the Northern Mozambique, which provided the context for tobacco production. It is argued that tobacco production faced problems from the out set. With the imposition of colonial tobacco regime, tobacco production increased, but this forms of production had serious implications for the workers.

2.2 Administrative nomenclature

The province of Nampula was one of the three colonial districts of Northern Mozambique. Colonial Mozambique was divided into districts which were further subdivided into subscriptions and counsels. After independence, the subscriptions and counsels were reclassified as districts and previous districts reclassified to provinces (see Map 1 on appendix A1).³⁴

³⁴ Legislação: “Divisão Administrativa de Angola e Moçambique. Ministério do Ultramar. – Decreto N° 39.858”, *Revista Portugal em África*, N° 66, II série, vol. XI, Lisboa, 1954, pp.373-78; Chilundo, 2001:23; Dinerman, 1999:208; Ministry of Agriculture. National Coordinate of Land and Forest (Mozambique). 1990

2.3 Population

In 1960, the Makua population was estimated to be 1,452,395 inhabitants. The population census of 1970 showed that the population of Nampula was 1,716,486 inhabitants.³⁵ By 1994, the population in Nampula was estimated to be around 3, 1 million, thus constituting about 19 per cent of the total Mozambican population which was estimated to be around 15, 9 million.³⁶

This study explores the implications of the change in the tobacco production, for the Makua of the central region of the interior, situated between the Lúrio and Ligonha Rivers. The decision to study the Nampula region was made because of the strategic part the region played in the production of tobacco as well as its impact on the transformation of the colonial economy. It was Nampula that had the largest number of settlers in the area of agriculture mainly in tobacco production.³⁷

From a language perspective, the Makua dialects and its territorial extension within that province are classified as follows: the Lomwe (between the Licungo and Ligonha Rivers); the Meto (between Lúrio and Messalo Rivers at the coast); the Xirima (in Malema, Amaramba and neighboring regions); the Marevone (between the Ligonha and Larde Rivers at the coast); the Nampamela (between Larde and Meluli with the

³⁵ Direcção Provincial de Serviços de Estatística. III Recenseamento Geral da População de Moçambique. 'Distrito de Moçambique. Ano 3, vol. 7. Lourenço Marques, 1960:14; Instituto Nacional de Estatística. IV Recenseamento Geral da População – 1970: Resumo Geral. Lourenço Marques: Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística, 1970:xxiv

³⁶ United Nations Operation in Mozambique, Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (1994:33) and United Nations (1995:64)

³⁷ Beatriz, 1943:79; Leitão, 1969,I:226; Leitão, 1969,II:258; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

extension until Boila); the Mulai (in Angoche); the Naharra (in Mossuril and Ilha de Mozambique) and; Chaca (in Eráti).³⁸

2.4 Forms of colonial administration

When the Portuguese arrived in the Island of Mozambique in 1498, the Bantu populations were organized in different African kingdoms. In the pre-colonial era the north of Mozambique had established commercial contacts with Persian Arab merchants as a result the region was strongly influenced by Swahili culture. Even today, the Islamic religion is one of the dominant religions in Northern Mozambique.³⁹ Portuguese influence up until the end of the 19th century was very limited. In the hinterland, the Portuguese presence was very limited and the area was dominated by African kingdoms, which were fortified during slavery trading. The Portuguese were scattered in some coastland cities and the staff and military authorities often acted independently of the Portuguese government. Their main contact was the pursuit their own wealth.

The Portuguese had to contend with relations between the local African bourgeoisie and Swahili merchants. The local kingdoms with Islamic influence were able to organize forces that were more powerful than the Portuguese ones. Because of the strong resistance from the existing local forces in different parts of the Mozambican territory, the establishment of colonialism in Mozambique took more than two decades (1886-1918).

³⁸ Rita-Ferreira, 1975:205-213; Chilundo, 2001:21 and 40

³⁹ Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1998:20

But by the end of the 19th century economic power shifted from the Northern region to the South of Mozambique. The slavery trading system had ended, but the Portuguese did not possess the political or economic ability to commercially expand into the hinterland of Mozambique.⁴⁰

Parallel to these developments, the Berlin Summit was taking place amongst European colonial powers regarding the division of Africa. At the Summit, new forms of relationships between the colonial powers and colonised territories were shaped. These had an impact on the border delineation, the military occupation, administrative occupation and economic occupation of the African countries. Still, it took 25 years after the Summit before Portugal was able to take political and military control of Mozambique. The main opposition came from the Gaza Kingdom that resisted militarily as well as through international diplomatic contacts.⁴¹

In the Northern provinces of Mozambique of Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces, Portugal opted to outsource control to concessionary Company of Niassa, which had economic, military and administrative power. Nampula province and the territory of the South of the Save River (Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane) however were submitted to the direct administration of the colonial state.⁴²

The end of the 1920s, this colonial strategy was changed with the introduction of fascism in Portugal. The contracts with the concessionary companies were not

⁴⁰ Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1998:20-22

⁴¹ See Liesegang, 1986:8-27

⁴² Pinhal, 1971:173-177

extended. The Portuguese state started to have a strong political involvement in the colony in order to exercise its new economic strategy.⁴³

The principal objective of Portuguese colonialism was to take advantage of African forced labour in a more direct manner than the previous period. For this, colonial administration had forced Africans to the payment of mussoço (tax) which was paid in products and labour. At the end of the 19th century and following reduced crop yields and the reluctance of the population to work as slaves in company fields, the state and the first settlers introduced the obligatory tax. This served to force the population to earn money through the sale of their products or the sale of their labour. Thus, from 1890, the mussoço had become a legal instrument for the recruitment of labour.⁴⁴

Tax collection was one of the main tasks of the administrator and his subordinates. The money collected largely contributed towards meeting the costs of new colonial administrative network (salaries, buildings, roads, etc.).⁴⁵

But, on its own, tax collection did solve the problem of labour supply; thus, in the 1899 an order - the Regulation of Native Labour of António Enes - was issued. The order stated that all Africans aged between 18 and 55 were obliged to work as employees or to produce significant quantities of market crops. Throughout this entire “historical time,”⁴⁶ economic enterprises such as construction of roads, bridges and railways, production of cotton, cashews, peanuts, tobacco (as outlined in more detail

⁴³ Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1998:23

⁴⁴ Negrão, 2005:40-42

⁴⁵ Xavier, 1889

⁴⁶ Braudel, 1990:33-39

in chapter 4) used forced labour. The colonial administration in Nampula was able to build a repressive state machine that guaranteed economic exploitation through the collection of mussoco, low wages and the installation of forms of compulsory labour.

2.5 The economy

As discussed above when the Portuguese arrived in Northern Mozambique at the end of the 15th century there was a society characterized by domestic production. Although for the purposes of this study, it is relevant to differentiate the forms of agricultural and industrial production that emerged in this period, it is important to understand that both were embedded in the colonial economy.

In both economic activities production was done by Mozambican peasants with or without colonial supervision. It is also important to see how peasant production played a key role in the supply of food for the work force on plantations, industries and private farms, which was recruited from distant regions.⁴⁷

The domestic economy structure was never completely destroyed during the colonial era. The Portuguese colonialists were not willing and could not even introduce a pure market economy in which all workforce and products could be sold in the free market. The Portuguese needs were only to supply the raw material to the metropolis and labour force for local plantations and other countries in the region. This supply of labour force was organized through eshiparo.

The purchasing power of the population was limited because of the pricing system which allowed the Portuguese colonies to have more revenue than the local peasantry

⁴⁷ Description based mainly on “History of Mozambique”, volume 2

through the selling of their agricultural products. Low productivity and a high degree of exploitation did not create conditions for the establishment of local population with sufficient purchasing power to stimulate the development of local entrepreneurship.

During the colonial period, Nampula province was the major producer of agricultural products and second in terms of the value of products after Zambézia Province, its neighbor on the south and was the major plantation centre of the colony, producing cash nuts, cotton and tobacco. During the colonial era cash nut production was done on a small scale in the country in general and the biggest crop of the cash nuts traded in the country was from Nampula Province.

Until the emergence of settler farming in the mid 1960s, the African peasants of Nampula played an important role in the production of cotton, which most African peasants in the zones controlled by colonial administration were compelled to participate in. For example in 1964 the Nampula peasantry contributed 38 per cent of the total production of the colony. This was a substantial contribution in comparison to the contributions made by other provinces in cotton production.

The peasant's contribution in relation to other commercial agricultural products also played a significant role. For example in 1967, the peasant sector sold about 66 per cent of rice, 62 per cent of peanuts and 97 per cent of sesame.⁴⁸ This was a significant contribution and has attracted special attention from students of agrarian transformation in the country.

⁴⁸ Dinerman, 1999:105; see, also, O'Laughlin, 1996:15

Between 1938 and 1961, cotton production became the dominant political economic activity in Nampula. During the first years of cotton production, the main objectives were to minimise investment risks, increase the number of producers and increase the amount of cultivated area and the number of hours that the peasants invested in cotton production. The colonial government gave concessionary companies exclusive rights to purchase the cotton produced by the peasants at low and fixed prices. Equally, the concessionary companies were forced to export cotton to Portugal.

During this period, the peasants were subjected to a highly regulated labour regime characterised by different measures. These measures were especially in the area of forced production in re-planting, preparation of the soil, harvesting timetable for their cotton, amongst others measures.⁴⁹ The colonial state had forced the husbands and wives in Northern Mozambique to work together in their cotton fields. The equipment that they used was rudimentary.⁵⁰

The colonial state and the investors joined forces to supervise the production by the peasants and penalise the ones that could not fulfil their legally established obligations of production. The administrative chiefs, company field agents and security guards were all involved in this role.⁵¹

This group included also traditional authorities recognised by the state whose judicial and administrative obligation had been formalised by the colonial state in the form of “indirect rule”, in the Overseas Ultramarine Administrative Reform of 1933.⁵²

⁴⁹ Isaacman, 1992:493-495,498-501

⁵⁰ Isaacman, 1996:74

⁵¹ Isaacman, 1992:501-505; 516-517

⁵² Conceição, 1984:36-39

However, from the second half of the decade of the 1960s many of the sworn traditional leaders, were detained, accused of supporting FRELIMO. Some were said to have been tortured and died in prison.⁵³

The hierarchy of the designated chiefs was divided into three levels. At the top there was the traditional leader (régulo), that was responsible for a portion of land called regedoria or regulado. In principle, these were traditional leaders descending from tribes that existed in the pre-colonial era. Below these were the villages leaders called chefes de povoações or cabos, entrusted to control African village, and each of them reporting to the chefe de povoação (captain). These captains or cabos were the heritage of pre-colonial chefaturas (authorities).⁵⁴

The cotton production system provoked a dramatic increase of cotton production in Mozambique. However, the colonial system of cotton production began to show economic weaknesses, social tensions and political compromises. It caused land-scarcity, impoverishing of land and generalised deforestation. It also created the scarcity of labour in the plantation sector of the economy of Mozambique, especially after the second World War, when the demand for forced labour increased as a result of an increase in the prices of tea, copper and sisal in the international economy.⁵⁵

The cotton system reform introduced by the colonial state between 1940 and 1950 did not meet the necessary objectives. The use of power continued to be the dominant characteristic of cotton production. During the 1950s specially in the rural areas there was widespread food scarcity, malnutrition and hunger in Nampula as in many other

⁵³ Dinerman, 1999:123; Brito, 1989:159-161

⁵⁴ Dinerman, 1999:108

⁵⁵ Dinerman, 1999:111

places. The productivity of land increased, but did not achieve the goals established by the colonial state.⁵⁶

Although increases in productivity did not reach official expectations, it can not be ignored. The average results by a producer had increased from 103 kilograms in the 1940s to 227 kilograms in the late 1950s.⁵⁷

In 1961, the colony formally abolished forced labour, but in practice, compulsory work continued to be the main and important feature in the rural areas for another decade. The colonial state continued to encourage Africans to specialise in cotton production at the same time promoting the Portuguese settlers. However, the policy of empowering white settlers and the few emerging African Mozambican capitalists involved in cotton production at the expense of African peasants, collided with the previous agrarian policy. The settlers agrarian expansion resulted in the expropriation of land from Africans and led to the transformation of dispossessed peasants into workers.⁵⁸

Most of the questions that are examined by the current study have been raised by researchers in the field of agrarian production, but there has not been a study concerning forced labour and resistance in tobacco in the period from 1961 to 1975.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Dinerman, 1999:113; Hedges, 1993:136

⁵⁷ Hedges, 1993:136

⁵⁸ CEA-UEM, 1981:15-16

⁵⁹ See, inter alia, Isaacman, Allen. Cotton is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938-1961. Portsmouth: Henemann, 1996; Chilundo, Arlindo. "Quando começou o comércio das oleaginosas em Moçambique? (1850-1875)". In: Cadernos de História, N° 7, Novembro 1988:511-523; Mole, Paulo N. An economic analysis of smallholder cashew development opportunities and linkage to food security in Mozambique's northern Province of Nampula., [Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, 2000]; Dinerman, A. "O surgimento dos antigos régulos como 'chefes de produção' na provincial de Nampula (1975/1987)". Estudos Moçambicanos, 17. Maputo: Cento de

2.5.1 Tobacco: from origins to the colonial tobacco regime

Tobacco production was also an agrarian activity in the political economy of Nampula in the period before 1961. Towards the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese came to Northern Mozambique, specifically the Island of Mozambique in Nampula.

In the 16th century that tobacco was introduced to the African coast, including the Mozambican coast, through the activities of Portuguese navigators and traders of slaves from Brazil.⁶⁰ In the beginning tobacco was produced by both settlers and African peasants (see Maps 2 and 3, appendix A2; A3). Together, they manufactured cigarettes that were sold in the coastal cities to respond to the needs of their families.

In the period of discovery and the subsequent period of slave trade were marked, among other things, by the looting of plants with commercial value and the exchange of plants between the continents.⁶¹ The interest in the tobacco plant emerged around this period, and was associated with its consumption and market value.⁶² Besides consumption, Africans and Asians were soon interested in the plant's market value.⁶³ There is evidence also that tobacco was traded in exchange for slaves to Brazil to work on plantations 18th and 19th century.⁶⁴ For example, the lower qualities of tobacco, called scrape, produced in Bahia (Brazil) were brought to the African Continent and traded with African slaves captured in the interior of Africa to the coast and then to the West.⁶⁵

Estudos Africanos – UEM, 1999; António, David. “A produção do açúcar no Vale do Incomati, 1950-1980”; Eduardo Mondlane University, 2000 [Licenciante-BA Hons equivalent final year essay]

⁶⁰ Beatriz, 1943:61-67

⁶¹ Tamele, 2003:6; Ngoenha, 1992

⁶² Ferrão, 1992:136; Beatriz, 1943:67

⁶³ Pimenta, 1941:51; Beatriz, 1943:61 and 65-67; Ferrão, 1992:136

⁶⁴ Lovejoy, 1986:26

⁶⁵ Lovejoy, 1986:26; Beatriz, 1943:67; Clarence-Smith, 1985:41-42

But, the exact date of the beginning of tobacco production in Nampula remains unclear. It is assumed that the history of tobacco in Mozambique is connected to the history of trade on the coast. But evidence also suggest that marijuana or bhang were more popular until all late the 17th century.⁶⁶ In the 19th century, there were widespread attempts to cultivate tobacco by Africans. For example, in Southern Mozambique, the cultivation of tobacco took place in the Province of Inhambane. In Central Mozambique tobacco was cultivated between the Save River and Gorongosa River in Sofala Province. It is however clear that 20th century colonization gave a major impetus to tobacco consumption late. Until the first quarter of the 20th century the cultivation of tobacco was primarily developed in the Zambezi Valley, on prazos field.⁶⁷

In all these areas mentioned, there are descriptions of tobacco planted in March. In June, it was cut or pulled out, and then the peasants dried tobacco leaves and then rolled them into small cigarettes to sell in local market in exchange for clothes. It is stated that the tobacco produced was of good quality, when compared with that of Brazil. The leaf was not lower in standard than that coming from Asia and Brazil. Only, the leaf coming from United State of America had the advantage in strength and flavor. However, during the 20th century, the geography of tobacco production changed. Increasingly, tobacco was produced mainly in the province of Nampula, where it was grown in low regions and on the margins of the Lúrio River (see Maps 2 and 3, appendix A2; A3).⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Pimenta, 1941:51; Beatriz, 1943:67. The other names of marijuana are: cannabis, dagga, weed, Nigerian grass, suruma, etc. (Beatriz, 1943:70; Vieira, 1943:8 and 10)

⁶⁷ Vail & White, 1980:254; Leitão, 1969,I:227

⁶⁸ Cited in Beatriz, 1943:71-72; for more detail see, Regulamento da produção e comércio agrícola do tabaco: diploma legislativo nº753, de 16 de Junho De 1941, actualizado pelo diploma Nº 976 de 11 de Agosto de 1945. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1945; Regulamento da produção e comércio

In the 19th century, there were three outlets for tobacco produced by peasants in Nampula. Tobacco was consumed and sold to meet local demand of the market including production for sale to the existing European warehouses at the coast. Bartolomeu dos Mártires in the 1823 described the use of tea and a lot of processed tobacco in charuto (cigar) in the European trading depots, saying that “the use of smoking is indispensable”.⁶⁹ The Africans used chewing tobacco and smoked pipes (see appendix B: pictures).⁷⁰

The field work recently undertaken in preparing this study showed that Africans continue to grow Dark tobacco in very small plantations in their machambas (small household fields) or margens dos rios (along the rivers) and some of the Africans continue to smoke rapé (snuff) (see appendix B1; B2; B3; B4; B5).⁷¹

The statistics related to tobacco production show that in the 1874, about 34,994 wheels of tobacco was produced in Nampula. Of this total, 1,335 wheels of tobacco were exported. Tobacco production that was not for export, and imports of leaf tobacco and cigars, was used in European trading depots located in the African coasts of the Oceans and on the banks of Mozambicans rivers.

de tabaco. Lourenco Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1955; Malauene, J. et...al. História da Empresa de Tabacos de Malema, Nampula. Ministério da Agricultura/ Direcção Provincial de Agricultura, 1988; Direcção dos Serviços de Agricultura. Tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1934:4

⁶⁹ Martires, Bartolomeu. Memória Chorográfica da provincia ou capitania de Moçambique na Costa d`Africa Oriental conforme o estado em que se achava no anno de 1822. Offerecida ao publico em 1823:30 and 32, AHM, S.E.a.III.p.9, nº 216

⁷⁰ Pimenta, 1941:53-66

⁷¹ Interview, Serafim Momade, 27/04/02, Ribáuè; see, also, Pimenta, 1941:53-66

But while early tobacco had managed to integrate and survive in the predominantly commercial context, until the early years of the 20th century there was not a single tobacco plantation belonging to Portuguese colonizers.⁷²

In the case of the Nampula Province, there were several factors which accounted for this. Firstly, the main focus of the Portuguese in the earlier period was the trade and not agriculture. In the 17th century, the trade in ivory ended, it was followed by the slave trade and after its decline in the second half of the 19th century developed the trade of oleaginosas (oil seed), in response to the demand and the lack of gorduras, a scarcity provoked by Crimean War that obstructed the traditional trade routes that brought gorduras from East of Russia to West Europe.⁷³ Therefore, until the late 19th century, colonial authorities did not introduce in Mozambique new system of agricultural production. The preoccupation of business men was trade – as for example, slave trade – not agricultural activities which might obstruct the slave trade.⁷⁴ The decline of oil seed trading was caused by the introduction of crops production at the end of 1930s and at the beginning of 1940s.⁷⁵

The second difficulty was that, despite the Portuguese having assumed control of administration, the state did not have the means to construction of cantinas (canteens) and warehouses to conserve agricultural products if they were produced in quantity by the settlers and the African population.⁷⁶

⁷² Beatriz, 1943:72; Martires, Bartolomeu. Memória Chorográfica da provincia ou capitania de Moçambique na Costa d'Africa Oriental conforme o estado em que se achava no anno de 1822. Offerecida ao publico em 1823:54, AHM, S.E.a.III.p.9, nº 216

⁷³ Chilundo, 2001:50 and 77; Mbwiliza, 1980:91; Alpers, [s/d]:6; for more details see, Chilundo, Arlindo. “Quando começou o comércio das oleaginosas em Moçambique? (1850-1875)”. Cadernos de História, No 7, Novembro 1988:107-123

⁷⁴ Fortuna, 1993:71 and 74

⁷⁵ Chilundo, 2001:278-281; see, also, Spence, 1963:79

⁷⁶ Chilundo, 2001:44; Capela, 1977:15

The most significant factor related to the delay in the pacification of the interior. In the case of Nampula Province, the first attempts of the pacification process began in the last quarter of the 19th century, and until the end of the century the Portuguese control did not go to beyond 6 km from Mossuril.⁷⁷ The pacification of the interior of Nampula was finally completed during the First World War (1914-1918). During the term of this war, the interior of Nampula was occupied by German forces.

After the defeat of Germany forces in Mozambique with British assistance, the Portuguese accused local leaders of having collaborated with German forces and used these allegations as a pretext to unleash a campaign of widespread and intense repression against the local population.⁷⁸

After the complete pacification of Nampula and the rest of the colony at the end of the First World War, attempts were made to grow tobacco by the few Portuguese settlers and colonial companies located in the country. Experimental agricultural establishments and factories were established. As a result, after the First World War, planting, manufacture, consumption and export of tobacco in Mozambique increased.⁷⁹ In South of Mozambique, Premier Cotton Estates, in Moamba (Maputo Province) produced a limited amount of Burley tobacco on an experimental basis.

Tobacco was cultivated in Central Mozambique, particularly in the Delta of the Zambezi River. Aside from prazos of Tete and Zambézia Provinces, there were also some owners such as Bernardino Marques, Junqueiro & Brothers, the Namagoa

⁷⁷ Chilundo, 2001:40

⁷⁸ Gray, 1980:69-72; Dinerman, 1999:118

⁷⁹ Beatriz, 1943:73

Limited and the Agricultural Enterprise of Lugella and was the Boror Company which cultivated Virginia tobacco.⁸⁰

But, tobacco was still produced mainly by African peasants. African peasants produced Dark tobacco and the few settlers involved in the production of tobacco cultivated Dark, Virginia and the experimental Burley tobacco. This selective tobacco production was one of the features of early tobacco production in Mozambique in the colonial period.⁸¹

In the case of Nampula, one of the aspects that encouraged local peasants to try to produce Dark tobacco after the First World War was the intensification of mussoco (tax). As the colonial administration penetrated the interior, colonial officials forced the peasants to pay the hut tax through work or in cash.

Enforced payment of the tax encouraged large groups of peasants to travel long distances carrying agricultural products including tobacco from the interior to sell to European trading posts along the coast to acquire the money to pay tax.⁸² This form of long distance trade had however already developed in the 19th century; Bartolomeu dos Mártires described how:

(...) the trade, that the people of Mozambique [today, Nampula Province] do with immediate hinterland of the continent Macuana, consists largely of groceries, slavery,

⁸⁰ Vail & White, 1980:254; Leitão, 1969,I:227

⁸¹ Gusmão, 1932:214

⁸² Chilundo, 2001:44-45

little ivory because in the interior the elephants is not abundant (...), and they trade some tobacco to be spent in city almost all tobacco in charuto (cigars).⁸³

The transport of tobacco by peasants grew with the introduction of the bicycle in the interior of Nampula in the late of 1930s. For example, it was common for peasants of the Administrative Post of Iapala to travel to Nampula, Namina and Ribáuè to sell tobacco and other agricultural products. And with the construction of shops and canteens in Ribáuè in the 1940s, the peasant traders sought competitive prices from the local merchants.⁸⁴ Peasants from Lalaua also sought to sell their tobacco in Porto Amélia (today: Cabo Delgado Province) and coastal zones to exchange tobacco for fish, salt, capulanas (brightly colored clothes used by African women as a wrap-around skirt or as a means of securing babies on their backs).⁸⁵

Settler's tobacco production began with Portuguese prisoners and demobilized soldiers from the First World War who were set to work in Nampula countryside on projects, such as construction of road in the Mozambique Bay to Nampula city, Meconta and Ribáuè.⁸⁶

Also, in the 1919, the colonial government demarcated in the interior of Nampula the Reserve for Portuguese Colonization which included many million hectares of land along the route of the railway. It was in part intended to enable Portuguese, who

⁸³ Martires, Bartolomeu. Memoria Chorgráfica da provincia ou capitania de Moçambique na Costa d'Africa Oriental conforme o estado em que se achava no anno de 1822. Offerecida ao publico em 1823:54, AHM, S.E.a.III,p.9, nº 216

⁸⁴ Chilundo, 2001:302-303

⁸⁵ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:686; Grilo e Morgado, 1929:295; Pimenta, 1941:52; Beatriz, 1943:95-98; Vansina, 1962:375-390; Interview, Samuel António, 23/04/02, Ribáuè; Interview, Alberto Momola, 04/05/02/, Iapala

⁸⁶ Pimentel, Francisco L. Relatório do Posto Administrativo de Chinga: Relatório de Usos e Costumes indígenas (13 de Novembro de 1927), Chefe do Posto Administrativo de Chinga, 1927:141 e 156, AHM,S.E.a. III, p.8. Cx. 187

wanted to individually engage in agricultural production. According to Art. 2 of the Boletim Oficial de Moçambique (Official Bolletin of Mozambique) dated 21 June 1919, “the colonization [in the Reserve] will be done by Portuguese families, consisting of husband, wife and children”.⁸⁷ Thus, as one can see, this project clearly excluded the Africans; but also envisaged family based farming.

But during the 1920s and 1930s there were problems in tobacco production sector caused by the lack of institutions of assistance for tobacco producers. In spite of the surveys that had established that the country had excellent conditions for the production of tobacco, the producers were able to take advantage of them.⁸⁸

The problems related to lack of rural extension which affected Africans and settlers were exacerbated by the lack of appropriate production methods. As a consequence, the tobacco that was produced did not have the necessary qualities and was impossible to any market even at low prices.⁸⁹

The problems of the rural extension services in the country had the following consequences; the absence of research expertise on the seed for use would probably have contributed to the amount planted. The failure to identify suitable alluvial soils for each type of tobacco was another consequence, as well as the absence of advice on storage and markets.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série Nº 25 de 21de Junho de 1919:377, Decreto 1.223; see, also, Leitão, 1969I:266-227

⁸⁸ Gusmão, 1932:144-145

⁸⁹ Gusmão, 1932:143

⁹⁰ Torres, 1932:177; Bravo, 1963:93

This was partly the result of the lack of trained specialists on tobacco. For example, throughout the country there were two experts who carried out the preliminary studies on tobacco the agronomist Monteiro Grilo and the American VH Scherffius who worked primarily in South Africa.⁹¹

Also, the early measures were imposed in the context of a diminishing number of settlers producing tobacco in Nampula. For example, it is estimated that in Ribáuè, in Ribáuè-seat, in Lalaua and in Malema the number of settlers who had their farms for the production of tobacco had reduced to four settlers who were all residing in Malema, while their plantations were located in Ribáuè.⁹²

And to make things worse, in 1935 the colonial Government passed a law that required all manufacturers to pay fees amounting to about 5,00 escudos by kilogram for consumption.⁹³ The consequences of this law were soon revealed: the peasants and some white settlers located in Southern Mozambique particularly in the Save River, which produced the Dark tobacco were affected by the law. The merchants and industrialists stopped buying tobacco allegedly because there were many difficulties in transit. Also the law denied them the freedom to import tobacco from other countries. Consequently, the output of factories - tobacco industry - in Mozambique was low.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Gusmão, 1932:144

⁹² Correia, Pinto A. E.. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária às Circunscrições do Distrito de Moçambique, 1936-1937,II:84-85, AHM,ISANI, Cx.76

⁹³ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série Nº 6 de 6 de Fevereiro de 1935, Diploma 428

⁹⁴ Grilo, 1940-42:176; Bettencourt, 1945:273

A year later, in 1938, the government issued a decree about the customs requirements that had implications for importing the tobacco.⁹⁵ The decree cancelled the former decree that prohibited the tobacco industry from importing Dark tobacco for local consumption. It allowed them to import Dark tobacco from other Portuguese colonies under the same conditions and proportions as Virginia tobacco. Therefore, the industry imported in quantity Dark tobacco knowing that this kind of tobacco was produced in high quantity even in Mozambique. The consequences of the decree of 1938 came in the following year when it was discovered, eventually, that tobacco imports by industry was high and that local production of tobacco was being undermined.

In 1939, manufacturers brought from Angola about 327 tonnes of Dark tobacco. And quantities of Virginia tobacco were also imported from Zimbabwe, Zambia, and United States of America. But in the same year the total tobacco collected in Mozambique reached about 236 tonnes, while industrial production was about 289 tonnes.⁹⁶

Therefore, with this context the colonial government was interested in promoting changes in order to improve tobacco production:

To make an arrangement (Procurar ordenar) to tobacco production, in zones of Northern Mozambique more favourable to tobacco production and less adequate or located to cotton production, or other commercial crops, for complete internal supply and to excuse importation of tobacco from Angola.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Diário do Governo de Moçambique, I Série, N° 304 de 31 de Dezembro de 1938, Decreto N° 29.350

⁹⁶ See Principal legislação publicada na Colónia de Moçambique em conformidade com a portaria ministerial de 23 de Agosto de 1932. Lourenço Marques: IN, 1941,XI:218

⁹⁷ Bettencourt, 1945,I:273

The proof of argument, made by colonial governor interested in improvement of tobacco production in Mozambique, was viewed years later with the imposition of the system of tobacco. But it also needs to be mentioned that in same period there was the influence of Mozambican neighbours like Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Malawi. During the Second World War, tobacco production was increasing in those countries. And these were the countries from where the Portuguese settlers brought the experiences of tobacco production.⁹⁸

The end of 1920s witnessed radical changes that had impact on Portugal policy as well as on colonies policy. A coup d'état in May 1926 opened completely a new page on History of Portugal, consequently, on History of Portuguese colonies in Africa. In April 1928 after the coup d'état the military force invited António Oliveira Salazar who, as minister of finances and late in July 1932 as Prime Minister, introduced a program directed to reduce political as well as economic foreign pressures on Portugal.⁹⁹

The regime of António Oliveira Salazar imposed a dictatorship and very centralized regime. The regime began a new series of measures regarding to migration of Portuguese settlers, agricultural production and forced labour in the colonies, which were important to the development of tobacco production. It was his objective “to exploit more effectively the resources of the colonies for the benefit of Metropolis (Portugal), but more specifically, the emerging industrial class that helped to bring the

⁹⁸ Beatriz, 1943:84-89; see, also, Silva, (1962); Johnson's chapter 2, “The lucrateness of loyalty: the settler economy and the war”.

⁹⁹ Ferreira, 1996:143; for some detail see, also, Chilundo, 2001:134; Vail & White, 1980:288

government of António Oliveira Salazar to power”.¹⁰⁰ Thus, in 1928 the Code of Native Labour had been revised to ensure the objectives outlined.¹⁰¹

Also, the Colonial Act was introduced in 1930, which revised the Code of Native Work clearly defining compulsory work for Africans.¹⁰² Similarly, in 1938, cotton was imposed in Portuguese colonies.¹⁰³ Finally, in 1941 the regime of tobacco production and the regime of rice production were imposed in Mozambique.¹⁰⁴ Because of these, mainly the imposition of cotton and rice production to Africans, the production of oleaginosas in the Northern Mozambique declined. This meant that the Africans of Nampula Province were expected to produce cotton and rice (forced cotton and rice production) and to be employed in tobacco farms of the Portuguese settlers as labourers and other colonial economic projects established in Nampula, for example, the construction of railway and roads.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Isaacman (1996) cited by Chilundo, 2001:134; see also, Wuyts, 1980:15

¹⁰¹ For more information on reform of the Code of Native Work see, inter alia, Relatório do Director dos Serviços de Negócios Indígenas, 1928, AHM,FNI,Cx.1311

¹⁰² Chilundo, 2001:135; Newitt, 1995:405

¹⁰³ Isaacman, 1996:12; for more information on early agenda on cotton production see, inter alia, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 37 de 11 de Setembro de 1926, Decreto 11.994, de 28 de Julho de 1926; Isaacman, 1996:19

¹⁰⁴ Bettencourt, 1945,I:273, 277-276; Regulamento da produção e comércio agrícola do tabaco: Diploma legislativo nº753, de 16 de Junho de 1941, actualizado pelo diploma nº976, de 11 de Agosto de 1945. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1944; Grilo, 1940-1942:171; for more information on rice production see, Bettencourt, 1945,I:272 and 274-275; Roesch, 1991:239-70.

¹⁰⁵ The forced cotton production and forced rice production were based in the same system, all Africans were forced to produce them; but those Africans who were forced to work in settlers tobacco farms were employed (Hedges & Rocha, 1999:93).

2.5.2 The imposition of the colonial tobacco regime in Northern Mozambique in the 1940s

The colonial system of tobacco was installed by Legislative Decree N° 735, of 16 June of 1941.¹⁰⁶ The system was designed to be revised every four years. But, in 1945 and 1955 the colonial government did not alter the contents of the regime of tobacco production and only extended the dates.¹⁰⁷

The system of tobacco production was set out in a couple of pages on the Official Bolletin of Mozambique or on the Diário do Governo de Moçambique (Mozambique Government Daily), which were the Gazetteers of governmental legislation and regulation, containing hundreds of pages on many diverse matters.¹⁰⁸ The main objective of the first regulation of tobacco production was economic. The preamble of tobacco regulation called for “tobacco production for domestic consumption, without losing sight of the export opportunities”.¹⁰⁹

The regulations also imposed a new system of tobacco classification. For Dark tobacco: (i) Dark tobacco 1 – tobacco which had leaves with brown and dark colour, which were 40 or more centimeters in length; (ii) Dark tobacco 2 – tobacco with leaves less than 40 centimetres and more than 20 centimetres in length, broken, but complete.

¹⁰⁶ Bettencourt, 1945,I:275; Grilo, 1940-42:177; Leite, 1989 :792; see, also, Principal legislação publicada na Colónia de Moçambique em conformidade com a portaria ministerial de 23 de Agosto de 1942, Lourenço Marques: IN, 1941,XI:221

¹⁰⁷ Regulamento da cultura e comércio agrícola do tabaco: diploma legislativo nº 753, de 16 de Junho de 1941, actualizado pelo diploma legislativo nº 976, de 11 de Agosto de 1945; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 42, de 15 de Outubro de 1955:3, Decreto 1.564.

¹⁰⁸ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 42, de 15 de Outubro de 1955, Decreto 1.564; Diário do Governo de Moçambique, I Série, N° 229, 01 de Outubro de 1941, Decreto 31.547; see, also, Bettencourt, (1945,I)

¹⁰⁹ Principal legislação publicada na Colónia de Moçambique em conformidade com a portaria ministerial de 23 de Agosto de 1932. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1941,XI:221, Diploma No 753 of 16 June 1941; see, also, Bettencourt, 1945,I:276

With respect to Virginia tobacco, the classification was in 3 groups. First group: (i) Virginia tobacco 1 – tobacco with yellow leaves, lemonade or orangeade colour, but without stains and defects; (ii) Virginia tobacco 2 – tobacco with yellow leaves or orangeade colour, with one or another defects emphasized and lightly stained.

Second: (i) Virginia tobacco 3 – leaves with a yellow colour, with some defects and one or another stain of brown or green colour; (ii) Virginia tobacco 4 – leaves very yellow or lightly brown colour, with defects and stain brown or stain green.

And last group: (i) Virginia tobacco 5 – leaves with any colour above mentioned, excluded from them because they had more defects, stained, greened or broken; (ii) Virginia tobacco 6 – leaves with brown and dark colour, but not included on the qualities above mentioned from Virginia tobacco 1 to Virginia tobacco 5.¹¹⁰

However, in its essence the new system of tobacco production was designed to discriminate against African and to benefit the white of tobacco sector. According to the system, those interested in producing tobacco for the internal and export markets should be registered with the Technical Services of Agriculture and the registration was only given to those able to locate their farms in Nampula. It was difficult for Africans to fulfil this requirement.

The new law of tobacco production set out a geographical area for tobacco production, which decreed that Nampula should be the center of tobacco production

¹¹⁰ Beatriz, 1943:80-81; see, also, Silva, 1962:182; Silva, (1954); Lima, (1963)

in the country. It would be cultivated specially in the area designated zona preferencial (which was a former Reserve for Portuguese Colonization, established in mountainous zones in west of Nampula, along railway; but later with the creation of the Assotiation of Tobacco Producers, in 1950s, the zone included Mandimba (Niassa Province), Alto Molocué and Ile (Zambézia Province), and Ribáuè, Malema and Murrupula in Nampula Province).¹¹¹ This formulation excluded the population of the Southern Mozambique who also produced Dark tobacco (see Map 2, on appendix A2).¹¹²

The new system of tobacco production marked a rupture with the previous form of tobacco production which had provided some scope to black producers. For example, previously, both peasants and settlers produced Dark tobacco. The system supported two categories of tobacco: Dark and Virginia tobacco.¹¹³ But while the new law ordered the settlers to produce both Dark and Virginia tobacco, black peasants were not allowed to produce tobacco.

During the 1940s tobacco production by whites, many of them employees of the railway, started to create a centre of tobacco producers in Northern Mozambique, many of them residing in their center in Ribáuè. This nucleous was formalized during the 1950s decade as the Assotiation of Tobacco Producers.¹¹⁴ As a consequence of

¹¹¹ Leitão, 1969,I:226; see, also, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 50, de 11 de Dezembro de 1954:736 and 738, Portaria 10.649

¹¹² III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatorios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:686

¹¹³ Grilo, 1940-42:177; Leite, 1989 :792; see, also, Principal legislação publicada na Colónia de Moçambique em conformidade com a portaria ministerial de 23 de Agosto de 1942, Lourenço Marques: IN, 1941,XI:221

¹¹⁴ Leitão, 1969,I:226; see, inter alia, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 50, de 11 de Dezembro, de 1954, Portaria 10.649

settler`s farms, many peasants were recruited to work in settlers farms and some lost their lands.¹¹⁵

As noted above, the system discriminated against black producers. For example, at same time that the regime of tobacco production said that white settlers should produce both Dark and Virginia tobacco, it stated also that this last category was reserved only to white settlers. Then, while the settler producers should directly sell to the internal and export markets, Dark tobacco could only be sold to the settlers and to the markets listed by the colonial state. Those who ignored this rule forced the risk of imprisonment and was also stipulated a fine of 5,00 escudos for the settlers who were found buying tobacco outside of the prescribed markets. Therefore, the discrimination between non-white and white was clear in this new system of tobacco production.

The new system of tobacco production together with other regimes of crop production such as the imposition of cotton and rice production regimes created the conditions for the decline of oil seed (peanut) and Dark tobacco produced mainly by Africans as it is seen on the following Table 2.1:

¹¹⁵ Interview, Murinvona Muhavo, 25/04/02, Ribáuè ; for early rural experiences of the expropriation of the African land see, Pimentel, Francisco L. Relatório do Posto Administrativo de Chinga: Relatório de Usos e Costumes indígenas (13 de Novembro de 1927), Chefe do Posto Administrativo de Chinga, 1927:130, AHM,S.E.a. III, p.8. Cx. 187

Table 2.1: Some of the products bought from Africans in Nampula, 1931-1960

	Peanut	Cotton	Tobacco
Year	(tonnes)	(tonnes)	(tonnes)
1931	31,519	9,9	1,2
1932	18,743	-	0,45
1933	23,101	-	13,6
1934	20,351	2,549	9,1
1935	23,045	-	7,1
1936	21,055	1,905	1,8
1937	17,049	16,676	0,6
1938	17,689	3,114	0,25
1939	11,087	757	-
1940	58,186	757	9,3
1941	6,239	28,860,4	0, 4
1942	20,502	24,653	0,372
1943	18,959	26,283,7	0,126
1944	20,502	11,3	0,107
1945	18,959	1,9	0, 23
1946	17,201,9	23,418,4	3,3
1947	14,853	18,874,3	-
1948	5,226	30,764,3	-
1949	7,294	17,900	-
1950	8,269,4	28,301,3	-
1951	12,023	32,676,6	-
1952	10,157	38,162,3	-
1953	12,371,8	31,728,3	-
1954	10,535	25,509,9	-
1955	14,614	5,131	2,2
1956	12,958,3	28,679,7	10,5
1957	13,449,6	22,756,2	6,1
1958	10,240,8	33,787,9	8,2
1959	8,286,5	37,772,1	6,2
1960	8,958,4	28,588,2	3,2

Source: Adapted from Anuário Estatístico, 1931-1960; see, also, Chilundo, 2001:390-400

The Table 2.1 shows the growth of cotton bought from Africans that increased from 9,9 tonnes in 1931 to 28,588,2 tonnes in 1960. But, in the same period the oil seed, in case of the peanut, bought from Africans decreased from 31,519 tonnes in 1931 to 8,958,4 tonnes in 1960; the Dark tobacco produced by Africans also decreased.

Finally, in relation to the manufacturing and manipulation of tobacco, the industry was forced to inform the Technical Services of Agriculture the quantities of tobacco that it needed from domestic producers and imports for cigarette production.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Bettencourt, 1945,I:273; Beatriz, 1943:79

Settlers established itself the Fundo de Fomento do Tabaco (Tobacco Promotion Fund). In Mozambique, it was only in Nampula where settlers had created themselves fund in the 1945.¹¹⁷ It collected tax from tobacco production. The tax was destined to support settlers in Nampula.¹¹⁸ The Fund contributed also to construction of roads, dams, bridges, etc. It is important also to mention that, when the fund reached 4,937,136 escudos and 80 cents the amount was invested on the construction of the Tobacco Processing Factory of Malema, which contributed to the process of drying or re-treating the tobacco leaves, of all the settlers of the North region of Mozambique.¹¹⁹

The Agronomic Post of Ribáuè was established by government and was responsible for supporting settlers with agrarian information, tobacco experimentation and other crops. Thus, in 1952 experimentation with Burley tobacco started.¹²⁰

In Malema, the Association of Tobacco Producers was also established in 1954. The association gathered large numbers of settler's tobacco producers from Northern Mozambique.¹²¹ Until 1960, the Association of Tobacco Producers collected the fees [in cash] from the associates. The Association of Tobacco Producers did not interfere in the exportation and trading of tobacco of its members and it did not have its own private farms.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Rebelo, 1951:14; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 30 de 11 de Maio de 1945, Decreto 34.591.

¹¹⁸ Silva, 1954:322; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 39 de 29 de Setembro de 1951:852, Portaria 9.018.

¹¹⁹ Leitão, 1969,I:227; see, also, Silva, 1954:323

¹²⁰ Berberan, 1959:163-165; Leitão, 1969,II:258; Almeida, 1957,II:82; Silva, (1961). Although the construction of the Agronomic Post of Ribáuè had been authorized by the Decree N° 2790 of 01st July 1936, it was built only in the 1950s.

¹²¹ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 50, de 11 de Dezembro de 1954, Portaria 10.649

¹²² Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 50, de 11 de Dezembro de 1954, Portaria 10.649; Almeida, 1957,II:102

The Association of Tobacco Producers, also, solved problems involving settlers and buyers of tobacco of the all provinces of Northern Mozambique (Zambézia, Nampula and Niassa) through the Arbitration Commission, constituted by the members of the Association of Tobacco Producers.¹²³

But, during the 1950s the colonial government decided to provide some credit to tobacco production. The credit was given to Africans who could produce only Dark tobacco. Thus, the colonial state distributed to 90 families of Lalaua and 15 families of Malema axes, knives, scyth, machetes, and other equipment. The rudimentary hoes used previously by Africans were substituted by modern ones with long handle from Europe. Also in 1956 three dams were built in Mecoge and Intote Rivers and another one in Malema River as well.¹²⁴ Also, in Ribáuè 3 dams were built and irrigated an area of 6 hectares. But the dams had irrigated 90 hectares and benefited also 90 African families.¹²⁵ But there are no indications that the colonial government provided the equipment for pest and virus control.¹²⁶

Unfortunatley, the results of the output of the African peasants were negative. For example, during the period 1955-1956, the peasants of Ribáuè, who had such advantages prepared about 368,5 hectares and the total results of agricultural products

¹²³ Leitão, 1969,I:226-227

¹²⁴ Regulamento da produção e comércio de tabaco. Lourenço Marques: IN, 1955:3; see, inter alia, Berberam,1959:163-165, 1960:98; Leitão,1969,I:258; Almeida,1957,II:80; Relatório nº716. Santos, A. L.Relatório do Governo de Moçambique, Vol.1,1959:323, AHM,FGG,Cx.; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 50, de 11 de Dezembro de 1954:735-738, Decreto 10.649, with regard to constituion of Assotiaassion of Tobacco Producers of Malema; and Silva, 1961

¹²⁵ Almeida, 1957,II:80; Relatório nº 716. Santos, A. L. Relatório do Governador do Distrito de Moçambique, Vol, 1, 1959:181-182, AHM, FGG, Cx. 2512; Chilundo, 2001:317

¹²⁶ Lobo, 1952:14-15; Abreu, 1959:42; Pereira, 1971:38-42; Chilundo, 2001:312

collected were 317,350 kilograms. But, they only collected 25 kilogram of Dark tobacco.¹²⁷

There were those who said that the problem of low production of the Africans was linked to the following elements:

Primitive methods, coupled with preservation and resistance to changes; rudimentary and inadequate equipment, limited influence of economic incentives, limitations imposed by traditional practices and customs, lack of capital, not uncommon unfavorable ecological environment, migratory labour system, introduction of crops yield not accompanied by the modernization of cultivation; latifundium in areas of high density; lack of expertise in what concern to agrarian sector.¹²⁸

These observations had some relevance, but ignored the importance of forced labour. This will be explored in the next section.

2.6 Crisis of labour supply and the response of the state [1940s-1960]

The period between 1940s until at the end of the 1950s was the era of construction of the railway, tobacco farms and cotton production expansion in Nampula. But the period was also characterized by a crisis of labour supply on the settlers' tobacco farms in Nampula. This section attempts to understand why and what was the response of colonial government to the problem.

¹²⁷ Relatório nº719, Santos, A.L. Relatório do Governador do Distrito de Moçambique, Vol.2, 1959:32, AHM,FGG,Cx.2512

¹²⁸ Junta de Investigação do Ultramar. Promoção Social de Moçambique. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos do Serviço Social e Desenvolvimento Comunitário Junto do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas Ultramarinas, Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais nº 71, 1964:93. For more information on the decline of other crops such as cotton and agricultural products for food see, also, Fortuna, 1993:122; Hedges & Rocha, 1993:131; Chilundo, 2001:281. For more detail on discrimination on tobacco sale from Africans see, inter alia, Sousa, Hortêncio E. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao Distrito de Nampula da Província do Niassa, 1949:871 and 894, AHM,ISANI,Cx.78; Magro, António J. "Colónia de Moçambique - ordem da Província do Niassa Nº 5, Processos 1949-58, A/3". Nampula, 31 de Maio de 1949:10, AHM, FGG, Cx. 341; Rebelo, 1951:7

In the early years of colonial occupation, the colonial state imposed the mussoco (tax) which also it served to guarantee the supply the labourers to various colonial economic projects. But, on its own, mussoco did not achieve expected outcomes. While colonial state did not mobilize the workers through the new tax law, it did so through the use of forced labour by employment.¹²⁹ There were different types of forced labour. Forced labour was a punishment, condemnation, imposed, by law, from colonial government to all those Africans who did not pay tax. All those who did not pay tax were considered vadios (loafers), therefore, subjected to be sent to ‘work contract’ (trabalho contratado), an euphemism used by colonial government to refer forced labour.¹³⁰ Thus, although forced labour was established in 1899 by the Regulation of native labour, the following codes such as of 1911, 1914, 1928 and other adjacent legislation as the case of Colonial Act of 1930 tried to enforce it. However, the great expansion of tobacco production caused the crisis on labour supply on settler’s tobacco farms. Also, the causes of this problem were the initiatives of cotton and rice production promoted and granted by the state as well as sisal and tea plantations and the construction of railway.¹³¹

¹²⁹ The taxes for Africans were introduced by first time in Mozambique in the 1854. But in all country there were two kinds of taxes: the hut tax and the per capita tax. But, finally, in the 1937, Portuguese authorities recognised that the hut tax did not exist, because in practice what existed was the ‘per capita tax’ (Chilundo, 2001:358). See, also, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 23, de 09 de Junho de 1937:280, Portaria N° 551

¹³⁰ Chilundo, 2001:27; more detail on this matter see, Cunha, Silva. O trabalho Indígena: Estudo do Direito Colonial. 2 Edição. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954. In theory, women, old men aged 66 and children aged 14, were out of forced labour. But, in practice, old people were only out of forced labour. And with regard to vadio in 1942 the General-Governor issued its Circular mandating that, henceforth, every able-bodied African male between 18 and 55 years-old had to have in hand, and to show to the authorities on demand, an identity card (caderneta) on which was recorded his means of earning a living. African men who couldn’t prove that they did not support themselves and that they worked for wages at least six months out of the year were automatically branded as vadios (loafers; vagrants) and were, thus, fair game to be sent as forced labour on public works, colonial plantations or other enterprises (Hedges & Rocha, 1999:95-97; Chilundo, 2001:134).

¹³¹ Hedges & Rocha, 1999:95; Chilundo, 2001:136

The colonial state was in dilemma. But the question was resolved administratively when General-Governor of Mozambique set out the famous Circular 818/D-7 of October of 1942. In this Circular he determined that from then:

all Africans males between the age of 18 and 55 were obliged to proof that they earned a living from employment or from selling agrarian products; that worked at least during six month at every year as migrant or as a worker for the state, for administrative entities, or for private enterprise.¹³²

There were other adjacent legislation that complemented the Circular 818/D-7 such as the Regulation of Native Tax;¹³³ the Regulation of Hand Contribution;¹³⁴ and the Regulation of Native Services.¹³⁵ With this measure established on level of Regulation (Circular 818/D-7) to supply workers in settlers farms, initiated its implementation. In Ribáuè and Malema there was a competition of employees from peasants to farms and railway construction.

In turn, Eugénio Ferreira de Almeida, who was a governor in Mozambique District (today: Nampula Province), wrote his report in 1957 describing competition for forced labour between different colonial economic projects in Nampula. In this competition featured: Agents for Cotton Production; Railway Construction Board and tobacco producing settlers.

¹³² Chilundo, 2001:215; see, inter alia, Bettencourt, 1945,II:81; Almeida, 1979:366; Macamo, 2005:74; Wutys, 1980:17; Cunha-Silva, 1954:152-154; Head, 1980:68-74; for more detail on early Regulation of Native Labour see, Enes, A. Moçambique, Lisboa, 1893 (re-ed.: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1913); “Relatório e Projecto da Comissão presidida pelo conselheiro António Enes”, Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos relativos às Possessões Ultramarinas.

¹³³ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°, de 27 de Junho de 1942, Portaria 4.768

¹³⁴ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°51 de 26 de Dezembro de 1942, Portaria 4.963

¹³⁵ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°24 de 12 de Junho de 1944:280,283, Portaria 5.565

Hortêncio Sousa had demonstrated with numbers this ‘support one another’ as following: in 1948, about 8,226 males were recruited in Ribáuè. Of these about 2,400 were sent to Iapala to work on tobacco settlers' farms and the rest (about 5,826) were sent to work for railway construction in Malema. At same year in Malema recruited a total of 5,328 males, of which about 5,070 were forced to work on tobacco farms of the settlers in Malema and Iapala.¹³⁶

According to Chilundo the competition over forced labour continued until the end of 1950s with the continued expansion of settler tobacco farms and demand for cotton production of peasants.¹³⁷ Therefore, this was the context inherited in the next phase of tobacco production, in which the colonial government also established new institutions. Those were the aspects of the tobacco production of the system established with the aim of producing tobacco for internal consumption, exports to others Portuguese colonies in Africa and Portugal, with the objective of meeting colonization objectives, taking into account the exploitation of forced labour from peasants.¹³⁸ By 1960 there were about 120 settlers in Nampula Province producing tobacco: 90 settlers producing Virginia tobacco and 30 settlers producing Burley tobacco.¹³⁹

But it is important to note that, although there was severe control, in sense of forcing every Mozambican to work, through the cadernetas (cards) and registrations, itself

¹³⁶ Sousa, Hortêncio E. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao Distrito de Nampula da Província do Niassa, 1949:866 and 944-945, AHM,ISANI,Cx.78

¹³⁷ Chilundo, 2001:151

¹³⁸ Berberan, 1960:98; Berberan, 1959:163-165; Reinaldo, 1961:1-82; “A produção de tabaco em Chimoio (Moçambique)”. *Boletim Geral de Ultramar*, 35 (403-404), 1959:159-167

¹³⁹ Leitão, 1969,I:227; for more detail see the map of European colonization in Nampula (Almeida, 1957,II:123).

was not yet a complete solution to force all Mozambicans to work.¹⁴⁰ As it will be seen in the following chapters.

2.7 The effects of colonial tobacco regime on the tobacco production

The increasing tobacco production was a result of measures mentioned and it was, in the colonial government point of view, an important success. The influential activity of the state in promoting tobacco production by the imposition of regime of tobacco production had as result the increase of tobacco production from 247,604 kg in 1943 to 1,158,202 kg in 1960 according to Table 2.2 below (see also appendix: C1; D1; D2; D3; D4).¹⁴¹

Table 2.2: Total of tobacco production and areas in Nampula, 1941-1960¹⁴²

Year	Ribáuè	Malema	Nampula Province	
	(Kg)	(Kg)	(Kg)	Areas (ha)
1941	146800	-	-	-
1942	-	-	-	-
1943	35504	212100	247604	466,05
1944	57600	270700	328300	571,50
1945	75955	229490	305445	569,57
1946	44796	270300	315096	651,00
1947	61211	328633	389844	705,70
1948	98495	353010	355182	743,00
1949	59548	256687	316235	665,00
1950	111900	358573	470473	770,00
1951	113307	333300	446607	817,00
1952	164260	380370	544630	1 049,00
1953	145253	307418	452671	490,80
1954	137954	377021	514975	1 128,59
1955	321350	416076	737426	1 467,50
1956	418877	428042	846919	1 794,00
1957	487724	332564	820288	1 884,50
1958	523980	404459	928439	2 133,00
1959	707093	598390	1 305483	2 099,00
1960	718751	439451	1 158202	2 276,00

Source: Adapted from *Estatística Agrícola*, 1941-1960

¹⁴⁰ Hedges & Rocha, 1999:97; Chilundo, 2001:143

¹⁴¹ The existing documentation related to the period before 1941 did present many datas regarding to tobacco production in Nampula. For information about tobacco in Mozambique see, also, appendix C1; with respect to traffic of tobacco by railway of Nampula see, the statistics collected by Chilundo (2001), appendix D1; for information on tobacco production in Nampula in general see, appendix D2; and lastly, for information of tobacco production in Ribáuè and Malema see, appendix D3; D4.

¹⁴² When *Estatística Agrícola* shows the figures of total tobacco production in Nampula district (today Nampula Province) only refers to Ribáuè and Malema as main areas of tobacco production. This work adpots the same perspective.

The implementation of tobacco regime produced results, results obtained together with other incentives in main areas where tobacco was produced in Nampula. Table 2.2 shows that the farms were expanded, the gradual enlarging of the areas for tobacco production passed from 466,05 hectares in 1943 to 2,276,00 hectares in 1960. But, in this process of expansion peasants often lost their lands.¹⁴³

Many of those European settlers who were tobacco producers were poor in financial terms. With the minimal government support given, and without any relevant agricultural background that could support those settlers, they relied heavily on forced labour. Therefore, the settlers found it hard to go to recruit workers from other regions for tobacco farms, since in the regions where they produced tobacco. Therefore, the activities in the farms were executed by hands: were workers who worked in the farms, to cut and carry firewood, drying and curing the leaves, choosing and preparing the leaves of tobaccos according to the standard, etc. Therefore, it was in this context that the work in settler's farms was carried out. The instruments that were used by workers were ehipa (hoe), machetes, knives, scythe, etc. and the work was executed in hard conditions.¹⁴⁴

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the geographic location, population and colonial forms of administration and the colonial economy that was established in Northern Mozambique. In this regard it was noted that during the colonial era Nampula changed its name from Nampula to Mozambique and vice-versa, but, after

¹⁴³ Interview, Murinvona Muhavo.

¹⁴⁴ Interview, Nizete Muakala, 28/12/05, Iapala; see, also, Bravo, 1963:221-222

Independence Nampula maintained the name of Nampula. Although the Makua inhabitants are the majority population of Nampula Province, they are spread in all provinces of the Northern Mozambique.

Agrarian production in Nampula was based mainly on the forced labour. Thus, constantly there was the problem related to scarce of labour supply, although the colonial state tried to respond to the crisis. This chapter further examined the origins of tonacco production in Nampula. It discussed the points that tobacco initially was freely produced by both whites and blacks residing in the region. But the situation changed when the colonial government imposed the law of tobacco production.

Due to the new colonial regime of tobacco production, until the 1960 in Mozambique general reached the considerable level of tobacco production. In Nampula Province, even without enough conditions, settlers worked under difficult working conditions such as climate, some agricultural official made the effort of supporting settlers with informations related to tobacco production, supported them in selection of best soils, on application of fertilizers, experiences of different types of tobaccos, on reduction of size of houses for drying and curing tobacco, hygiene or treatment of tobacco, with objective to get satisfaction on tobacco production.¹⁴⁵

Finally, although during the 1950s there were first signs of changes in the tobacco production sector by expansion of tobacco fields, experimentation, etc., but next decade the changes continued by exploring the increasing of the number of settlers.

¹⁴⁵ See, inter alia, Regulamento da produção e comércio de tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1955:3; Estatística Agrícola, 1941-1960; Silva, (1961); Silva, (1962); Berberan, (1959); António, (1956); Almeida, (1956)

This leads one to the subsequent chapter, which involves a detailed examination of the nature of these transformations.

CHAPTER 3: THE ERA OF TRANSFORMATION [1961-1975]

3.1 Introduction

The second half of the 1950s was characterized by pressure in the whole African Continent. The beginning of war in Angola in 1961 began a new era of Portugal in Africa and, therefore, the history of Nampula.¹⁴⁶ The international pressure also was exercised by the United Nations (UN) and by the terms of International Labour Office (ILO) conventions on the progressive abolition of forced labour and demanded that Portugal recognize the right of self-determination of its possessions in Africa.¹⁴⁷ Also reforms took place in Portugal in order to modernize its industry in order to adhere to the 1960 the Associação Europeia de Comércio Livre (AECL or EFTA, in English language abbreviation). These motivated Portugal to make reforms through the Development Plan and laws of 1961,¹⁴⁸ in this case by the improvement of colonial agricultural productivity and specifically by modernization of tobacco production in Nampula.¹⁴⁹

Chapter 2 described some changes which occurred in the tobacco production from the 1950s. The objective of colonial tobacco regime was to make the country self-sufficient in a staple commodity: “for the reduction of imports and the consolidation of exports [of tobacco] must be ordered efforts of administration [government], of settlers and of industrialists, but without neglecting [tobacco] production for self-

¹⁴⁶ See Capela, 1977:260; Coelho, 1993:160; Neves-Tembe, 1998:153; Dinerman, 1998:91

¹⁴⁷ See Ferreira, 1995:57; Capela, 1977:259; “Convenção sobre a eliminação de todas as formas de discriminação racial”. Adoptada pela Resolução N.2.106-A 000 da Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas, em 21 de Dezembro de 1965; for more information on the ILO see, Johnson’s Introduction.

¹⁴⁸ Rosas, 1994:478; Ferreira, 1995:140

¹⁴⁹ See Leitão, (1969,I); Leitão, (1969,II); Figueira, (1970); Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. “O tabaco no norte de Moçambique”. Gazeta do Agricultor, N° 20, Lourenço Marques, 1968; Aguilar, (1952)

sufficiency”.¹⁵⁰ Portugal wished to control this economy development by involving itself in the process of capital accumulation on the basis of intensifying, rationalizing and institutionalising work force.¹⁵¹ This chapter briefly describes the key elements of the most significant transformations which occurred in the 1960s during which the colonial government attempted to break with the legacy of the prior colonial methods of work with the objective of changing the relations with Africans. It was the era of the reformulation of the neo-colonialism of the Portuguese by the Prime Minister António Oliveira Salazar.

In addition the chapter highlights that despite the change, there emerged new types of problems in the modern sector of tobacco production. The chapter will end presenting the results related to the profitability of tobacco production in Nampula.

Given the diversity of objectives, the new labour law implications and rural struggle will be highlighted in different chapters, respectively chapters 4 and 5. This section will focus on the nature of the changes that were installed.

3.2 New agricultural incentives

The colonial Decree N° 17.675 of 30 April 1960 created the Agricultural Promotion Board and also the Tobacco Board.¹⁵² The colonial government started to provide new settlers with the agricultural incentives in order to improve agrarian production

¹⁵⁰ Regulamento da produção e comércio de tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1955:3; see, also, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 42, de 15 de Outubro de 1955, Decreto 1.564; Regulamento da cultura e comércio agrícola do tabaco: Diploma legislativo n° 753, de 16 de Junho de 1941, actualizado pelo diploma legislativo n° 976, de 11 de Agosto de 1945

¹⁵¹ Wuyts, 1980:10

¹⁵² Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°18 de Abril de 1960:422, Portaria 17.675; Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base na Cultura do Tabaco. Relatório de 1965:65

particularly of Burley tobacco for its export to Portugal. Therefore, one of the first objectives of the new incentives was to stimulate the production of Virginia tobacco and officially introduce the production of Burley tobacco from 1963.¹⁵³ These transformations, therefore, were designed also to change the colour of tobacco in the country, from dark to so called white, yellow or gold tobaccos – both Burley and Virginia tobacco - became one of the priorities.¹⁵⁴

Colonial government adopted this objective due to the high international demand for this kind of tobaccos. The increase in the demand of Burley tobacco, in the world, started during the 1950s. Virginia and Burley tobacco were preferred because they present low nicotine content in comparison with Dark tobacco, but Burley “has the lowest nicotine percentage in comparison with Virginia tobacco and high power of inhibition and retention of liquids. This special feature confere on Burley tobacco a special place in the combination of raws, used by industrialists in general”.¹⁵⁵

However, this perspective of stimulating light tobaccos had a series of implications. With these transformations the southern region of Mozambique was no longer producing tobacco. The southern region could only produce Dark tobacco which was more harmful and was no longer had a market viable. But the literature reveals that in

¹⁵³ Leitão, 1969,I:228; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:686; F.A.O.“La importancia economica del tabaco”. Estudios FAO: Desarrollo economico y social. n°85, Roma, 1990:4

¹⁵⁴ See F.A.O. “La importancia economica de tabaco”. Estudios FAO: Desarrollo economico y social n°85, Roma, 1990:1-34; Santos, A. L. Relatório do Governador do Distrito de Moçambique, Vol, 1, 1959, AHM, FGG, Cx.2512, Relatório n°716; Leitão, 1969,I:228 and 230-31; Pereira, Luís A. Relatório das actividades do aluno estagiário do curso de agronomia. Lourenço Marques, 1971

¹⁵⁵ Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:46, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2, n°31-2; see, inter alia, Beatriz, 1943:95-98; Pereira, 1971:31; “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique, n° 10, Vol.III, 1966:17

the same period there was an attempt to produce Burley tobacco in the irrigated land of Maputo and Limpopo, without any success.¹⁵⁶

Locally some tobacco producing peasantries from Tete Province were producing Burley tobacco to sell in Zambia. Similarly some settlers residing in Nampula and Chimoio also attempted to produce Burley tobacco.¹⁵⁷

The period of reform was also characterized by an attempt by the colonial administration to re-build the agro-farming institutions in order to improve the production of tobacco sector started in the 1950 to meet with the new level of tobacco demand.¹⁵⁸ For example, the Posto Agronómico de Ribáuè (Agronomic Post of Ribáuè) was extinguished and its functions assigned to the Instituto de Investigação Agronómica (Institute for Agronomic Research).¹⁵⁹ But in substitution of Agronomic Post of Ribáuè was created the Estação Agrária do Ribáuè (Agricultural Station of Ribáuè) also subjected to the (Institute for Agronomic Research).

With respect to the classification of leaves and bales of tobacco, while Burley tobacco is yellow, the colonial government maintained, during the era of transformation, the same standard of tobacco selection imposed by the regime of tobacco production since 1941 (see on chapter 2).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:686 and 838; Leitão, 1969,I:228; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:48, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2, nº31-2; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. “O tabaco no norte de Moçambique”, Gazeta do Agricultor, nº 20, Lourenço Marques,1968:238

¹⁵⁷ Grilo, F. Monteiro. Relatório de Inspeção aos serviços de Agricultura e Floresta de Moçambique, 1960. Lourenço Marques, 1960, pp. 8, 26, 28 e 166; Carvalho, 1969:9, AHM,S.E.a.III,P. 7 nº 101

¹⁵⁸ Leitão, 1969,I:228

¹⁵⁹ Junta Provincial de Povoamento Brigada de Povoamento Com Base na Cultura do Tabaco. Relatório de 1965:65

¹⁶⁰ Silva, 1962:182; see, also, Silva, (1960); Silva, (1961); Lima, (1963)

Until the 1960, the Association of Tobacco Producers had only the responsibility of collecting tax from the tobacco treatment, classification and Tobacco Promotin Fund. It did not interfere in the tobacco sale and export. But, from the 1963, with the beginning of the problem of tobacco trading in Mozambique, the Assotiation of Tobacco Producers started to trade and export tobacco of its associates.¹⁶¹

But, the incetives were limited; the only new institution introdused during the period of change was the Sexta Região Agrícola (Sixth Agricultural Region), an institution with similar tasks to those of the Agricultural Station of Ribáuè.¹⁶² These institutions were devoted to testing of tobacco seeds as well as of cotton, maize, soy, beans, peanuts, citrus, and to cattle, pigs and sheep.¹⁶³

The Estação Agrária do Ribáuè undertook a feasibility study and concluded that the economically viable land size for the production of Virginia tobacco averaged 30 hectares, while for Burley tobacco the area was estimated around 10 hectares. The study estimated that the viability of tobacco production would be achieved if the productivity of land could reach about 1000 kg/ha,¹⁶⁴ if export reached levels of about 3000 tonnes per year,¹⁶⁵ and finally if the prices of tobacco reached about 22.00 escudos per kilogram.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:839 and 696

¹⁶² AHM,ISANI,Cx.88, Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:113-114

¹⁶³ AHM,ISANI,Cx.88, Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:112; Grémio dos Produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. “O tabaco no norte de Moçambique”. Gazeta do Agricultor, nº20, Lourenço Marques, 1968:238

¹⁶⁴ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:695; Leitão,1969,I:229

¹⁶⁵ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:693 and 696; Leitão, 1969,I:229-230

¹⁶⁶ Leitão, 1969,I:229

Another incentive was the governmental decision to transfer in 1963 the Tobacco Board from Maputo to Nampula. The main objective of this transfer was to maintain direct contact and support the Association of Tobacco Producers, in Malema in the resolution of many issues such as:¹⁶⁷

(...) study of the new law on tobacco; study of transformation of the Tobacco Producers Association' statute, published on 15 February 1966; the transformation of the Association's statutes, aimed to increase the standards and marketing of Burley tobacco and setting minimum prices.¹⁶⁸

Finally, it is important to mention in detail that the agrarian incentives allocated to settlers comprised the following: a parcel of land with two hectares already prepared, one dryer, warehouse, subsidies to sustain the costs of first and second campaign of tobacco production - forced labour, plants, fertilisers, plow, two caws, and various types of seeds, etc., including furniture machines, tools and equipment.¹⁶⁹

However, many of all these incentives were merely promises, in reality they were not fulfilled it could happen that in the middle of the season there were new problems relating to the implementation of the plan of actions. For example; the lack of material resources and the lack of skilled officials for the agrarian sector mainly for tobacco.¹⁷⁰

Even without a plan of action clearly projected in space and time - unfortunately the mistakes have taken place in all the Boards - (...) the failure in the implementation of the plans was caused by shortage of skilled experts in the area of tobacco technology as well as, inadequate

¹⁶⁷ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:113-114; Leitão, 1969,I:228, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

¹⁶⁸ Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base na Cultura do Tabaco. Relatório de 1965:16-17; see also, Leitão, 1969,II:258

¹⁶⁹ Leitao, 1969,II:261; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13 e 14, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

¹⁷⁰ Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório, 1964:3-6, S.E.a.II p.3, nº30-3; Grémio dos Produtores de Tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:84, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2 nº31-2

information about the projected place for the construction of the settlement, were people should be relocated, the reduction of the budget initially planned, all that inverted what has been previously planned by the Tobacco Board in relation to the colonial occupation of the Northern region of Mozambique by the tobacco settlers.¹⁷¹

Therefore, it was within also in the scope of the Northern occupation of Mozambique that the economic incentives were extended to other tobacco settlers of Molocué and Ile in Zambézia Province and Nova Madeira in Niassa Province.¹⁷²

3.3 New investment

In terms of modernization of tobacco production, one of the responsibilities of the Tobacco Board was to manage financial investments and provide credits to the settlers in Nampula Province and other regions of the country for tobacco production projects.¹⁷³ It is evident that financial support was a key feature during the period of the modernization of tobacco production.

But before the intervention of Tobacco Board, settlers had their own funding from Fundo de Fomento do Tabaco (Tobacco Promotion Fund) which was established in 1945.¹⁷⁴ Until 1959 this fund collected about 6.599 escudos.¹⁷⁵ Also, the Banco

¹⁷¹ Leitão, 1969,II:258

¹⁷² Leitão, 1969,II:258-266; Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório de 1965:17-19; Grémio dos Produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório. Malema, 1967:40-48, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2,nº31-2

¹⁷³ See, inter alia, Boletim oficial de Moçambique, I Série,Nº18, de Abril de 1960, Portaria 17.675; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961:1127, Decreto 43.895.

¹⁷⁴ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 30, de 11 de Maio de 1945, Decreto 34.591; Reinaldo, 1954:323

¹⁷⁵ Grilo, F. Monteiro. Relatório de Inspeção aos serviços de Agricultura e Floresta de Moçambique, 1960. Lourenço Marques, 1960:71, AHM,S.E.a.III,P. 7 nº 101

Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) granted credit to the area of tobacco production since in 1958 through the Association of Tobacco Producers.¹⁷⁶

Literally, settlers' sources of funding could come from the Promotion Fund; Tobacco Board and BNU.¹⁷⁷ But in reality the new settler's sources of funding came from the Tobacco Board only. According to archives they did not have sufficient collateral.¹⁷⁸ The settler payment period was expected to be in ten years, beginning from the its second season of tobacco production in relation to monthly financial support and in third season in relation to other factors of production such as capital.¹⁷⁹

But these criteria had been adopted by the colonial government with key objectives: first to retain the settlers in Africa, second to ensure that the financial support provided by government would be paid back without problems. The colonial government argued that providing high investment to settlers at the beginning of their season and their arrival in Mozambique might be counter-productive as there was a chance of them running away with the money.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Grémio dos Produtores de Tabaco. Malema, 1967:93-95, AHM,S.E.a.II,P.2 nº31-2; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte. Relatório referente ao exercício findo de 31 de Dezembro de 1962. Malema, 1963:6, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2, nº31-1; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. "O tabaco no norte de Moçambique". Gazeta do Agricultor, nº 20, Lourenço Marques, 1969:239; for information on BNU see, Hedges, 1998:13; Clarence-Smith, 1985:69-70 and 213

¹⁷⁷ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:114, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

¹⁷⁸ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13 e 14, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Leitão, 1969,II:261

¹⁷⁹ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:14, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Leitao, 1969,II:261

¹⁸⁰ Leitão, 1969,II:263

However, new problems arose from both sides. There was delay in disbursement of money and low return on the capital employed. For example, in 1967, the Tobacco Board report stated that planned investments were used for other colonial projects.¹⁸¹

Financial support given to settlers for tobacco production was limited and the financial support arrived late. For instance, the report of Second Development Plan in 1967, stated that it had initially been planned to provide to the Tobacco Board about 12,000 escudos for agricultural experimentation, support on farms, construction of dams, roads, electrification, water supply, etc., but according to the report this amount was reduced by half, which forced the officials of the Tobacco Board in Ribáuè to borrow funds from Nova Madeira from Niassa Province.¹⁸²

Although small in number, however, there were settlers who tried to resist the aggressive investment control measures. Serafim Momade who was a black settler in Nampula observed that:

(...) often the governmental' strategy was not effective. There were some very dishonest tobacco settlers. Many of them burned their tobacco warehouses in the first season of tobacco production and claimed that they had lost all the money in order to be given other financial support and escaped from Nampula.¹⁸³

From Momade's statement one can conclude that in the tobacco sector there were uncertainties related to the lack of capital to the agrarian settlers.

¹⁸¹ Grémio dos Produtores de Tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, (1967:83-84), AHM,S.E.a.III,P.2 nº31-2; II Plano de Fomento (1959-1964). Província de Moçambique: Comissão Técnica de Planeamento e Integração Económica (1964:93) e Junta de Investigação do Ultramar. Promoção Social de Moçambique, Lisboa: Centro de Estudos do Serviço Social e Desenvolvimento Comunitário Junto do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas Ultramarinas, (1964:120)

¹⁸² II Plano de Fomento (1959-1964). Província de Moçambique: Comissão Técnica de Planeamento e Integração Económica, 1964:92-93

¹⁸³ Interview, Serafim Momade.

In this context, the attempt of the Tobacco Board in funding the capital requirement of settlers did not change the existing forms of tobacco production. The work was still carried out by African men, women, and children. The lack of funding was compensated by the increasing exploitation of many African workers in Nampula. Clarence-Smith notes that “[i]n practice, forms of forced labour persisted right into the 1970s”.¹⁸⁴ And the respondents from Nampula have argued that forced labour ended in the period prior to the Independence in 1975.¹⁸⁵

3.4 The expropriation of African land

In the early years of colonial occupation, the colonial state demarcated the land in an attempt to ensure the Portuguese domination in the Nampula hinterland. The demarcated territory was known by the name of the Reserve for National Colonization as described in chapter 2.

But, in an attempt to provide more incentives to the settlers, and fertile lands for agricultural production, the Portuguese government created, by the Decree Nº 43, 894 of 14 September 1961, a new regime for land occupation known as Código de Terra (Land Code).¹⁸⁶ The code intended to replace the previous legislation which supported the use of only certain areas demarcated by government. The new land code created more conditions to the settlers in particular the extensive use of more land.

¹⁸⁴ Clarence-Smith, 1985:216

¹⁸⁵ Interview, João Veranique, 04/05/02, Iapala; Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório, 1964:3-6, S.E.a.II p.3, nº30-3; Grémio dos Produtores de Tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:84, AHM,S.E.a.III,P.2 nº31-2

¹⁸⁶ See Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº36 de 14 de Setembro de 1961:1099-1124, Decreto 43.894

But the new code caused new problems. The settlers were able to choose to use any of the best lands for tobacco and other agricultural products. Through the combination of social engineering, scientific farming, and nutritional science the Tobacco Board believed it could increase productivity, reverse ecological degradation, and ensure social order, and in the process of transforming settlers farms in modern tobacco farms.¹⁸⁷

The big challenge was that of massive dispossession of land from local peasants to settlers. Although archives do not provide the exact amount of land expropriation there is clear evidence gathered from the findings of the study describing how white settlers and black tobacco producers moved to the land of peasants as discussed below.¹⁸⁸

The government segregated settlers on the basis of their skin colour, white and black. For example, white settlers were entitled to 135 hectares of land of which 10 to 20 hectares would be selected and prepared by the government and given to the new coming settler.¹⁸⁹

For black settlers, the colonial government established that they were entitled to receive a small proportion of land in comparison to their white counterparts. Miranda Raposo, who was inspector working in Nampula, wrote in his 1970 report that black tobacco producers were only entitled to 3 and 4 hectares which was already prepared for the use and the black were obliged to find their farms into the settlement of Ribáuè

¹⁸⁷ See Leitão, (1969,I); Leitão, (1969,II); Ferreira, (1970); for the period before 1961 see, Chilundo, (2001); Isaacman, (1996);

¹⁸⁸ Interview, Horácio Mucaleliha, 08/05/02, Malema; Interview, Serafim Momade;

¹⁸⁹ Leitão, 1969,II:261; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

and only authorized to produce Burley tobacco.¹⁹⁰ The integration of black tobacco producers into the settlement of Ribáuè was Portugal's strategy to show the international community that it had changed in relation to the African colonies, as well as to motivate the local population to support their projects.

Land grabbing from peasants to white settlers and black tobacco producers increased in the 1960s because of limited investment, fertilizers, insecticides and lack of expertise in the use of land coupled with low productivity. They were forced to operate in virgin rich soils which were under control of African peasants. It was recommended that: "if you [settlers] cannot use virgin soils, you can use any one conducive for agrarian production".¹⁹¹ Serafim Momade argued that the situation of land grabbing became critical from the 1950s and was exacerbated by the arrival of cotton producers as well as the rural transformation of the 1960s, which was seen as a clear denial of the land to peasants.¹⁹² It is indicated that in Ribáuè with the construction of the settlement of Ribáuè there has been an increasing the number of settlers and the need for more land for them.¹⁹³ According to the Tobacco Board 1967 report, the settlement of Ribáuè occupied an area of about 2.955 hectares divided into parcels; the total area of land prepared was about 381 hectares and from this about 99,90 hectares were used for tobacco production and about 281 hectares were reserved for the production of other kinds of agricultural products (see,also, appendix D2; D3; D4).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:14, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; interview, Serafim Momade.

¹⁹¹ Abreu, 1959:42

¹⁹² Interview, Serafim Momade.

¹⁹³ Estatística Agrícola, 1941-1967

¹⁹⁴ Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório anual. 1967:26-27, AHM,S.E.a.II,P.3 n°30-4; Leitão,1969,II:259 and 261

Expertise in land and tobacco production techniques also contributed to the dispossession of land from African peasants. According to the archives, expertise on soils for tobacco production techniques has had positive outcomes especially for Burley Tobacco that could be cultivated even without fertilizers. Knowledge of different kinds of tobacco, knowledge of different seasons for plantation of tobacco, knowledge of the quantities of fertilizer to be used, and the official introduction of Burley Tobacco permitted settlers to grab more land from Africans.¹⁹⁵

Besides producing tobacco the settlers were obliged to produce other agricultural products, such as vegetable and other products in order to support the Portuguese soldiers who fought against the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in North of Mozambique. They had to supply food to Portuguese soldiers admitted in the military hospital of Ribáuè, supply food to the demobilized Portuguese soldiers in Ribáuè centre and supply the city of Nampula with fresh products. Therefore, the settlers were forced to plant other agricultural products namely banana trees, fruit, papaya trees, guava trees, peach trees, fig trees, grapevine trees, orange trees, maize, peanut, beans, vegetables as well as to keep animals such as cows and pigs.¹⁹⁶

The lack of clarity of the land law exacerbated the expropriation of land of the Africans. The Tobacco Board stated that land concession should be done through the Agronomic Post of Ribáuè, the Association of Tobacco Producers in Malema and the

¹⁹⁵ Abreu, 1959:42; Leitão, 1969,I:230; Albergaria, 1974:88-89; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do Norte de Moçambique. Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique.Circular nº 7/67. Malema, 16 de Junho de 1967:1-2

¹⁹⁶ Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base na Cultura do Tabaco. Relatório, 1967:27; Leitão, 1969,I:229

Tobacco Board. It was also done through illegal connections with traditional authorities.¹⁹⁷

Serafim Momade is one of the former black settlers who testified that richest settlers such as Morgado & Brothers, and Gil Gouveia in Malema, Beatriz and Leitão in Iapala, owned more land than new settlers, because those settlers bought those lands through influential traditional authorities and headman.¹⁹⁸

According to the Tobacco Board report, land expropriation had many implications for the local peasants. The report states that the population who had their land expropriated for the construction of the Settlement of Ribáuè received some compensation in cash from the Tobacco Board. For example, each family would receive seed of maize, peanut, different seeds of beans and during the dispossession of the land. They also had a right to a house, as well as a prepared hectare of land for agricultural production.¹⁹⁹

Some of the respondents recalled that during the construction of the Settlement of Ribáuè their family economy was destroyed. For instance, Horácio Mucaleliha stressed that the settlers destroyed agricultural products of peasants without compensation:

The Portuguese expropriated even our lowlands (margens dos rios). Mr. Bota, for example, grew his vegetable garden, bananas, onions, lettuce, cucumbers and other vegetables that were sold in Ribáuè and some sold in Nampula city. But, before Mr Bota expropriating the lowland

¹⁹⁷ Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório, 1964:16, AHM,S.E.a.II p.3, n°30-3

¹⁹⁸ Interview, Serafim Momade.

¹⁹⁹ Silva, Reinaldo L. Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório. 1967:27, AHM,S.E.a. II p.3, n°30-4

they were mine. We cultivated our cane, rice, banana and Dark Tobacco. However, Mr. Bota did not talk to us before; he just informed us that the land already belonged to him.²⁰⁰

Horácio Mucaleliha is statement confirms that the peasants were rarely compensated in the process of their land expropriation. For example, the 1967 Settlement Board report stated that there had only been built 15 shacks and prepared about 30 hectares to give to African families that were displaced from their lands and houses, but at the same time the same report stated that until 1967 the Settlement Board had not completed the re-settlement of Africans in Nampula.²⁰¹ Therefore, there were clear contradictions on the statements, because the expropriation of land had begun at the beginning of the 1960.

Another implication of land expropriation was that African peasants' means of survival. For example banana trees, maize and cassava were destroyed leaving them under severe famine conditions.²⁰²

Culturally, settlers' land expropriation brought a lot of challenges for the peasants; they destroyed family graves, by so doing, breaking the relationship with them and their ancestors. The relationship between the population and their ancestors is very important in Makua traditional society. Therefore, the expropriation of land negatively impacted on peasants and forced them to relocate their plots, graves, houses because of settler farms.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Interview, Horácio Mucaleliha.

²⁰¹ Silva, Reinaldo L. Junta Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório. 1967:27, AHM,S.E.a. II p.3, nº30-4

²⁰² Interview, Horácio Mucaleliha.

²⁰³ Interview, Murinvona Muhavo.

3.5 New Rural Labour Code [1961-1962]

In September 1961, there was the revocation of the Regulation of Native Labour. However, in May of 1962 the new Rural Labour Code was issued. These measures were part of the transformation process. The colonial state enforced new recruitment laws, representing one of the incentives available to settlers to boost tobacco production. The laws were adopted to facilitate the monitoring of workers and limit the extreme abuse and exploitation of workers. But, this section focuses only on the context of the abolition of the labour law in 1961.²⁰⁴

At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s decade the colonial government initiated some changes in Africa in general and in Mozambique in particular. These changes culminated in the abolition of the law of forced labour in 1961 and the establishment of new rural labour law. This period was characterized by socio-economic transformations and international pressure against the nature of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.²⁰⁵

Pressure caused by the political and military conflict in Angola posed major challenges to the way forced labour was used previously. The war was seen as an obstacle that could endanger the labour relations between the settlers and African labour force that would impact on socio-economic projects.

²⁰⁴ See Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961, Decreto 43.893; chapter number 4, of this study, describes and analysis the social history, namely sources of recruitment and working conditions of workers in the tobacco plantations from 1960 to 1975 decades from 1962 Code of Rural Labour point of view (Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série Nº20 de 21 de Maio de 1962:903, Decreto 44.309).

²⁰⁵ Coelho, 1993:160; Neves-Tembe, 1998:153; Capela, 1977:260; Castro, 1980:70

It was recognised that to ensure the safety of the factors of production (pesticides, tractors, technical and financial support, labour supply, etc.) “the key to victory lay in securing the co-operation of the indiginous”.²⁰⁶ The 01 October 1962 new labour law enforcement was seen as a tool to avoid the abuse of Africans as forced labour and to gain them support.

However, the abolition of forced labour was more of reality on paper than in practice. In practice, as with changes in labour laws that previously occurred, the abolition was never been put into force. Also the 1961-1962 labour laws “were often only slowly and partially enforced on the ground”.²⁰⁷ As noted above, only in the late 1960s, did coercion of the work force begin to decrease, “[i]n practice, forms of forced labour persisted right into the 1970s”.²⁰⁸

Increasingly, hidden forms of law of work enforcement led to the maintenance of the accumulation process based on the exploitation of the workforce. If forced labour had been completely abolished it would have endangered the settlers`agriculture and industry and to put them in difficult situation.²⁰⁹

A clear example of the continuation of forced labour is that the Colonial Administration restructured and empowered régulos (traditional chiefs) – the former acted as connectors between the settlers and the labour force. Similarly, there was the extension of the territorial rule system - regedorias (the term used by the Portuguese

²⁰⁶ Clarence-Smith, 1985:214; see, also, Coelho, 1964:59-69; Junta de Investigação do Ultramar. Promoção Social de Moçambique. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos do Serviço Social e Desenvolvimento Comunitário Junto do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas Ultramarinas, 1964:67-81, [Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais nº 71]

²⁰⁷ Clarence-Smith, 1985:214

²⁰⁸ Clarence-Smith, 1985:216

²⁰⁹ Wuyts, 1980:22; see, inter alia, Hedges & Rocha, 1999:85

to designate the territory administered by the régulo) – that only came to end after National Independence.²¹⁰

The new forms of tobacco production started from the 1950s decade, aimed at increasing tobacco production, setting prices and new labor laws, increased the volume of exports between Portugal and the colony, maintained the recruitment of labour force through local administrative (local rulers).²¹¹

3.6 The presence of more settlers in the colonato of Ribáuè in Northern Mozambique [mid-1960]

In Mozambique the construction of settlements was not uniform. Studies show that the largest number of Portuguese settlements was concentrated in the Southern Mozambique. The Central and the Northern Mozambique did not have a large number of settlers. The cash crops that led to presence of more settlers in Nampula were cotton and tobacco (see appendix E1; E2; E3; E4; E5).

The settlements were planned regions for the establishment of European settlers, who were organized in order to recreate the Portuguese household in Mozambique. Also their other objective was to establish zones which would prevent the advancement of any nationalist movement, whose presence was felt in Africa and beginning in Mozambique.²¹²

²¹⁰ See Coelho, 1993:20 and 149-156; Neves-Tembe, 1998:154; Dinerman, 1998:79; in relation to the abolition of forced work in 1961 see, inter alia, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961, Decreto 43.893 that revocate the Decreto 39.666 of 1954 of Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°03, de 20 de Maio de 1954; see, also, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 36, of 14 of September of 1961, Decree n° 43.896, Decreto n° 43.897; Clarence-Smith, 1985:225; Coelho, 1964:13

²¹¹ Adapted from: Chilundo, 2001:402-407

²¹² Hedges & Rocha, 1999:165

The construction of the colonato (settlement) of Ribáuè main objective was to ensure the accommodation of more settlers. The presence of more settlers was one of the features of transformation in that period. On 6th September 1961 the Colonial government created the Tobacco Board by the Decree 43.895.²¹³ In this context the construction of Ribáuè Settlement started in 1964, it had about 12.200 ha and the first settlers arrived at the settlement in 1965.²¹⁴

During the construction of the settlement of Ribáuè, the colonial state had in mind the following objectives: to prevent the advancement of FRELIMO soldiers from its sanctuary in Northern Mozambique, Cabo Delgado Province; then, to promote the development of agriculture through the small farms of the Portuguese based in Nampula in the production of tobacco.²¹⁵

In terms of origin, some of the settlers came from Portugal and were recruited from different regions of that country; other white settlers were recruited in Mozambique from different branches of employment, such as Portuguese soldiers, children of former settlers, servants of the Association of Tobacco Producers, servants of the Agronomic Post of Ribáuè and servants of the Tobacco Board (see appendix E1; E2; E3; E4).²¹⁶

²¹³ See Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº36, de 14 de Setembro de 1961; Coelho (1964); Hermele (1986)

²¹⁴ See Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 32 de 8 de Agosto de 1964:1111, Portaria 17.909

²¹⁵ Dinerman, 1999:117

²¹⁶ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:10-17, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Leitão, 1969,I:228; Leitão,1969,II:262; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:49, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2.nº31-2

Similarly, black settlers involved in the production of tobacco came from different regions of Mozambique such as Memba (Cabo Delgado Province) and Manjacaze (Gaza Province) and were also recruited from different staff boards. It was only later that the mainstream of tobacco production was allowed for African chiefs, because of their political influence in the colony. They benefited from agricultural credits and expropriated land belonging to peasants and began producing Burley tobacco and some of them until today continue to produce Burley tobacco.²¹⁷

New difficulties began to emerge related to the settlement of Ribáuè and the presence of more settlers in those areas. One of the problems was related to the lack of housing for the settlers. For example, although the government promised to build a house for each settler as part of the incentives awarded to him, but it was noted that until the Independence of Mozambique there were only 4 conventional houses for the administrative officers, as a home office, and one house that served as a warehouse. As a result, the settlers lived in houses built of local materials in poor condition.²¹⁸

The settlement of Ribáuè, the only one used for tobacco production, had not surfaced roads, a few roads that surrounded the conventional houses, two small dams that reserved water to irrigate the tobacco fields, a house for drying and curing tobacco of settlers. There was no running water for bathing and other services, which caused many diseases, in particular diarrhea and other skin diseases.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; see also, Habermier, 1981:41; Interview, Inácio Namutura, 29/12/05.

²¹⁸ Leitão, 1969,II:265

²¹⁹ Augusto Capisso, interview, 25/04/02, Ribáuè; Interview, Serafim Momade; see also, Leitão, 1969,II:258; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:114; Junta de Provincial de Povoamento. Brigada de Povoamento Com Base no Tabaco. Relatório 1965:25, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

From the 1960s, much of metropolitan (Portugal) and colonial laws guaranteed equality between Portuguese and Africans producing crops. The Decree N° 18,400 of 1961 that organized the rights of the Farming Cooperative of Metropolis stated that those rights were also extended to African colonies. But racial discrimination continued to be tremendous problem faced by the new settlers and workers of the tobacco sector.²²⁰

Similarly, Art. 2 and 3 of the new statutes of the Association of Tobacco Producers had primarily abolished the statutes of the association that limited equality between members; the new statutes of the Association of Tobacco Producers claimed that all whites and blacks who produced tobacco were equally treated as members of the association.²²¹

Racial discrimination continued to be a tremendous problem faced by the Africans of tobacco sector. In practice, to be a member of the Farming Cooperative of Metropolis and the Association of Tobacco Producers one had to meet many requirements that many blacks could not meet. As a result, they were excluded from producing tobacco. An example that illustrates this discrimination against blacks was the trajectory of Serafim Momade.²²² Serafim Momade spoke about how he became black settler and how he joined the Settlement of Ribáuè to produce tobacco:

²²⁰ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 17 (supl.), de 01 de Maio de 1961:546; Interview, Serafim Momade

²²¹ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N°06 de 05 de Fevereiro de 1966:178, Portaria n°19.157 de 05 de Fevereiro.

²²² Interview, Murinvona Muhavo, 25/04/02, Ribáuè; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:10-17, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Leitão, 1969,I:228; Leitão, 1969,II:261-262; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:13, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

I am from Memba - Cabo Delgado Province - and finished my agrarian course (1957-1961) in Mogovola - Nampula Province. Then I went to work as a foreman in Ribáuè area of tobacco. Thus, when, in the 1960s, the [colonial] government needed blacks to participate in the production of tobacco, was indicated from Lourenço Marques [today: Maputo] as black settler. I never went to Maputo. But the government saw my expertise in the area of agriculture. Moreover, I was the first foreman with standard 4 – Primary School - employed in the Tobacco Board since 1963 and was responsible for part-time settlements. Thus, I received settlers from various parts such as Lourenço Marques (today: Maputo), Portugal, etc., for tobacco production. And these settlers were sent to Niassa, Zambézia, Cabo Delgado, Manica and Tete Provinces. All these things to say that I was African settler, since 1965, with rights to request workers, land, machinery, subsidy dependence to dry Burley Tobacco and if I had problems of place to store the inputs also could order.²²³

Serafim Momade explained also that even when he became a black settler, white agricultural officials were not confident in him. For instance, he recalled that some of the white settlers who worked together with him in the same category received a motorbike, but he did not see any black receiving one.

Momade goes on to argue that the houses of white settlers were electrified, but black settlers did not have the right to electricity; white settlers exactly knew how much of the price of their tobacco was, but black settlers did not have access to information about the prices of tobacco. Therefore, all these examples show that the colonial system changed in form, it continued to be based on racial differentiation during the period of transition.²²⁴

²²³ Interview, Serafim Momade; see, also, Leitão, 1969,II:262

²²⁴ Interview, Serafim Momade.

In the 1960s many white settlers arrived and together with the local settlers the settlement of Ribáuè expanded. The following section will make an assessment of the economic processes during the era of transformation.

3.7 The effects of the change in the profitability of tobacco production

Given to changes mentioned above, the improvement of production technology, the methods of experimentation of tobacco production, the use of fertilizer, the research on the best land for production, the expropriation of the fertile land of Africans, the use of colonial administrative measures of recruitment, the construction of settlement, establishment of prices, financial support, it can be stated that, all these incentives together contributed to the increase in tobacco production. The following Table 3.1 summarises what was been achieved as a result of growing productivity in the 1960s (see also appendix D2; D5; D6; D7; D8):²²⁵

²²⁵ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:840; “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique. nº 10, Vol.III, 1966:16

Table 3.1: Tobacco in Nampula - production, settlers, areas, and productivities, 1960-1969²²⁶

1960-1969

Year	Total production (Kg)	Number of settlers according to the type of tobacco		Total number of settlers	Total area (ha)	Productivities (average per year)			
						Kilos of tobacco produced by each settler (Kg/settler)	Kilos of tobacco produced in each hectare (Kg/ha)	Prices attributed to tobacco (<u>Escudos</u> - \$/Kg)	
								Virgin	Burley
1960	1 158 202	90	30	120	2276	69,508	508	\$15,28	-
1961	1 100 678	-	-	-	1902	-	578	\$14,77	-
1962	931 197	-	-	-	1727	-	539	\$15,47	-
1963	1 384 143	57	9	66	1856	20971,864	745	\$19,17	\$21,52
1964	1 463 845	60	21	81	2064	18072,160	709	\$18,70	\$15,50
1965	1 694 611	67	36	103	2130	16452,534	795	\$19,04	\$14,67
1966	1 582 631	68	36	104	1925	15217,606	822	\$17,09	\$14,15
1967	1 810 800	58	31	89	-	20346,067	-	\$18,16	\$13,45
1968	1 888 600	57	19	76	-	24850,000	-	\$17,95	\$13,45
1969	2 027 400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: Adapted from *Estatística Agrícola* (Lourenço Marques, 1959-1969); Leitão, 1969,I: 228 and 230; III Plano de Fomento, parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol 1, tomo V, 1966:689-690 and 691

Table 3.1 shows the effects of change in tobacco production in Nampula Province.

Thus, the total of tobacco production increased from 1,158,202 kg in 1960 to 2,027,400 kg in 1969.

In relation to the total area it is obvious that there has been a reduction from 2,276 ha in 1960 to 1,925 ha in 1966. The reduction of the total area is positive. It explains the improvement of soils with the use of fertilizers and research of the best land for tobacco production.

The land productivity increased. The productivity of the land is measured by the increase of tobacco produced on each hectare from an average of 508 kg/ha per hectare in 1960 to 822 kg/ha per hectare in 1966. This productivity of land is positive.

²²⁶ See Appendix D2; but it is important to note: first, the primary and secondary sources present many tables related to tobacco production; then, when the *Estatística Agrícola* presents the numbers of tobacco production in Nampula, it does only taking into account the two areas – Ribáuè and Malema – that became main representative of tobacco production in that province. Thus, this work adopts the same perspective from *Estatística Agrícola*.

It indicates the effect of use of fertilizers, the choice of the best land for tobacco production and the increasing mechanization of tobacco production.²²⁷

It also shows that some settlers were using modern technologies, that is, they had started to abandon heavy soils for Virginia tobacco that they previously used. All this effort was done in parallel with the use of administrative measures of forced labour, the key elements inter-related with Portuguese political economy.²²⁸ The productivity per settler also increased. For example, the kilos of tobacco produced by each settler increased from about 69,508 kg/settler in 1960 to about 24,850,000 kg/settler in 1969.

There was also a slight increase of fixed prices from 15,00 escudos in 1960 to 19,17 escudos in 1964 for Virginia tobacco. The rising prices to some extent reflect the improvement of quality of produced tobacco. This improvement of quality of the tobacco produced also had a positive impact on the relationship between the settlers and industrialists located in Mozambique and Portugal.²²⁹

However, one particular observation can be made in relation to the prices. In relation to Burley tobacco the table shows a constant reduction of prices meanwhile, for Virginia tobacco price variation oscillated. But it is important to note that these prices were subsidized by colonial government above 20 to 30 percent after tobacco was sold.²³⁰ Therefore, from a social and economic point of view, subsidies were a good incentive in the colonial era because it allowed the settlers to participate in profitability from the sale of tobacco which encouraged them as members of the

²²⁷ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:839

²²⁸ Leitão, 1969,I:227; Leitão, 1969,II:265

²²⁹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:839; Leitão, 1969,I:227

²³⁰ Leitão, 1969,I:229-230

Association of Tobacco Producers, to produce more tobacco despite the existing uncertainties.

3.8 Tobacco trading in Northern Mozambique [1963-1975]

But the increase in tobacco production can deceive, because behind such figures lies the problem of tobacco trading. The uncertainties on tobacco sector can be seen through the Third Development Plan. According to Third Development Plan, the government fixed about 22,00 escudos per a kilogram as an indicator of improvement in tobacco production; then, the government established a target of about 1000 kg/ha as their maximum productivity level of land; finally, the government had also planned a target of about 3,000 tonnes of tobacco for exports to Portugal a year.²³¹

In fact, as per the above Table 3.1 shows, it is clear that the government planned targets were not met. The rise in the prices of tobacco did not achieve expected level; the productivity of land did not achieve the expected outcomes; and according to the Third Development Plan the desired exports did not achieve the expected outcomes levels until the late 1960s.²³²

What were the reasons for these uncertainties? There are many aspects to be considered, from the organizational problems, the limitations on the accessibility to internal and external markets until to the problem of political-military that aggravated the massive withdrawal of settlers in Northern Mozambique.

²³¹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:838

²³² Leitão, 1969,I:229-230; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:693-695 and 696

With respect to social matters; the production of tobacco had problems from 1961 to 1962 due to the uncertainties related to organizational structure: the beginning of the liberation war in Angola in 1961 and later in Mozambique, the convulsions across Africa, the introduction of the new salary scale; some settlers continued with little knowledge of tobacco production and produced tobacco of low quality. Thus, because these aspects some settlers started to abandon tobacco production because their production did not obtain the standard expected by markets.²³³

The revision of the labour law posed challenges to settlers, such as whether settlers could continue or not with forced labour in their farms; they complained that the salary for workers was high; and the workers were scarce.²³⁴ The settlers also questioned, who would be responsible for recruitment of workers, if (or not) they could continue to intervene in the recruitment of workers for their farms.

With the introduction of those laws the settlers had difficulties in adapting to new methods of work, especially because Portugal had officially abolished forced labour:

We all know how a few years ago it was done the recruitment of worker. We know also that there is now no possibility of comparison between what was done then and what today is done. We hear from government saying that the administrative authorities cannot interfere in the problem of labour supply. We understand and accept that they are prohibited from interfering with the recruitment of labourers, but we cannot accept the state of backwardness in which the masses still live on [authorities] cannot be given powers to interfere with those employees who having freely registered to work with a particular employer, not an

²³³ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatorios Sectoriais, Vol. 1, Tomo V, 1966:693; Berberam, 1960:98-99; Lima, 1963:56; “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique, nº 10, Vol.III, 1966:17

²³⁴ See Coelho, César de Castro. “Problemas de trabalho em Moçambique”. Boletim Geral do Ultramar, Nº449/450, Ano 38º Nov./Dez., Lisboa:1962:111-175

effectiveness that can be considered, even modestly. Understanding that it means that, we are creating a professional vadio (loafer).²³⁵

Also there was a lack of human resources. The Tobacco Board had difficulties in finding an officer and an agronomist to fill jobs in the modern sector of tobacco with residence in the interior of Nampula that could provide support to settlers in matters of rural extension.²³⁶

The abandonment of workers in the farms has also contributed to poor results. For example, in the 1970s settlers were still complaining about the level of absenteeism which impacted on profitability of tobacco production, as it is expressed in the extract below by the Tobacco Board report:

The lack of assiduity of workers and high level of absenteeism (...) caused damage to the settlers of tobacco in harvesting their crops of about 500 tonnes, which corresponded to a financial loss of 10 million escudos. But this problem, as you [associates] already verified it is beyond our capacity to satisfactorily resolve it.²³⁷

Despite these political and social problems tobacco was being produced and the effect of change increased the tobacco production in Nampula. Thus, the most important aspect of uncertainties on tobacco sector was the uncertainty of tobacco trading.²³⁸

There was a paradox in the production of the types of tobacco. Although the government had mandated the settlers to produce the Burley and Virginia tobacco, the

²³⁵ Lima, E. Guerreiro de. “Grémio dos produtores de tabaco: Processo Geral, 1972-1974”. [Documento V/7], AHM, FGG,Cx.915; with respect to the definition of vadio see, chapter 2.

²³⁶ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatorios Sectoriais, Vol. 1, Tomo V, 1966:693; Berberam, 1960:98-99; Lima, 1963:56

²³⁷ Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório referente ao exercício findo de 31 de Dezembro de 1971. Malema, 1973:4, AHM, S. E. a.III.p.2, nº31-3

²³⁸ See, inter alia, Lima, 1963:1-14

same government continued encouraging the production of Dark tobacco, which was supplied for the domestic market.²³⁹

Low demand for tobacco can be seen in two terms: internal and external. Internal demand was caused by existence of Dark tobacco. For example, industrialists imported and used high quality Dark tobacco and Virginia tobacco coming from Cunene in Angola, while this type of tobacco was also being produced internally without a market.²⁴⁰

Tobacco trading was one of the most fundamental issues that caused the problems of tobacco trading in the era of transformations. During this period the government had established 3,000 tonnes as a target for export to the metropolis per year.

But statistics related to exports of tobacco from Mozambique to Portugal between 1963 and 1967 show that it only totaled 2,836 tonnes which corresponded to the value of 63,179 thousands of escudos. It shows the difference of 164 tons (see, also, appendix D9; D10; D11).²⁴¹

This low volume of exports was due to tendency of abandonment of the purchase of Mozambican tobacco by the Portuguese and local industrialists. Before 1963 the tobacco industrialists bought straight from the settlers. But from 1963 onwards there were disagreements between settlers and metropolitan industrialists in relation to tobacco trading: “The settlers argued that the prices were set too low, but the Portugal

²³⁹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:695

²⁴⁰ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:695

²⁴¹ Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967:154, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2.nº31-2

industrialists complained that the tobacco quality was poor and the mix made between Burley tobacco and Dark tobacco was not correct”.²⁴²

Because of the disagreements referred to above, from 1963 Mozambican and Portuguese industrialists were gradually not buying tobacco produced in Nampula. The demand started to decrease from 800 tonnes to 500 tonnes for Portuguese industrialist and from 1,300 tonnes to 460 tonnes for Mozambican industrialists during the period of 1960 to 1964.

Another aspect of the problem of tobacco trading was that, the Association of Tobacco Producers could not get suitable markets because of lack of experience of tobacco export. For this reason, the association could only sell low quality tobacco at cheap price and could not sell the high quality tobacco because of lack of information about international buyers. The high quality tobacco left in the warehouse ended up getting rotten due to the lack of beneficiamento (treatment or maintenance necessary for tobacco).²⁴³

To make things worse, it is important to say that the Association of Tobacco Producers was having difficulties in getting financial support needed to pay for operational activities necessary in tobacco business including the process of transportation to international market.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Clarence-Smith, 1985:199; see, also, Lima, 1963:56 ; “Alguns Aspectos da Produção de Tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique, Nº10, Vol. III, 1966:16

²⁴³ See, inter alia, III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966: 694-696 and 839-840; “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique. Nº 10, Vol.III, 1966:17; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº50, de 11 de Dezembro de 1954:736, Decreto 10.649; Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, Nº 06, de 05 de Fevereiro de 1966:179, Portaria 19.157; Grémio dos Produtores de Tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:166, AHM,S.E.a.III,P.2 nº31-2

²⁴⁴ Leitão, 1969,I:229; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:693

The reason for the industrialist not buying tobacco had to do with the cigarettes that were produced internally. While the tobacco produced in Mozambique was Virginia and Burley tobacco with some quality, the colonial industrialists continued producing cigarettes with Dark tobacco for internal consumption only.²⁴⁵

The colonial industrialists supplied cigarettes for ordinary market, which demanded low and medium and not the products of higher quality. These cigarettes were destined for the consumers of the lower social strata - blacks and whites - residing around Mozambican cities, who did not buy cigarettes made from tobacco of high quality.²⁴⁶ As Clarence-Smith argued in relation to the colonial industries:

(...) colonial industries were not set up for the settler 'luxury' market ... one set of industries was meant for the poorer and not for high market consumer. Cheap textiles, hoes and other metal equipment were produced for the rural Africans of low incomes. Tobacco products, beer, soap, vegetable oils, flour, leather and rubber footwear, matches, paper, and miscellaneous foodstuffs were more for the poor and of the urban market, both black and white. Nobody in their right mind would try to produce for the wealthy settlers, who continued to consume imported foreign and metropolitan products whenever possible.²⁴⁷

Thus, Mozambican industrialists continued and returned to the old way of importing Dark tobacco from Angola, which served to produce cigarettes for local consumption

²⁴⁵ "Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete". *Economia de Moçambique*, Nº 10, Vol.III, 1966:17; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:692-693

²⁴⁶ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:839 and 692

²⁴⁷ Clarence-Smith, 1985:165

and imported Virginia tobacco only to manufacture products originated or derived from that type of tobacco.²⁴⁸

Burley tobacco was affected, because Portugal was the only consumer market, its exports were limited. Again in Mozambique Burley tobacco did not have a market due to kind of cigarettes produced locally (see appendix D.10; D.11).

In fact, from 1963 the year that local and metropolitan industrialists did not absorb completely the tobacco produced in Northern Mozambique. The problems of tobacco trading also started.²⁴⁹ As later the Third Development Plan report recognized the the uncertainty of tobacco trading stating that it:

Can be concluded that, despite the ecological good conditions of tobacco production in Mozambique and reasonable high level of modernization in which is produced tobacco, specially the Virginia tobacco, the future of tobacco production is endangered, if is not resolved the problem of tobacco trading. One can foresee the slack or the decline of tobacco production. Thus, cannot be attributed investments from the III Development Plan²⁵⁰

The report suggested to that colonial government take further steps to address these new problems of production and market. It suggested that if lack demand persisted the government should consider cutting investments in following years.²⁵¹ The problem of tobacco trading was very crucial to the settlers as postulated by Leitão in 1969:

More than financial investments, more than equipment or other incentives suport, the guarantee of markets can stimulate tobacco producers. Otherwise, here [in tobacco sector], as

²⁴⁸ “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique, nº10, Vol.III,1966:16-17; III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966 838-839

²⁴⁹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:839; Lima, 1963:1-70

²⁵⁰ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:840

²⁵¹ III Plano de Fomento, Parte II, Relatórios Sectoriais, Vol.1, Tomo V, 1966:840; “Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete”. Economia de Moçambique, nº 10, Vol.III, 1966:16

in whole things, it is not sold [all] what is produced, [but] it is produced what has a market [where can be sold]; and it is our conviction, the government must offer a perspective market [to tobacco], to allow us to produce much more.²⁵²

The assumptions outlined above led to the final thought, that the nature of the problem that led to the uncertainty in tobacco trading was more predominantly economic than social. The author of the above extract was sensitizing the colonial government to provide more support to the problem of tobacco market than anything else.

Lastly, social and economic problems were exacerbated by the emergence of the political-military situation in the Northern region of Mozambique that accelerated a massive withdrawal of settlers in the province of Nampula by the beginning of the 1970s decade.

The withdrawal was exacerbated by FRELIMO's political discourse. Between 1974 and 1977 during the transitional government, FRELIMO promised to reverse the political and economic scenario towards socialism after Independence.²⁵³

The speeches of FRELIMO described the settlers as capitalists, exploiters, and bourgeois. These speeches were received by the white population with fear.²⁵⁴ For example, according to Hermele, the future government of FRELIMO did not explain

²⁵² Leitão, 1969,I:228

²⁵³ Hermele, 1987:4-5; see, also, O'Laughlin, 1981:25

²⁵⁴ Bowen, 1990:8

which way would be followed with respect to private property.²⁵⁵ Consequently, the settlers began to leave the country.

The end of fascism in Portugal on 25th of April 1974 also contributed to the exodus of settlers from Nampula.²⁵⁶ Because of these events, the settlers initiated the sabotage of their properties in Nampula. The agronomists and private traders increased the abuse of cattle killing, they killed the cattle in defiance of controls by the veterinary services or without permission; they killed even pregnant cows, they salted the starters of the cars, tractors and agricultural machinery.²⁵⁷

However, these attitudes of sabotage deserve more explanation. These acts of sabotage were not simple destruction, but also were often more than that. For example, they killed their cattle because they wanted money for their survival where they were immigrating to.

But, to some peasants, the exodus of settlers created social disorder, for others it was a sign on the new life that had begun in the liberated zones.²⁵⁸ For example, some peasants interviewed in Nampula, saw settlers exodus as something that negatively impacted on their consumption according to Nizete Muakalaka:

When the settlers left we became free. But when the settlers abandoned the farms were nationalized by the state. Some peasants went to work on the state's farms. Furthermore, we were organized in collective work or people's farms (machambas do povo). The Instituto de

²⁵⁵ Hermele, 1987:4; see also, República Popular de Moçambique. Ministério da Agricultura. Reforma Agrária e desenvolvimento rural na República Popular de Moçambique. (Documento preparado para a Conferência Mundial sobre Reforma Agrária e Desenvolvimento Rural). 1979:6-22

²⁵⁶ Reunião Nacional do Ministério de Agricultura, Beira, 18-20 de Setembro de 1975, relatórios de 1975:2 [3/B e 33/F – CEA]

²⁵⁷ Interview, Nizete Muakalaka.

²⁵⁸ Clarence-Sminth, 1985:218

Cereais de Moçambique (Mozambique Institute for Cereals) and the Empresa de Tabacos de Nampula (Enterprise of the Tobacco of Nampula) of the state bought the products from peasants and people's farms. Single peasants sold the little of that we produced for local merchants. But all these things took short time.²⁵⁹

This statement testifies to the role played by rural traders' shops in the supply of consumer goods to African peasants even in an exploitative manner. For example, the massive withdrawal of settlers increased the bankruptcy and decline of incomes in the agricultural and commercial sectors because the provision of insecticides, fertilizers, seeds and also other implements - such as hoes, tractors, watering can and other tools - much needed for agriculture and industry had collapsed.

3.9 Conclusion

The changes of the 1961 had their socio-political and economic influence on the introduction of the new labour law; new land law; support of agro-finance investments; presence of more white settlers and by the inclusion of some black tobacco producers in the system.

With this colonial administrative measures tobacco production increased in Nampula. But, there were some uncertainties: the new labour law was ambiguous allowing for various interpretations; the land law and the presence of more settlers increased the expropriation of African land and in tobacco sector was a problem related to the reduction of the volume of tobacco trading and the lack of market for tobacco trading.

²⁵⁹ Interview, Nizete Muakalaka; see, also, Reunião Nacional do Ministério de Agricultura, Beira, 18-20 de Setembro de 1975, relatórios de 1975:11-12 [3/B and 33/F – CEA]; Malauene, (1988); Mendes, (1991).

It shows that, although there was increasing of tobacco production, in other hand, tobacco produced did not have internal and external markets.

CHAPTER 4: POST 1962 – THE EXTENSION OF FORCED LABOUR

4.1 Introduction

As was seen in the previous chapter – precisely section 3.5 -, in 1961, the Portuguese administration revoked the Regulation of Native Labour and later in May 1962 the new Rural Labour Code was issued. It aimed to prevent the abuse of workers, give them right of freely applying (livre oferta) the job for of their choice and to provide better working conditions in the farms.²⁶⁰ This chapter focuses on the contradiction between words and actions - or, between the labour law and its implementation - in the post 1962 period.

4.2 Labour supply

Capela in 1977 and Clarence-Smith in 1985 expressed their criticism in relation to the new Rural Labour Code in relation to all Portuguese colonies on African Continent. While this study is placed in this wider perspective, it focuses on the settler's farms of Nampula Province. One of the aspects of the Rural Labour Code most discussed by the existing literature is 'recruitment'. The importance of the labour supply is also reflected in the 1962 Rural Labour Code.²⁶¹

The new code defined the term recruitment as a: “situation in which the workforce could freely apply (livre oferta) for the job of their choice with the objective of

²⁶⁰ See Coelho, (1964:13), with respect to the measures that would guarantee the full implementation of livre oferta (freely applying) to the employment, protection of worker, liberdade (freedom) to select the work, liberdade do contracto (contractual freedom), social assistance and best salary.

²⁶¹ See, also, Capela, 1977:268 and 270

development of the market economy”.²⁶² In the next step, the same code stated that “the contracto (contract) of employment is the agreement by which a person is forced, through compensation, to supply his labour to later, under tutelagem (tutelage) of the later”.²⁶³ Therefore, this code allows any interpretation. In fact, in the very idea of freely applying, the existence of a liberdade (freedom) was dubious; it was little more than an euphemism.

The notion of tutelage (tutelagem) was also another contradiction in the code. It contradicted to the expression of to freely applying. The word tutelage could be understood to mean that the peasant was under the control of his master. Therefore, the contract in itself was endangering freedom of the worker.

The voluntários (volunteers) was the name of one of the different methods of recruitment used by colonial authorities to recruit the workers. As Almeida (1979), Vail & White (1980) and Hedges & Rocha (1999) have observed in their studies regarding to the pre-1961, some decided to be recruited as strategy to avoid arbitrary recruitment.²⁶⁴ In the same vein the period after 1960 Capela viewed the status of volunteer in same perspective as something to guarantee appearances:

(...) the workers destined to public services were accompanied by documentation which described them as volunteers. If the worker had not mastered the Portuguese language, there were those who enjoyed revealing this comical-tragic side of the whole process: So are you volunteer?/ Yes man, he is./ So, you come to work because you want!/ Não, senhor; nosso veio obrigado (No, man; we come forced)./ But are you “volunteer”?/ Yes man, he is.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série N ° 20 de 21 de Maio de 1962:903, Decreto 44.309

²⁶³ Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série N ° 20 de 21 de Maio de 1962:888, Decreto 44.309; see, also, Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, N° 06, de 05 de Fevereiro de 1966:179, Portaria 19.157

²⁶⁴ Hedges & Rocha, 1999:143; see, also, Vail and White, 1980:252; Almeida, 1979:366

²⁶⁵ Capela, 1977:269-270

Thus, the freely applying for employment, contract, volunteer, continued in fact to be a form of coercion. But there is no colonial documents that can explain the work of those Africans employed in the tobacco farms of settlers in Nampula. To overcome this lack of documentation, this chapter and chapter 5 include the voices and songs of the peasants. These were collected during field work in Nampula and provide stories that until now have rarely been considered.²⁶⁶

When former workers on tobacco farms, like for example Anita Murula of Nampula, was questioned about the work in the tobacco farms, she observed that the work on the settlers tobacco farms was eshiparo (forced labour), in Emakua language.²⁶⁷ In fact, the way that Portuguese colonialism sought to organize the process of rural work undermined the traditional economic and social context of Makua population. Men, women and youth were affected by forced recruitment and hard working conditions, low wages and the expropriation of their lands.²⁶⁸

In terms of the areas from where Administrators, chefes do Posto and settlers recruited the workers, the information shows that some workers on the settler's farms were recruited locally, in the interior of Nampula Province and others in Zambézia and in Niassa Provinces. In this context, the settlers of Council of Iapala recruited their workers mainly in the Nicurrupe and Murrupula locations. These locations were also targeted for recruitment by the Roman Catholic Church of Iapala that was also involved in tobacco production (see appendix E3; E4).

²⁶⁶ The works of Vail & White (1980), of Isaacman (1996) and of Chilundo (2001) constitute few exceptions in the history of colonial Mozambique.

²⁶⁷ Interview, Anita Murula.

²⁶⁸ Interview, Anita Murula.

The settlers of Ribáuè-centre recruited their workers mainly in locations such as in Napasso, Mataria, Chicá, Muedhele and Nataleia. Also, the Roman Catholic Church of Nataleia, which was a branch of Roman Catholic Church of Iapala, recruited their workers in same areas (Napasso, Mataria, Chicá, Muedhele and Nataleia).

The settlers of the settlement of Ribáuè (in the area of Ribáuè-centre) recruited their workers mostly in Namigonha, Tarrua, Rente and Cunle.²⁶⁹ Finally, the settlers of Malema recruited their labourers in the locations such as Murarelo, Lalaua, Mutuali, Namekuna, Mucarrua and Murrupula. These areas were targeted because of the fact that they were more populated and their geographical terrain facilitated settler's access.

However, the richest settlers, most of them, located in Malema such as the Morgado & Brothers recruited their workers in regions such as Mandimba and Metarica districts of Niassa Province; and Nauela, Mulevala and Ligonha districts of Zambézia Province.²⁷⁰

The settlers and Administrative authorities always recruited labourers in the evenings, after peasants have returned to their homes from their machambas (small and familiar farms). The settlers concentrated the workers at the centres of workers concentration. Within Nampula, there were many concentration centres. The concentration centres

²⁶⁹ See República de Moçambique. Província de Nampula. "Administração do Distrito de Ribáuè". Monografia do Distrito de Ribáuè, 1992:2

²⁷⁰ Leitão, 1969,I:227; Interview, Alberto José, 04/05/02, Iapala

were places where workers were concentrated after in order to be recruited waiting for transport to the farms.²⁷¹

The conditions at the recruitment centres, however, were very poor. The centres had matchbox houses built of wood. They were also unhygienic and the workers suffered from the cold. Some got contagious illnesses such as flu; the women were sexually molested by the settlers and cipaios (foremen).²⁷²

4.3 Conditions of work

Conditions of work in the farms mirrored the level of investments allocated and the nature of the colonial state which was not highly capitalized. Therefore, there was a continuation of poor working conditions for labourers: tobacco workers faced lack of transport, food on the farms, inadequate housing and also suffered from different diseases.²⁷³

The family economy was undermined because in Makua society the men's contribution was to cut trees, prepare plots and collect goods. However, evidence shows that the recruitment of more labourers to work in the farms of settlers coincided with the period in which the men were most needed to help with the work of their own family economy.

²⁷¹ Relatório N°716, Santos, A. L. Relatório do Governador do Distrito de Moçambique, Vol.1, 1959:40, FGG, Cx.2512

²⁷² Interview, Marcelino Mutepua, 02/02/06, Iapala

²⁷³ Lima, 1971:269

For example, in the tobacco farms, the preparation of the land was done in August-November, during the summer, and the work of collecting of tobacco was in April.²⁷⁴

In this context, looking at Table 4.1 below one can say that the number of men recruited to work in the Tobacco Processing Factory sector, increased during the period when they were needed to prepare their own family plots.

Table 4.1: Workers at the Tobacco Processing Factory of Malema, 1962

Month	Tobacco Processing Factory	Maintenance of tobacco	Construction sector	Other services	Total per month
January	84 men	-	17 men	-	101 men
February	64 “	25 men	-	-	89 “
March	124 “	10 “	-	-	134 “
April	96 “	8 “	-	-	104 “
May	96 “	8 “	-	-	104 “
June	95 “	8 “	-	-	103 “
July	98 “	10 “	-	-	108 “
August	-	10 “	-	174 men	184 “
September	-	10 “	-	199 “	209 “
October	-	7 “	-	210 “	217 “
November	176 “	11 “	-	-	187 “
December	-	11 “	-	169 “	180 “
TOTAL	833	118	17	752	1720

Source: Lima, 1963:47

The majority of women were recruited mainly during the period of tobacco collection process, at the end of December until the first half of April. Therefore, one can conclude that during the period of work in the family economy, women were left at home alone with all tasks without their husbands. The consequence of this was food shortages in the region and in the families of the workers. This was recognized by Circular N° 7/67 of the Association of Tobacco Producers of Malema.²⁷⁵

Besides the hunger in their families, the workers suffered hunger at workplace. Inácio Namutura and Maurício Colete explained that workers had grievances. They worked hard in the farms, but their meals were not of good quality.

²⁷⁴ Lima, 1963:47

²⁷⁵ Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Circular N° 7/67. Malema, 16 de Junho de 1967:1-2.

For a worker, to get his (or her) meal depended mainly on whether they had finished their tasks or not. In the morning they started the in work without breakfast. At 12 o'clock they always ate porridge meal, locally named as (palice), accompanied with more salted and dried fish, and beans also locally known as (ekudhe) or (ebuerre).²⁷⁶

Besides the poor quality of food, in Iapala and Ribáuè, for example, there was also a lack of water for workers to drink and bath. This increased the vulnerability of workers to illnesses such as diarrhea. In Malema were contagious diseases such as meningitis, aid, flu were also prevalent.²⁷⁷

The poor working conditions were even worse in Ribáuè, where it is recalled that the workers took meals without a table. The settlers did not provide chairs, seats and tables for their labourers to seat and to take their meals.²⁷⁸

Some of the aspects of the poor conditions of workers were housing and transport. Some labourers had to take transport every morning from their camps to the workplace. They were transported by tractors and left in the farms between 20 to 25 kms from their houses.

Those whose houses were located near the farms went to work on foot. But those workers recruited far from their homes were accommodated in warehouses, where they lived and slept in bad conditions. This situation caused discontent amongst

²⁷⁶ Interview, Inácio Namutura, 29/12/05, Malema; Interview, Maurício Colete, 29/12/05, Malema.

²⁷⁷ Interview, Maurício Colete; for the period before 1961, see, Chilundo, 2001:154-164

²⁷⁸ Group interview, 02/02/06, Iapala.

workers, but they feared the settlers, hence, they did not protest openly in front of settlers.²⁷⁹

The inadequate housing and food was worsened by the lack of conditions concerning health care for labourers. While the workers laboured in unhygienic conditions, there is no indication that there existed medical care facilities existed on any of the farms.

During summer working inside of Tobacco Processing Factory of Malema was a challenging matter due to both smell and heat. The Tobacco Processing Factory was very cramped. The labourers worked close to boiling pans. Also during the period of cleaning the tobacco inside of Tobacco Processing Factory clouds powder have existed that was breathed in by workers because who had no protection.

During the selection of tobacco leaves, the workers worked almost all day inside of warehouse. For this reason, since they performed these tasks without protective equipment, workers were exposed to the smell of tobacco as well. And because of this smoke and smell several times workers complained of problems of eyes, rheumatism and other diseases.²⁸⁰

Furthermore, the process of selection and protection of tobacco leaves was very hard. As it is described by the respondents, which involved in selecting tobacco leaves was in fact exhausting. It was done in fetid atmosphere and with clouds of powder. After the selection of tobacco leaves followed the process of making them moist with water or water mixed with chloride and sodium. This work was done when the feet and legs

²⁷⁹ Interview, Tadeu Mandumbwe, 28/12/05, Malema.

²⁸⁰ Interview, Zacarias Bento; Interview, Salvina Murima.

of the workers were inside of the water` air.²⁸¹ To make matters worse there was no ventilation and there was only one lamp. That was a difficult situation for workers.²⁸²

The same difficulties existed in Ribáuè, where many settlers did not have huge warehouses. Here, in many warehouses, where tobacco was graded, ventilation came through small windows. However, the women who sorted the tobacco were forced to close the windows, in order to prevent the wind from scattering the leaves of tobacco.²⁸³ Inadequate ventilation promoted disease.

Hygienic conditions were also poor. The conditions in the warehouse of the Roman Catholic Church of Iapala and the richest settlers of Murarelo were said however as those with better conditions; but in reality, none of those warehouses were in conditions to accommodate a large number of workers for tobacco selection.²⁸⁴ For instance, the warehouse of the Roman Catholic Church in Iapala had small space for tobacco selection. The corridors of the warehouse were dark and in winter season, when the wind blew workers felt cold as if they were on the street.²⁸⁵

The main work of men on tobacco farms was: cutting trees, preparing the land and seed, ridging, planting, reseeding in areas of poor germination, taking the care of trees of tobacco, collecting, cutting fire wood, drying and curing the leaves, choosing and preparing the leaves according to standards, tying the bunches, destroying the plant residue of tobacco, construction of driers with trees, slacks, blocks and covering with

²⁸¹ Interview, Alberto Leonardo; Interview, Marcelino Mutepua.

²⁸² Interview, Horácio Mucaleliha.

²⁸³ Interview, Alberto Leonardo.

²⁸⁴ Interview, Horácio Mucaleliha; Interview, Samuel António.

²⁸⁵ Group interview, 02/02/06, Iapala.

grass.²⁸⁶ In all these processes the most difficult work was the drying and curing of tobacco.²⁸⁷

Tobacco was dried in big houses, built bricks usually the length of tobacco dryers was 60 metres and 4,5 meters width and 120 meters of height. These driers had holes where fire was set as well as the thermometer to measure the temperatures during the process of drying Virginia tobacco.

The process of the removal of Virginia tobacco from the driers was a dangerous because driers were very hot, developing toxic gas which sometimes provoked headaches and nausea.²⁸⁸ Because the work of drying the tobacco was so difficult there is limited documentation and investigation by colonial officials. But in reality, there is detailed information on the problem.

In 1929 Morgado, who was a colonial agrarian officer, had reported as follows:

(...) during the period of drying leaves of tobacco the settlers need to pay more attention to workers, because their work is far to reach the desire. Surveillance of greenhouses, especially at night, requires the attention from settlers because the African workers, in accordance to the instructions given to them, they cause many mistakes.²⁸⁹

Some of the respondents witnessed the violence during the drying of tobacco. Workers were forced to be awake during the process of drying and curing tobacco.

²⁸⁶ Abreu, 1959:41

²⁸⁷ Almeida, 1956:267

²⁸⁸ Interview, Marcelino Mutepua.

²⁸⁹ Grilo & Morgado, 1929:295; see, also, Direcção dos Serviços de Agricultura. Tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1934:11

And if a worker tried to sleep, the foreman and guards (oversees) could punish him.²⁹⁰
For workers to show their grievance and anxiety, they sang songs overnight in Emakua such as: Nivareke muteko/ Nivareke muteko/ Wa akunha/ Akunha kanikotheliwa (let's do the work of whites, because nobody can refuse to work for whites).²⁹¹

The settlers did not understand what the song meant. And when the settlers asked the foremen to explain the meaning of the songs, the foremen also did not explain anything to them. The foremen were hiding the meaning of that song by saying that workers are singing because they do not want to fall asleep.²⁹²

As noted above, women were also employed in tobacco farms. The work of women was to collect and select the leaves of tobacco according to their quality. The settlers justified the employment of women by saying that women did not tie the bales of tobacco too tightly. The settlers argued the “head” of bunches less tied should allow to air completely the head; thus, stopping the development of fungus, on the head of bunches.²⁹³

The life on the tobacco farms was characterized by several other aspects. One of these was prostitution. According to Serafim Momade:

There appeared many women, among them adolescents and girls. They appeared dressed in light colored, short and beautiful clothes. They prostituted themselves with workers and settlers in the camps of farms. Most of women appeared at the weekends. All the weekends

²⁹⁰ Interview, Samuel António.

²⁹¹ Interview, Arlindo Muririno, 04/01/06, Nampula .

²⁹² Interview, Arlindo Muririno.

²⁹³ Silva & Borges, 1960: 112-113; Interview, Alberto Leonardo; Almeida, 1956:258-269; António, 1956:278-282; each bunch, locally known by the name of manoca, is a group of 8 or 15 leaves of tobacco (Almeida, 1956)

there were passengers trains, one coming from the city of Nampula and the other coming from Lumbo, on the coast. So, many women arrived by those trains.²⁹⁴

Prostitution was officially banned by the state. However, noting the above testimony, it is clear that prostitution was tolerated in the farms.²⁹⁵ First, one must also take into account that around the camps of workers there were few women. The wives of workers were at home. It must be also understood that not all European staff could bring their families:

The number of single Europeans who stayed at the settlement is exactly the same as married couples. The settlers expelled or who left the settlement were all singles (...) The experience of this settlement, despite its short life still allows us to confirm the view that the settlers married or older than 30 years, offer greater assurance of stability. But we cannot get away from the newly-single young soldiers should be facilitated to allow the circumstances of their marriages. (...) It is important to change the system of dispersion of the couples [of settlers] adopted until here, trying to focus on its core semi-urban, whose benefits outweigh 'a la longue' the possible drawbacks of today.²⁹⁶

The situation of prostitution was so crucial that some settlers took the women in the clubs in the city of Nampula. And one of those clubs had been identified at the time by the name of Pataqueira. The settlers brought to these club women of Mutuali, Malema, Ribáuè and Iapala, with the intention of prostitution, drink and smoke.²⁹⁷

The prostitution in tobacco farms reached such a high degree that in 1966, there was a petition of women against women abuse. This was a petition from a group of white women, which claimed to represent women in Nampula, Ribáuè, Iapala, Malema,

²⁹⁴ Interview, Serafim Momade.

²⁹⁵ Chilundo, 2001:163

²⁹⁶ Leitão, 1969,II:264 and 266

²⁹⁷ Caramelo, 1966:21,33 and 57; Interview, Anita Murula.

Mutuali, and Nova Madeira. They wrote a letter to the colonial Administrator of Malema denouncing the conduct of their husbands in relation to black women on the farms.²⁹⁸

However, as noted above, perhaps prostitution at time may have been tolerated as necessary evils.²⁹⁹ For example, as it was noted later, the letter was received by the authorities, but they did not act to halt prostitution, called locally of jogo clandestino (clandestine game). “The authorities were protecting our husbands. Probably the game is also yielding benefits to the authorities”.³⁰⁰

Another aspect of the work on the tobacco farms was also the problem of child labour. The age of children employed in the farms ranged from 6 to 10 years. The children were mainly employed in farms in the month of November during the rainy season, when tobacco was planted. The work of the children at this time was to spread insecticide, to kill the locusts which ate leaves of tobacco.

During collection time children also participated in harvesting and tying tobacco to the stake; after tying tobacco they were carried with their stakes to the dryers. The children also participated in the selection of tobacco along with women. But children did not earn wages, settlers offered them sweets only.³⁰¹

Another institution that was involved on tobacco production, used unpaid children in their farms and forced them to get marriages by church were the Roman Catholic

²⁹⁸ Caramelo, 1966:53

²⁹⁹ Chilundo, 2001:163

³⁰⁰ Caramelo, 1966:53

³⁰¹ Interview, Arlindo Muririno, see, also, Silva, 1962:182; Beatriz, 1943:80-81

Churches of Iapala and of Nataleia (see appendix E.3; E.4).³⁰² Forced marriages (othelihiwa) by church were introduced by these churches as a form to recruit children.³⁰³ According to Arlindo Muririno, forced marriages consisted of encouraging boys and girls to get married at the Roman Catholic Church boarding schools after six months staying at missions. But those boys and girls worked on the farms for the Catholic Missions.³⁰⁴ Miranda Raposo, who was a colonial inspector, related this matter to unpaid children and explained as follows:

I witnessed that in the pre-nuptial periods, boys and girls are recruited to the Mission for a long period, that in some cases beyond six months of residence in order to be mentally prepared and to receive religious education for canonical marriage. When not learning catechism (...) they go to work on the farms of the Mission, without any remuneration in cash.³⁰⁵

Thus, the Roman Catholic Churches of Iapala and Nataleia used young men and women in the tobacco farms without any payment and forced them to get marriages. Forced marriages exacerbated between 1960 and 1970 because this was the period of prosperity of the Catholic Mission in Nampula namely with the production of

³⁰² For more discussion on the employment of children of the Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique see, also, David Hedges (Hedges, 1985:12); Neves-Tembe, (Neves, 1998:196). The study of Hedges mirrors the situation in whole country, while Neves-Tembe's work is directed to central of Mozambique.

³⁰³ For another perspective on concept of "forced marriages" during the period before 1960 see, Chilundo, 2001:342-345, even Chilundo concluded that these kind of othelihiwa originated because of many reasons, and one of such reasons was to avoid the forced work, a woman got married because wanted to be protected by man (Chilundo, 2001:342). But forced marriages were something strange in Makua culture. Thus, during the 1960s, it appeared as a form of recruitment of workers for the Roman Catholic Churches of Nampula. Also, it seems that during the 1960s were introduced many different forms to access workers in different parts of Mozambique. For example, David António (2000:41), in his study related to sugar production in Incomati Valley, in Southern Mozambique, describes the new methods of recruitment adopted by recruiters during the decade of 1960, which included the promises such as high wages, clothes, food, and drink.

³⁰⁴ Interview, Arlindo Muririno

³⁰⁵ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l.]:1970:115, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; see, also, Caramelo, 1966:38-40

tobacco, maize, peanut and cashew nut and the rearing of cows, chickens, pigs and other animals.³⁰⁶

However, the forced marriages were disliked by local and different segments of population of Nampula. For example, local authority, settlers and population demanded that the priests should stop this practice. The population disliked them because their sons and girls spent long time at Catholic Mission working, but without earning money when they had the colonial obligation to pay hut tax, too. The local governmental staff disliked because they were pressed by traditional chiefs because of the same reason of hut tax and were pressed by settlers because they wanted the youth on their farms.³⁰⁷ This shows that there was a conflict of interest between traditional rulers, settlers and colonial government.

But priests did not liberate the young. They argued that the settlers complained because they feared competition on tobacco production sector and wanted the youth free to work on their farms.³⁰⁸

Arlindo Muririno who was forced to marry described some details on how the Catholic Church of Nataleia acted:

Boys and girls stayed in the same boarding. They were not allowed to attend other school; because they came to Mission - said priests - to get marriage and not to study. While waiting for the wedding day, the only thing they did was work all day in the fields and care for the animals of the Mission. (...) but, not everything went well for girls. Some girls were not

³⁰⁶ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:115-116, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

³⁰⁷ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:165, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

³⁰⁸ See Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:165, AHM, ISANI, Cx.88; Caramelo, 1966:37-38 and 194

being selected by boys. Therefore, they remained without getting married because of several reasons. Therefore, some of these women left the Mission after Independence. And because they remained in the mission, some of them became cipaio (foreman). They captured other girls to work in the Mission. I even got married in this complicated process of marriages, through the Roman Church.³⁰⁹

The story of Arlindo Muririno was not the only one; Alberto José was one of those who got married in these circumstances, from Iapala Catholic Mission:

After six months, the boys and girls, staying at the Mission of Iapala, the priest formed two lines facing each other. One line was for the boys and the other was for the girls. Then, each boy pointed to the girl in front of him. Finally, the chosen girl should be the woman of that boy that chose her. But, after the marriage, if a conflict arises between them and raises the idea of divorce, the priest said he and Mission had no other alternative to resolve the situation, because what God had united no one can separate.³¹⁰

The forced marriages by churches, however, had negative implications on Makua society. The respect that characterizes the marriages of Makua society was gradually eroded where previously as Chilundo argued among Makua, all marriages were realized by mutual consent.³¹¹

Additionally Martinez argues that marriage amongst Makua population had a great social value which was followed from the beginning to the end of the process. For example it was followed by a sequence of rituals, until the conclusion of the marriage process.

³⁰⁹ Interview, Arlindo Muririno.

³¹⁰ Interview, Alberto José.

³¹¹ Chilundo, 2001:343

The rituals during marriages are most important because they increased the respect and future of the family as well of the Makua society at large.³¹² This view of Martinez was strongly supported by oral evidence. Informants recalled that compulsory forced marriages created many illiterates in Nampula during the colonial period:

What we did not like was not simple marriage or we wanted to forbid our sons and our daughters to marry. What was not wanted, however, was the way they were forced to get marriage. First, it was a sad marriage. Since the days of our ancestors when someone marries the families prepared food and otheka (local beer brewed from maize and sugar) and people celebrated. Second, our girls lost the opportunity to be in contact with their mothers. Therefore, if a woman grows up without parental contact with her mother, [she] has not participated in the rituals of puberty, she losses the value of being a woman in the Makua culture. Finally, the wedding did not provide an adequate protection especially for girls. Maybe, the girl could marry someone, when, in fact, she did not know him well or he did not know her well too. For this reason, many marriages ended in divorce. And the priest said simply that there was no other way could allow divorce.³¹³

Samuel António, who was colonial traditional chief, witnessed that in some traditional chiefs denounced forced marriages in banja (meeting) organized by colonial administrators with local population. They declared that forced marriages and the situation of employment of young people in the farms of the Missions were oppressive.³¹⁴

³¹² Martinez, 1988:175

³¹³ Interview, Alberto José.

³¹⁴ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:165, AHM,ISANI,Cx. 88. According to Cahen (1990:63), banja, was meeting involving colonial administrators, traditional leaders and population with presence of inspector, where the population expressed their problems, dynastic succession, problems with animals, abuses practised by leaders, etc.

Not surprisingly, of those traditional leaders were accused by the colonial authorities of being puppets of FRELIMO and some of them went to jail because colonial authorities saw them acting in behalf of FRELIMO.³¹⁵ The colonial authorities did not pay attention to three aspects behind the erosion of the concept of work: the forms of recruitment described above, wages and working conditions.

In fact, cheap labour had become endemic on tobacco farms. For example, in Iapala, those settlers who were merchants and at the same time owners of tobacco farm often paid their workers in goods such as the capulanas, salted meat, plates, knives, glasses, and other products.³¹⁶

Wages paid on the farms were too low and not sufficient to solve the small problems of the family of the workers. In 1962, the government was introduced new salary scale in Mozambique. The salary scale provided that, in the agricultural field, the monthly salary for unskilled workers would be 90,00 escudos and 3,00 escudos per day.³¹⁷ These salaries were not sufficient to attract an adequate number of African workers to work in the tobacco farms.

Also, the salaries were inadequate because worker was using them to solve many problems. For example, the same amount could be used to pay tax and to solve other problems affecting the families of the worker. Thus, the wage was not enough to keep workers in working life. Therefore, for the colonial government and settlers used

³¹⁵ Interview, Samuel António.

³¹⁶ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè, [s.l]:1970:23, AHM,ISANI,Cx. 88

³¹⁷ Coelho, 1962:119-120

coercive measures to convince the Africans to work in the colonial economic projects, including the farms of tobacco.

For example, in Iapala the settlers instead of paying attractive salaries to their workers, they preferred to give money to régulos (traditional leaders), to facilitate the recruitment of workers. Consequently, many traditional chiefs and foremen, who benefited from that money and some equipment, could, moreover, manage to accumulate some money later invested in the economic area related to black Africans.

Salvina Murima, for example, of Iapala, testified that African men hunted animals for the traditional chiefs and women often worked in their tobacco and cotton farms. These leaders during the period of transformation of tobacco production sector directly received from the government implements such as hoes, machetes and financial support from the Tobacco Board, thus, became black tobacco 'settlers'. And this, therefore, led to social differentiation of the population.³¹⁸

Mainly, during the period of famine many Africans worked for those traditional chiefs who benefited economic resources from colonial government. Thus, those chiefs increased the number of African people working for them on their farms in view to receive food. Therefore, in this context, the Africans were subjected to become poorer. Thus, all these were the characteristics of the concept of work in Nampula. As a result, those traditional chiefs accumulated goods such as bicycles, radios, and

³¹⁸ Interview, Salvina Murima.

clothing as well as agricultural equipment which increased differentiations between them and the rest of peasants.³¹⁹

But, from 1969, there was a significant and positive change in labour issues in Nampula. The colonial government started to enforce the full implementation of the changes of 1961 as well as the labour law of 1962 in the colonies.³²⁰ But, in its essence, the erosion of work ethic, the forms of forced labour continued until Independence.

The drive towards full implementation of the labour law in the tobacco production sector involved actors such as agronomists. The colonial government agronomists were entitled to raise awareness of the settlers in matters of rural extension, or about the reduction of the numbers of the labour force. The agronomists advised the settlers to produce the Burley tobacco, which did not require many workers:

It is very encouraging Burley tobacco, less demanding than the Virginia tobacco, investments in land, supporting small deviations better, technique or carelessness, and thus suitable for the beginners, as well as do not employ many workers on the farms – a factor to be considered.³²¹

While the colonial government was interested in reduction of forced labour, the settlers responded to the government by noting that “tobacco production requires the use of more workers because most of the work [was] not executed by machinery”.³²²

³¹⁹ Lima, 1963:48.

³²⁰ Interview, João Veranique; see, also, Clarence-Smith, 1985:214-215

³²¹ Leitão, 1969,I:229

³²² Lima, 1963:48

Settlers attempted to evade by implementation of labour law and continue to benefit from forced labour by using the argument that settlers should employ peasants as part of their mission to civilize blacks:

We heard that the administrative authorities do not interfere strictly in worker's problems.

We understand and accept that they should not be allowed to interfere in the recruitment of workers, but we cannot accept the state of ignorance that these populations are.³²³

Settlers resisted the law enforcement appeal by adopting new ways of recruitment and retention of their labourers. The settlers of Ribáuè and the richest settlers of Murarelo who used the largest numbers of workers are a case in point. There is evidence which suggested that every night the settlers showed films in the camps for workers. These films portrayed the images of vadio (loafer). He was exposed as lazy because he did not want to pay tax. Consequently, the loafer was viewed as a person who escapes to pay tax and every moment is running away. The images were used also for different objectives, such as the work of rural extension and marketing strategy for tobacco production. For example, the images were used as marketing strategy, in sense to make other settlers of other areas such as Niassa, Manica and Tete Provinces in Mozambique;³²⁴ and Azores and Madeira, in Portugal to be interested in tobacco production in Mozambique.³²⁵

In general, when the interviewees were asked they responded by saying that there has not been any change in relation to the effective implementation of the law of the 1961.

They maintained the same opinion that the effective implementation of labour law

³²³ Lima, E. Guerreiro de. "Grémio dos produtores de tabaco: processo geral, 1972-1974". [Documento V/7], AHM, FGG,Cx.915

³²⁴ See "Alguns aspectos da produção do tabaco no Distrito de Tete". *Economia de Moçambique*, n° 10, Vol. III, 1966; Leitão, 1969,I; Leitão, 1969,II.

³²⁵ See Ministry of Agriculture (National Institute of Agronomic Investigation) – Maputo; Interview, Alberto Momola.

was gradually enforced, but, due to the political and military situation in Northern Mozambique, as reported Mr João Veranique:

From the late 1960s and especially at the start of the 1970 decade, we started seeing an attitude of softness of the settlers in the recruitment of workers. And because of this softness, some insolent peasants tried to beat the recruiters sent by settlers and other administration authorities to recruit workers in the locations. Previously nobody tried to hit a settler or another administrator. If someone tried to hit him the recruiter or settler he was arrested for life sentence. But I think that the softness was because of the liberation struggle. I remember that during the struggle for Independence some people escaped from here to join FRELIMO, for example, in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces. Also, here, in Ribáuè was central hospital for Portuguese soldiers that were sick and wounded during combat. Moreover, those houses that you see there today, Secondary School of Ribáuè, in colonial times, used to be the centre of Portuguese war veterans. Therefore, I believe that when the settlers saw that many Portuguese soldiers were dying, they reduced the oppression of the Mozambican. And the softness of the settlers did not take long; we heard that today is the day of Independence of Mozambique.³²⁶

For this reason, for the workers the beginning of the liberation struggle in the country and its expansion in Northern of Mozambique meant also the release of the population from the oppression and exploitation in tobacco farms.

4.4 Conclusion

Between 1962 and 1975 forced labour became a reality in Nampula, which posed challenges to the colonial authorities to implement the new labour law on one hand. But the settlers did not have sufficient capital to modernize tobacco production in order to avoid forced labour.

³²⁶ Interview, João Veranique; see, also, Juergensen, 1996:137; Habrahamsson & Nilson, 1994:30; Clarence-Smith, 1985:227; Lima, 1963:48

In this context, the settlers continued to use forced labour to produce tobacco and other agrarian products that African people were forced to produce. To force the peasants to work on their farms, they adopted different forms of recruitment. They used cartoons, forced marriages and colonial agents and local authorities to forcibly recruited men, women and children as well as volunteers.

On the other hand, working conditions, salaries, and wellbeing of the work force did not improve. The worker continued to receive low wages and sometimes some workers were paid in kinds. There was also women and child abuse, according to the information gathered during fieldwork.

CHAPTER 5: RURAL FORMS OF RESISTANCE [1962-1975]

5.1 Introduction

Several references were made to the difficulties of the colonial government in implementing changes. With these difficulties the settlers extended forced labour on their farms. This chapter will attempt to identify the two forms of rural struggle attempted by workers of tobacco farms in Nampula in order to resist forced labour. By so doing, the chapter will consider how these aspects of resistance were crucial for the composition of FRELIMO, at its foundation during 1960s.

5.2 Absenteeism

Hedges and Chilundo described the period of 1945-1961 in Mozambique as the period of resistance against different forms of colonial exploitation. In their description of resistance, they included absenteeism as a form of resistance carried out by workers.³²⁷ However, they described absenteeism until the year of 1961 and in general as a form of workers' expression of their discontent at work in and around country. In this dissertation, absenteeism is analysed as being one of the specific forms of workers' ongoing resistance on the tobacco farms in Nampula against the continuation of forced labour, in the period after 1961.

Absenteeism on the settlers' farms in Nampula was not a new phenomenon and it does not have one single explanation. In 1932, José Torres, a colonial agronomist, described the abandonment of work by African workers as follows:

³²⁷ Hedges & Chilundo, 1999:198-249

There is no doubt that the Africans of Mozambique, taken to the mines on the Rand as is done, taken to São Tome, even led to the territories of Manica and Sofala, reveals the best qualities of work, attendance service, perfect adaptability to the most varied environments, and is everywhere appreciated for their qualities, for their sweetness. There is also no doubt the worker in his own land, shows an irresistible tendency to abandon service, to leave work. They are not attracted by high wages, are not attracted by the bonus, small tasks to be concluded in a reduced number of hours. There are extraordinary cases, as recently noted, of workers who had not come into service since 1922. Nothing within the organization of the work that they abandoned, led them to leave the service, except merima.³²⁸

However, in this short passage, although Torres had mentioned the absconding of workers on the settler's farms, he did not understand the reason for their action. Hence, as he expressed in Emakua language, the cause for abandonment of work was simply the uncertainty of merima (hearts).

During the 1970s the Association of Tobacco Producers, also tried to explain the reason for absenteeism arguing that it was a consequence of weak intervention on the recruitment of workers by the colonial authorities:

We hear that from now the administrative authorities strongly reduced their intervention on the recruitment of workers. (...) But [we think] this weak intervention could not be permitted to those workers who signed freely the contract to work for some settler, (...) if we accept this level of absenteeism we are creating a professional vadio (loafer).³²⁹

Also although the association described the situation of absconding, they did not capture the workers' reason for absenteeism in tobacco farms. Because Hedges and

³²⁸ Torres, 1932:178

³²⁹ Lima, E. Guerreiro de. "Grémio dos produtores de tabaco: processo geral, 1972-1974". [Documento V/7], AHM,FGG,Cx.915

Chilundo stated that during the period before 1960s, colonial authorities interfered on absenteeism matters through administrative measures such as punishments.³³⁰

The findings from fieldwork reveal that escape and absenteeism were forms of resistance against forced labour in general and more specifically as the result of forced recruitment, poor wages and unsuitable working conditions on plantations. These issues caused tensions between workers and settlers. From this perspective, absenteeism was the most commonly used method by workers to express their bitterness.

There is a lack of quantitative data to measure the intensity of absenteeism in each place. But there is qualitative evidence. However, once recruited and put on farms could leave work citing reasons of illness. Thus, he could ask to go to the hospital. It is illustrated for example by Cardoso Leveriano:

I began working on tobacco farms when I was child, at the age of 7; I worked for many settlers (...) and my work consisted mostly on drying tobacco; I confess that many times I asked my patrão (settler) complaining that my family is sick, therefore I am going to accompany them to hospital. But in reality, it was a form of taking a rest from the suffering of the farms. The cipaios (security guards) exactly knew that we abandoned the service because we wanted to rest at home some days. And I was not the only one who did so; every worker did so in their different farms. It happened on cotton and sisal farms. When a person was permitted he could abandon work for many weeks, even never return again.³³¹

Beside this kind of desertion, there was the abandonment of work because the worker got service in another location, for example. In fact, the abandonment of work was

³³⁰ Hedges & Chilundo, 1999:214

³³¹ Interview, Cardoso Leveriano, 28/12/05, Iapala

related to a high range of opportunities offered in Nampula. Nampula had farms of sisal and coconut trees in Moma and António Enes and railway construction in Malema. For example, Mr João Veranique worked on three economic projects located in Nampula. He started to work on the railway in Malema at the end of the 1950s. Then, he went to António Enes to work on coconut plantations and at the beginning of the 1960s he was working in the tobacco farms of settler Morgado.³³²

In fact, Hedges and Chilundo have shown in general terms for the pre-1960 period, with statistics, the high degree of desertion and measurements taken by the colonial government to remedy the situation. For example, it was mentioned that the number of workers that were absent from sisal plantations in Nampula during the period 1950 to 1960 averaged 60 percent. And often, the colonial authorities tried to solve this kind of feedback by means of administrative measures.³³³

But, although there was a high degree of repression and control, there were other measures to reduce forms of labour resistance. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s both settlers and colonial authorities introduced other new counter resistance measures. The counter resistance strategy was adopted by the settlers from the farms in Ribáuè in coordination with the Association of Tobacco Producers of Malema authorities. The settlers and authorities played films for the workers living in the hostels in order to keep the workers the premises and avoid absenteeism, Zacarias Bento:

I have been a security guard of this warehouse since 1970, the time when settlers were here.

But before becoming security I worked in the tobacco farms. I used to watch this kind of films

³³² Interview, João Veranique.

³³³ Hedges & Chilundo, 1999:214

in the Association of Tobacco Producers, the Agronomic Post of Ribáuè, and the settlement of Ribáuè as well as richest settlers of Murarelo that had a large number of workers. In the hostels they projected the films showing, essentially, pictures describing the life of a loafer. For example his body was characterized by several aspects: weak, abandoning work and as who could not get money to pay his mussoco.³³⁴

Findings from the study have shown that absenteeism, however, was not the only form of resistance encountered by workers in tobacco plantations. Finally, there were those workers who preferred or decided to escape.

5.3 Escape

The most common and effective form by which the workers found to express their dissatisfaction with forced recruitment, hardworking conditions, low wages, was escape. The tobacco workers could flee to the areas where the colonial administration was less efficient in terms of surveillance, for example, at boundaries between Zambézia and Nampula Provinces and also they should escape to join to the liberation movements which were being formed in neighbouring countries.

Often, the workers and the population fled to districts where the severity of recruitment was much less, such as the Reserve of Mogovolas in Nampula Province; also they could flee to neighbouring colonies where, in general, the Mozambicans were considered to be cheap labour, but they still managed to get higher wages than in Mozambique.

³³⁴ Interview Zacarias Bento.

Particularly, in the areas of tobacco production, due to the low level of education, farm workers usually opted to flee hard-to-reach areas instead of escaping to neighboring countries, but to where they could still get assistance from their family members. In 1966, a Portuguese writer noted that thousands of workers from tobacco farms of Mount Murarelo (in Malema), subjected to intensive exploitation and forced labour decided to run away. Some of them fled into the bush, others to Mount Inago, and many others to Nyasaland and Tanzania. They fled soon after the introduction of the tobacco production campaign. As the writer noted, the Mount Inago is far from Malema-central area; it was about 200 kms. However, they covered that distance because it was easy to reach other provinces such as Niassa and Zambézia Provinces.³³⁵

But, the effect of the escape as a form of workers' expression of resistance fed into the main stream of nationalist politics. Some workers acquired political consciousness and took part in FRELIMO during its formation.³³⁶

For example, Eduardo Nihia, states that in 1963 he acquired black political consciousness as result of forced labour in tobacco plantations and cotton production. The socio-economic situation of the population and workers in tobacco plantations was the concern. Eduardo Nihia, himself a native of Nampula and founding member of FRELIMO, after attending school in Nauela (Molocuè district) – Zambézia Province - with the Swiss missionary church, was not accepted to continue his studies at the city of Nampula.

³³⁵ Caramelo, 1966:128 and 267; see, also, Interview, Eduardo Nihia.

³³⁶ Negrão, José. "A Produção e o Comércio nas Zonas Libertadas". Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1984:2; for more information on the concept of "political consciousness" see, Bonner, P. "Family, crime and Political consciousness on the East Rand, 1939-1955". In: Journal of Southern Africa Studies, Vol. 14, No 3, 1988:417

According to him, he was then forced by the Colonial administration of Malema to work in the tobacco farms of Murarelo. Here, Nihia, attended agrarian school. After graduating, he was re-appointed by the principal of school to work for the Association of Tobacco Producers in Malema:

(...) So when the headmaster took me to work at the Tobacco Processing Factory, the head of the Tobacco Processing Factory put me at the mesa principal (head table), which was the table from which we could control selected tobacco bales. At the table, you need to be careful with the selection of tobacco bales made by the settler. My job was to sort and weigh all tobacco bales coming from the farms. For example, the settlers could bring their tobacco bales which had been classified. We repeatedly opened the tobacco bales for standard verification to see whether his verification was accurate or not. And many times, we found discrepancies; specially the tobacco coming from Mandimba (Niassa Province), was very poorly selected and therefore was poorly ranked. Tobacco from Mandimba was very mixed. Often, the tobacco category one was mixed with tobacco category four, for example. And that meant the settler could be convinced that he left with us two tonnes of tobacco, but after its re-classification, we could find only one tonne of tobacco. My life began here. Because, when the settler came back to fetch his money and it does not correspond to the expected value for it, the settlers poured their anger on me. And often, these quarrels caused me concerns, and questions of the type of what to do.³³⁷

However, this was not the only fact that led Eduardo Nihia to escape from farms and then to join FRELIMO:

One day I decided also to watch the cotton marketing. It happened that in this day a black man, was weighing his cotton and it weighed 15 kilogram. However, the person who was at the head table, instead of writing 15 kilogram he wrote 150 kilogram in the invoice and told him to go to get his money from the counter. But when the man went to the counter to receive

³³⁷ Interview, Eduardo Nihia; more detail on tobacco selection see, also, Leitão, 1969,I:230

his money, he was isolated. He was considered as clever man. They waited for until they have attended every cotton seller and then the man was called for punishment. And they beat the man badly. That day, I discussed with the settlers about this situation. I asked to them why they beat the man, if they knew that the man was illiterate; therefore, he did not know really what had been written on his invoice. That discussion also marked my life and my decision to escape to join FRELIMO.³³⁸

Therefore, for Eduardo Nihia, his decision to oppose the colonial system was motivated by the suffering of workers and of the peasants in general. Similarly, it was in this context and in the same year that Eduardo Nihia decided to flee from the tobacco production sector in Malema to join FRELIMO in Tanzania.

In 1964, in the clandestine deployment of FRELIMO, Nihia returned to Nampula from Tanzania to spread the message to the population about the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique and to contact a number of traditional leaders to support the liberation war and FRELIMO. On his duties he met with some traditional leaders namely, the chief Mpuhua in Lalaua location and others. Later these traditional leaders were imprisoned by the colonial government because of their connection with FRELIMO.

Two years later, in 1966, in Iapala location, some of the population were accused by the colonial government of supporting FRELIMO and some food items were discovered; the food should be send to FRELIMO soldiers that were stationed in Mount Inago in Malema and Tanzania.³³⁹ What all these indicated was a growing

³³⁸ Interview, Eduardo Nihia.

³³⁹ Interview, Eduardo Nihia.

sense of solidarity in Northern Mozambique. Rural resistance had played a key role in movement for liberation of Mozambique from its foundation:

[But] [t]he heterogeneity of the composition of FRELIMO, during its foundation, was the cause of indecision on the type of struggle that could be adopt[ed]. The unidade (solidarity) among various representative elements of different social groups was constructed on the basis of a nationalist consciousness embryonic. In the FRELIMO's composition there are people coming directly from settlers farms or peasants from zones where forced crops were in force, together with those like Urias Simango and Lázaro Kavandame who represented a group of people coming from small urban middle-class and from small farmers that explored a workforce from the peasants in their farms.³⁴⁰

But, the forms of peasant resistance described above prompted different responses from the colonial authorities. Initially, one of these responses that also extended to the late 1960s was the use of the law. Vail & Leroy point out that the labour law of 1899 could be brought to bear against such problems as absenteeism in crop production. However, the law could not avoid completely the problems of abandonment of employees. For example, there were complaints registered by the companies in 1930 and complaints by the settlers of tobacco production in the 1940s on the high levels of absenteeism.³⁴¹

Similarly, it is true that amongst other things tobacco law served as an instrument to prevent the possibility of a struggle from peasants against forced labour. To this end, it is notable for example that in 1966, the new statutes of the Association of Tobacco Producers in its Art. 16 argued: “to represent its members (settlers) in terms of recruitment of workers for their activities and to support them during the celebration

³⁴⁰ Negrão, José. “A Produção e o comércio nas Zonas Libertadas”. Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1984:2. See also, Clarence-Smith, 1985:216

³⁴¹ Vail & White, 1980:145, 280 and 366; Chilundo, 2001:215

of the contracts between worker and his patrão (settler)”.³⁴² According to this extract, the tobacco law was also the guardian of forced labour in tobacco farms.

Prior the 1960, there were also other ways of reducing absenteeism and escape. One of these attempts to avoid absenteeism was to take workers to court where they could be sentenced to period of three to six months of correctional labour.³⁴³

By the end of the 1960s there were some signs of a shift, but at sometime during the period from 1968 was characterized by retaining some, attracting more and preventing workers from fleeing from farms and their contact with the guerillas. There was the creation of picadas (roads). Along these roads were constructed villages, primarily, for cotton production. But, the development of settler’ farming in the 1960s was characterized by a decline of picadas. They declined in their role as a basis for the small market production.

But, the picadas acquired a new importance as an instrument of counter-insurgency during the war of Independence. In Nampula, the peasants who had resisted until then to be placed along the picadas during the decade of the 1950s, were from 1968 forced by colonial authorities to relocate their houses along picadas, so that the colonial state could have better control over them and to prevent them from contacting the guerrillas and to continue working for settlers’ farms.³⁴⁴ These settlements were also intended to

³⁴² Boletim Oficial de Moçambique, I Série, No 06, de 05 de Fevereiro de 1966:179, Portaria 19.157

³⁴³ Hedges & Chilundo, 1999:215

³⁴⁴ Dinerman, 1999:100; Geffray, C. e Pedersen, M. “Transformação da organização social e do sistema agrário do campesinato no Distrito do Erati: processo de socialização do campo e diferenciação social”. Maputo, Departamento de Arqueologia e Antropologia, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane e Ministerio de Agricultura, 1985:50-60; Branquinho, J. A. G. M. “Prospecção das Forças Tradicionais. Distrito de Moçambique”. Governo-Geral de Moçambique. Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações. Lourenço Marques, 1969:116, AHM, Secção Especial, 20

reduce journeys taken by administrators and settlers; and to reduce costs of transport.³⁴⁵ For example, in Iapala the workers were concentrated alongside picada that easily links to the main road that connects the provinces of Nampula and Niassa.

In Ribáuè the concentration at the picada was started in 1971. It started from the railway station until the centre of Ribáuè and extended about 12 kms. In comparison to Malema and Iapala, this picada had a major concentration of population and severe control.

In Malema, a picada started from Entre-Rios location and stretched a few kilometers to the centre of Malema. In fact, as Mr João Veranique who worked in tobacco farms explained: those workers who fled, if re-captured were forced to construct their houses along the picadas; and those who were suspected of having contact with the soldiers of the Mozambique liberation war were placed in picadas under the close surveillance of colonial authorities.³⁴⁶

Although these rural experiences of picadas were of a short duration as a counter-insurgency strategy, this was the last attempt of colonial administration system that supported the colonial forced labour since 1899.³⁴⁷ In 1975, the Independence of Mozambique was proclaimed. The new government promised to do away with forced labour.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Interview, João Veranique.

³⁴⁶ Interview, João Veranique.

³⁴⁷ Interview, João Veranique.

³⁴⁸ See, inter alia, Constituição da República Popular de Moçambique. Maputo: Imprensa Nacional, 1975; Frelimo, Directivas Económicas e Sociais do III Congresso. Maputo, Frelimo, 1977; Mondlane, E. The struggle for Mozambique. Harmondsworth, 1969; “Aldeias Comunitárias: o Presente e o Futuro”. Tempo (Maputo), n°359 (21 August 1977)

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter is dedicated to the forms of rural resistance in tobacco farms of the settlers. It has analyzed both absenteeism and escape indicated the workers response to the forced labour. Finally, it has looked at political actors that have played, and still play a key role in the country and shows that their political consciousness started in the tobacco farms.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study focused on the period from 1961 to 1975 but it also summarised the context of colonial experience in Northern Mozambique before 1961, out of which tobacco production emerged. It described the environment, population, forms of colonial administration and economy. In terms of colonial tobacco production regime, there are two successive periods: (i) the first period runs from the establishment of tobacco production regime to the labour law reforms (1941-1961), and (ii) the second period runs from the abolition of forced labour, the beginning of rural transformations, to National Independence (1961-1975).

At the beginning, tobacco production was especially on activity of African peasants. The African communities in the hinterland produced the wheels of tobacco that were sold on the coast and other regions. They were sold for cash or exchanged for other products.

But, with the imposition of rules on the production of tobacco during the first period, the peasant producers began to experience difficulties created by the imposition of controls and forced labour on tobacco production. A new era began characterized by discriminatory action in the production of tobacco. The latter era assigned a superior role to the settlers at the expense of African peasants who were now going to be simply suppliers of labour to the farms of the settlers. Despite this trend of excluding peasant producers the government did try to include some African families in the production of tobacco, but with little success.

The colonial government set out to modernize the tobacco production sector and to abolish forced labour in the period from 1961 to 1975. The objectives of this second period were clear. From the standpoint of the system of tobacco production, one can say that in the second period, the government sought to increase tobacco production for domestic consumption and export to Portugal. Besides the purely economic objectives, the government also abolished forced labour due to the rise of African nationalist movements in most countries in Africa, sparked by the beginning of the liberation struggle in Angola in 1961.

In the economic sphere, between 1960 and 1975, there were tentative attempts by the government to mechanize the production of tobacco, and the sector was allocated some agricultural incentives, some capital and there was improvement of seeds. The economic effects of the change that occurred are illustrated in Table 4.1. In particular, the table shows improvement of tobacco production the objective desired by the colonial government.

But, in other hand, there was the crisis of tobacco trading expressed by limitations on accessibility to internal and international markets. Beside this situation of lack of markets for the sale of tobacco, the tobacco sector continued to be dogged by unresolved issues from the past and new problems emerged to further complicate the situation. There were problems with the insufficiency of technological assistance, the delays in the availability of capital, problems regarding insufficiency of rural extension staff as well as a host of other problems. Economically, therefore, the measures recommended for the production of tobacco did not evolve simultaneously with the accessility of markts.

Change also occurred in the social sphere. From 1961 to 1975 forced labour was legally abolished and a new law of work was passed, which was expected to end the abuses of workers. The new law gave freedom to every African to seek employment. However, even in the social sphere, there were problems as well. The new law of work was not implemented immediately. On the contrary, it was only gradually implemented around the late 1960s. Settlers continued to forcibly recruit workers and even introduced new ways to attract new workers and retain the existing ones on the farms. Moreover, the wages and working conditions of workers in the farms were not improved. For its part, the Roman Catholic of Iapala and Nataleia also employed unpaid child labour in their agricultural fields, through forced marriages.

While some African blacks were selected to participate in the tobacco production in this period of change, the majority of the population of Nampula continued to serve the farms as wage earners. In social terms, therefore, the law of work did not significantly improve in practice the situation of the peasants in the Nampula province.

Thus, the transformation of the 1960s resulted in increase of tobacco production, but the change did not develop the life of the Makua population. In fact, as Borges Coelho pointed out, the change was based on political economy of Development Plan and on laws of 1961, but spite the integration of peasants, the settlers still occupied the forefront of this development strategy.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ Coelho, 1993:150 and 157; Leite, 1989:221-254 and 289; for more information on communitarian development see, (Coelho, 1993:155); and for the difference between economic growth and development see, Shafer, (1989:8) who argues that economic growth is linked to the area of

Workers' conditions remained the same. In fact, what happened in this period of transformation were a combination of economic incentives and the continuation of exploitation of the local population. They continued to serve as employees on the farms. The continuation of abuses of workers resulted in the inception of the forms of resistance that impacted on the political consciousness of men, women and youth in the Province of Nampula.

Besides those focal points, the study also focused on the issue of rural resistance. During the period of transition peasants suffered the effects of tobacco production, forced labour and with it emerged various forms of resistance against those issues. These forms of resistance contributed to the development of Front for the Liberation of Mozambique.

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7.5 Interviews

Nº	Name	Surname	Place	Date
1	Alberto	José	Iapala	04/05/02
2	Alberto	Momola	Iapala	28/12/05
3	Alberto	Leonardo	Ribáuè	20/02/02
4	Anita	Murula	Malema	29/12/05
5	António	Ussene	Ribáuè	26/04/02
6	Arlindo	Muririno	Nampula	04/01/06
7	Augusto	Capisso	Ribáuè	25/04/02
8	Eduardo	Nihia	Nampula	31/12/05
9	Cardoso	Leveriano	Iapala	28/12/05
10	Group interview	-	Iapala	02/02/06
11	Horácio	Mucaleliha	Malema	08/05/02
12	Inácio	Namutura	Malema	29/12/05
13	João	Veranique	Iapala	04/05/02
14	Maurício	Colete	Malema	29/12/05
15	Marcelino	Mutepua	Iapala	02/02/06
16	Murinvona	Muhavo	Ribáuè	25/04/02
17	Nizete	Muakalaka	Iapala	28/12/05
18	Salvina	Murima	Iapala	28/12/05
19	Samuel	António	Ribáuè	23/04/02
20	Serafim	Momade	Ribáuè	27/04/02
21	Tadeu	Mandumbwe	Malema	28/12/05
22	Zacarias	Bento	Malema	29/12/05

7.6 APPENDIX

APPENDIX - A: MAPS

A1: Map 1: Map of Mozambique – Provinces and the area of study³⁵⁰

³⁵⁰ Source: Adapted from: Ministry of Agriculture. National Coordinate of Land and Forest (Mozambique). 1990

A2: Map 2: Map of Africans' tobacco production in Mozambique³⁵¹

³⁵¹ Direcção dos Serviços de Agricultura. Tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1934:4

A3: Map 3: Map of Settlers' tobacco production in Mozambique, 1929-1930³⁵²

³⁵² Direcção dos Serviços de Agricultura. Tabaco. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1934:3

APPENDIX - B: PICTURES

B1: The preparation of Dark tobacco to become rapé (snuff)³⁵³

³⁵³ Pimenta, 1941:53

B2: Bocetas – small boxes made of wood or of horn used by Africans of Maputo to keep rapé (snuff)³⁵⁴

³⁵⁴ Pimenta, 1941:54 and 59

B3: Consumption of rapé (snuff) by Africans (Chope and Ronga) people of Southern Mozambique³⁵⁵

³⁵⁵ Pimenta, 1941:60

B4: Consumption of rapé (snuff) by Africans (Makonde) people of Northern Mozambique³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Pimenta, 1941:66

B5: Africans selling Dark tobacco at small market of Xipamanine in Maputo³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Pimenta, 1941:65

APPENDIX - C: TOBACCO IN MOZAMBIQUE

C1: Areas and production of tobacco of settlers in Mozambique, 1929-1940

Districts	1929-1930		1934-1935			
	Hectares	Kilos	Hectares	Kilos	Hectares	
Lourenço Marques--	29	16.448	67,5	24.360	25,75	8.767
Inhambane-----	26	11.000	-	-	41,72	13.000
Manica e Sofala-----	26,5	12.040	2	1.661	-	-
Tete-----	3	10.000	-	-	-	-
Quelimane-----	573	191.108	326	59.000	100	60.000
Moçambique-----	89,5	44.580	164	102.000	130	59.800
Porto Amélia-----	6,3	1.882	-	-	-	-
	773,3	287.058	-	-	-	-

Districts	1937-1938		1938-1939		1939-1940	
	Hectares	Kilos	Hectares	Kilos	Hectares	Kilos
Lourenço Marques--	88,75	23.065	155,31	39.340	223,67	55.750
Inhambane-----	81,5	8.343	50,6	13.310	33	7.000
Manica e Sofala-----	-	-	-	-	26,5	13.000
Tete-----	-	-	-	-	-	-
Quelimane-----	70	34.120	173,5	92.815	197	93.301
Moçambique-----	138	50.800	191	90.996	289	-
Porto Amélia-----	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	769,17	-

Source: Beatriz, 1943:77-78

APPENDIX - D: TOBACCO IN NAMPULA

D1: Traffic of tobacco by railway of Nampula (tons), 1930-1960: sale and exportations

1930	-----
1931	-----
1932	-----85
1933	-----104
1934	-----64
1935	-----85
1936	-----
1937	-----92
1938	-----106
1939	-----110
1940	-----195
1941	-----145
1942	-----124
1943	-----304
1944	-----306
1945	-----414
1946	-----359
1947	-----707
1948	-----425
1949	-----489
1950	-----702
1951	-----662
1952	-----617
1953	-----956
1954	-----851
1955	-----949
1956	-----859
1957	-----1 406
1958	-----1 567
1959	-----1 698
1960	-----2 306

Source: Adapted from: Chilundo, 2001:402-407

D2: Total tobacco production (kg) in Nampula Province, 1941-1969³⁵⁸

Year	Ribáuè	Malema	Nampula Province
1941	146 800	-	-
1942	-	-	-
1943	35 504	212 100	247 604
1944	57 600	270 700	328 300
1945	75 955	229 490	305 445
1946	44 796	270 300	315 096
1947	61 211	328 633	389 844
1948	98 495	353 010	355 182
1949	59 548	256 687	316 235
1950	111 900	358 573	470 473
1951	113 307	333 300	446 607
1952	164 260	380 370	544 630
1953	145 253	307 418	452 671
1954	137 954	377 021	514 975
1955	321 350	416 076	737 426
1956	418 877	428 042	846 919
1957	487 724	332 564	820 288
1958	523 980	404 459	928 439
1959	707 093	598 390	1 305 483
1960	718 751	439 451	1 158 202
1961	690 031	410 647	1 100 678
1962	604 527	326 670	931 197
1963	869 194	514 949	1 384 143
1964	962 290	501 555	1 463 845
1965	1 104 014	590 597	1 694 611
1966	919 400	664 231	1 583 631
1967	-	-	1 810 800
1968	-	-	1 888 600
1969	-	-	2 027 400

³⁵⁸ Adapted from *Estatística Agrícola*, 1941-1969. It is important to mention that, in relation to tobacco, when *Estatística Agrícola* shows the numbers of total tobacco production from Nampula district (today Nampula Province) only refer to Ribáuè and Malema, that were the two nuclear areas of tobacco production in that province. And this dissertation adopts the same perspective.

D3: Tobacco: Production, area and productivity in Ribáuè, 1941-1967³⁵⁹

Year	Production (Kg)	Total area (ha)	Productivity (Kg/ha)
1941	146 800	135, 00	1 087
1942	-	-	-
1943	35 504	120, 05	295
1944	57 600	149, 50	385
1945	75 955	145, 57	521
1946	44 796	96, 00	466
1947	61 211	143, 70	425
1948	98 495	168, 00	586
1949	59 548	140, 00	425
1950	111 900	231, 00	484
1951	113 307	287, 00	394
1952	164 260	471, 00	348
1953	145 253	413, 80	351
1954	137 954	397, 59	346
1955	321 350	766, 50	419
1956	418 877	992, 00	422
1957	487 724	1 142, 50	426
1958	523 980	1 336, 00	392
1959	707 093	1 219, 00	580
1960	718 751	1 535, 00	468
1961	690 031	1 225, 00	563
1962	604 527	1 157, 00	522
1963	869 194	1 220, 00	712
1964	962 290	1 396, 00	689
1965	1 104 014	1 365, 00	808
1966	919 400	1 266, 32	726

³⁵⁹ Estatística Agrícola, 1941-1967

D4: Tobacco: Production, area and productivity in Malema, 1941-1967³⁶⁰

Year	Production (Kg)	Total area (ha)	Productivity (Kg/ha)
1941	-	-	-
1942	-	-	-
1943	212 100	346, 00	613
1944	270 700	422, 00	641
1945	229 490	424, 00	541
1946	270 300	555, 00	487
1947	328 633	562, 00	584
1948	353 010	575, 00	613
1949	256 687	525, 00	488
1950	358 573	539, 00	665
1951	333 300	530, 00	628
1952	380 370	578, 00	658
1953	307 418	77, 00	532
1954	377 021	731, 00	515
1955	416 076	701, 00	593
1956	428 042	802, 00	533
1957	332 564	742, 00	448
1958	404 459	777, 00	520
1959	598 390	880, 00	679
1960	439 451	741, 00	593
1961	410 647	677, 00	606
1962	326 670	570, 00	573
1963	514 949	638, 00	807
1964	501 555	668, 00	750
1965	590 597	765, 00	772
1966	664 231	659, 00	1 007

³⁶⁰ Estatística Agrícola, 1941-1970

D5: Tobacco: Production and productivity in Northern Mozambique, 1963-1967

Years	Production (tons)	Settlers	Productivity (tons/production)
1962/63	1133	75	15
1963/64	1658	93	17
1964/65	1663	116	14
1965/66	1987	118	16
1966/67	1741	98	17
1967/68	1958	80	24
1968/69	2116	-	-
1969/70	2253	145	15
1970/71	2839	-	-

Source: Adapted from: AHM,FGG,Cx.915, Lima, E. Guerreiro de. Grémio dos produtores de tabaco: processo geral, 1972-1974, s/l; s/d, [Documento V/7]; Leitão,1969a:228; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè. [sl.], 1970:118-119, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do Norte de Moçambique. Relatório referente ao exercício findo de 31 de Dezembro de 1971. Malema,1973:6, AHM, S.E.a.p.2.nº31-3

D6: Tobacco given to the Association of Tobacco Producers and the number of settlers of Northern Mozambique, 1963-1968

Year	Virgínia tobacco		Burley tobacco		Dark tobacco		TOTAL	
	Tons	Settlers	Tons	Settlers	Tons	Settlers	Tons	Settlers
1963	1052	57	31	9	50	9	1133	75
1964	1520	60	87	21	51	12	1658	93
1965	1484	67	149	31	20	13	1653	116
1966	1724	68	228	36	35	14	1987	118
1967	1488	58	234	31	19	9	1741	98
1968	1554	57	199	19	55	4	1758	80

Source: Leitão, 1969I:228; Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè. [sl.], 1970:19, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88

D7: Total tobacco production: Virginia, Burley and Dark tobacco, in Malema-Ribáuè, in 5 years and its destination

Year	Production (Tons)	Destination (Consumption)	
		Internal consumption	Exportation
1963	1.228	390,5	2
1964	1.570	785,1	449
1965	1.634	187,5	990,3
1966	1.957	633,0	620,5
1967	1.900	839,0	1.264,7
TOTAL	8 289	2 835,1	3 326,5

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. "O tabaco no norte de Moçambique". Gazeta do Agricultor. nº20, Lourenço Marques,1968:238

D8: Summary of tobacco trading (Virginia, Burley and Dark tobacco) realized in Mozambique (1963-1967)

Year	Quantities (Tons)	Values (Contos)
1963	392,4	6.840,0
1964	785,1	17.994,0
1965	187,3	3.948,8
1966	632,9	15.556,3
1967	838,8	18.839,6
TOTAL	2.836,5	63.178,7

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967:150, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2.nº31-2.

D9: Summary of quantities of Virginia and Burley tobacco exported to Angola and Portugal (1963-1967)

Year	Quantities (Tons)	Values (Contos)
1963	-	-
1964	450,9	13.390,1
1965	990,4	27.710,1
1966	620,5	17.724,7
1967	998,4	25.278,8
TOTAL	3.060,2	84.103,7

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967:154, AHM,S.E.a.III,p.2.nº31-2.

D10: Virginia tobacco exported to Angola and Portugal, 1963-1967

Year	Angola				Portugal				TOTAL	
	Bought		Values		Bought		Values		Tons	Values (contos)
	Tons	%	Totais (contos)	\$kg	Tons	%	Totais (contos)	\$kg		
1963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	-	-	-	-	421,9	100	12.713	30\$13	421,9	12.713,0
1965	119,7	13,6	3.336,7	27\$88	756,8	86,4	21.769	28\$76	876,5	25.105,7
1966	99,8	23,8	3.990,0	39\$98	418,8	76,2	11.293	26\$96	518,6	15.283,0
1967	90,2	14,4	2.449,7	27\$16	624,5	85,6	16.530	26\$50	714,7	18.979,7

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967:154-155, AHM,S.E.a.p.2.nº31-2.

D11: Burley tobacco exportated to Angola and Portugal, 1963-1967

Year	Angola				Portugal				TOTAL	
	Bought		Values		Bought		Values		Tons	Values (contos)
	Tons	%	Totais (contos)	\$kg	Tons	%	Totais (contos)	\$kg		
1963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	-	-	-	-	29,0	100	677,1	23\$35	29,0	677,1
1965	-	-	-	-	113,9	100	2.604,4	22\$86	113,9	2.604,4
1966	-	-	-	-	101,9	100	2.441,7	23\$96	101,9	2.441,7
1967	-	-	-	-	283,7	100	6.299,1	22\$20	283,7	6.299,1

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967:154-155, AHM,S.E.a.p.2.nº31-2.

APPENDIX - E: SETTLERS³⁶¹

E1: Portuguese settlers at the colonato of Ribáuè:

Paulo Narciso Armando
Joaquim dos Reis Gonçalves
Silvério Afonso
Américo Rodrigues Nunes
Joaquim José
José Pina de Carvalho
Manuel da Mata
Joaquim Gomes Pedro Carola
Francisco Baptista Brito Apolónia
Justino António de Oliveira
Francisco Maria Ferreira Ramos
Américo Alexandre Pires
Francisco da Silva Vieira Gaspar
Joaquim João Martins Sobrinho
Digno Rasteiro
Francisco Simão Catarro Simões
Francisco Rodrigues Lopes
António Pereira Moreira
Armando Augusto da Fonseca
Ostílio Paulino Carraça
Higino Policarpo dos Santos

E2: Africans permitted to produce tobacco at the colonato of Ribáuè

Serafim António
Macolelane Silva
Sardinha Carlos
António Abibo
Paulo Rocheque
Jaime João
Luis Ernesto Padiola
Saide Macau
Silvério dos Santos Calieque
Abudala Lápis

E3: Settlers in Ribáuè producing tobacco

Post-centre:

João Leite de Faria (*)
José Manuel Pereira Dias Correia
Abílio Alves do Rego
Álvaro de Matos Júnior
Cândido Viol da Costa

³⁶¹ Raposo, A. Miranda. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Comissão Municipal de Ribáuè. [.sl.]: 1970:14-17, AHM,ISANI,Cx.88; Leitão, 1969II:262

Jaime Exposto
Domingos Rente
Estevão Guerreiro de Almeida Lima
Hilá'rio Cerqueira
Iria Figueiredo Raigado
Jacinto Maria Ribeiro Júnior
Jerónimo Dias dos Santos, herdeiros
Joaquim Ferreira da Costa
Vicenzo Casiari, herdeiros
Manuel José Brevo
Américo Ribeiro Teixeira
Sansudin Ussene
Jorge Zarco Joaquim dos Anjos
João Gomes da Costa
Fernando da Fonseca

Post of Iapala

Acácio da Fonseca
Adriano de Pina Costa
Américo Martins dos Santos
Amorim de Sousa Cordoso
Albino Nunes
Albertino Augusto Bartolomeu
António Jorge da Silva Martins
António Luis Carvalho da Silva
António Lopes
António Manuel Ferreira
Benjamim Alves da Fonseca
Carlos Rodrigues
Carolino Augusto Pires
Cândido Ferreira da Costa
Daniel Manuel Correia
Eduardo da Rocha
Eduardo Vieira da Silva
Fernando de Oliveira
Franklin António Pinto
Jaime Tavares Coutinho
Jaime Costa Pina
Joaquim Rebelo da Silva
José da Cunha Torres
José Francisco da Silva
José Sequeira Braga Leite de Faria
José Patrício da Silva
José Luciano Miranda de Faro Cabadas
Lopes Rodrigues Costa
Lino Vasco Merroita
Manuel Barbosa
Manuel Victor Azinheira
Manuel Guerreiro Nunes
Manuel de Carvalho Júnior
Manuel de Sousa Bento
Manuel José Bravo
Manuel Ferreira Mouco
Manuel Luis Duarte Madaleno
Manuel dos Santos Magro
Manuel Lopes de Melo
Mariano Lopes Rosa
Martinho da Fonseca

Missão de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Iapala
 Nuno Vieira da Silva
 Sociedade Agrícola de Iapala

E4: Portuguese settlers that produced both cotton and tobacco registrated by the Association of Tobacco Producers of Malema

Manuel dos Santos Magro
 Missão Católica de Lalaua
 Jaime Gilberto
 Jacinto Maria Ribeiro
 José Manuel Correia
 Jaime Exposto
 Abudala Lápis
 Assumane Issufo
 José Luciano Miranda de Faro Cabadas
 José Leite de Faria
 João dos Santos Madeira
 Cristôvão Felismino
 Joege Manuel João
 Roroge Muela
 Canlicana Conheis.

E5: Summary of the numbers of settlers in each place of tobacco production in Northern Mozambique, 1963-1967

	Number of settlers																			
	1963				1964				1965				1966				1967			
	V	B	D	T	V	B	D	T	V	B	D	T	V	B	D	T	V	B	D	T
Ribáuè (Nampula)	33	6	3	42	36	10	6	52	42	17	6	65	43	22	7	72	39	20	2	61
Malema (Nampula)	17	1	1	19	17	4	-	21	17	9	-	26	16	6	-	22	15	7	1	23
Amaramba (Niassa)	1	-	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	3	-	3	2	5	-	-	-	-
AltoMolocúè (Zambézia)	6	2	4	12	7	6	6	19	6	7	7	20	9	3	5	17	4	4	6	14
Vila Cabral (Niassa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	57	9	9	75	60	21	12	93	67	36	13	116	68	36	14	118	58	31	9	98

Source: Grémio dos produtores de tabaco do norte de Moçambique. Relatório de 1967. Malema, 1967:49, AHM,S.E.a.p.2.nº31-2

Note: **V**– Virginia tobacco; **B** – Burley tobacco; **D** – Dark tobacco; **T** – total