

II. "When Elephants Fight, it is the Grass that Suffers"-- Rural Transformation in Mozambique and After Independence Comments

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COMMENT

Koji Hayashi

I read your paper and listened to your report with great interest, because I am also studying on rural transformation in Mozambique in this study project. I had a chance to visit to Maputo for a week last September. During my stay there, I visited to the Centre for Africa Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University and talked with Director Colonel Sergio Vieira and Vice-Director Dr. Mota Lopes and got much information about Rural Transformation in Mozambique after independence. Unfortunately I could not visit to state farm and cooperatives according to the limit of time.

I would like to ask you several points on Rural Transformation in Mozambique.

First of all, as far as the timing of Rural Transformation in Mozambique is concerned, you pointed out two timings, namely, the third FRELIMO Party Congress of February 1977 and the fourth FRELIMO Party Congress of April 1983. In other words, the former was the socialization of rural society and the latter was the revision of socialization. I completely agree with your division of the timing of Rural Transformation in Mozambique but I would like to ask you whether the determination of the fourth FRELIMO Party Congress is temporary or not. Because Mozambique is a Marxist-Leninist oriented country and is building a society "free from the exploitation of man by man". But according to Roesh, since the revision of socialization, "the small number of migrant workers are still going to South Africa and increasingly taking on the character of an economic aristocracy in the countryside, with all the potential for transforming themselves into a petty capitalist class". It is a contradiction to socialism of Mozambique. How do you think of the determination of the fourth

FRELIMO Party Congress?

Secondly, I go back to the colonial period of Mozambique. According to Marc Wuyts' article "Peasants and Rural Economy in Mozambique", he classified the structure of agricultural production into three types by regional level. Namely, The South is the labour reserve for South African Mining Industry, the Centre is the plantation economy and the North is a Cash Crop Producing Peasantry. And you also classified it into three types by regional level according to David Wiolds' article "Mozambique; Late Colonialism and early Problems of Transition". Originally they depend on the same source "Datas e Documentos de Historia de Frelimo" by J.Chissano. Naturally, I suppose that there were a difference of the impact to each region by the socialization of rural area and the decrease of migrant labour to South African Mining. Especialy, I suppose that the South and the Centre were most influenced. For this difference of each region, did the policy of FRELIMO government not consider it?

Thirdly, I would like to ask you the problem of transitional period since September 1974. During that time, many Portuguese left Mozambique. In order to fill the vacuum, the transitional government set up "dynamizing groups (DG)". What kind of role did the DG play in rural areas? After independence, the FRELIMO government concentrated its concern to build "communal villages" as a basis of socialism in rural areas. According to your book "Mozambique; A Dream Undone", the estimated number of communal villages increased from 857 in 1978 to 1,352 in 1982. In 1982, the population of communal villages was about 1.8 million and was equivalent to 19.1% of whole rural population. Moreover, according to Joseph Hanlon's book "Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire", there were a various kinds of motives for building communal villages. In other words, most villages resulted from war and natural disasters and also involved a high digree of compulsion.

I would like to ask you three questions on communal villages.

- (1) Was the communal villagization successful in rural transformation in Mozambique?
- (2) Was the communal villagization of Mozambique influenced by Ujamaa villagization in Tanzania?
- (3) Was the communal villagization influenced by the experience of "liberated zone" during Mozambican liberation war?

Fourthly, as for the rural transformation in Mozambique since the third FRELIMO Party Congress in 1977, it is said that both the state farms and cooperatives failed.

According to Joseph Hanlon, there were four urgent crises in 1977, namely, 1) the shortage of urban foodstuff, 2) the decrease of export crops, 3) the deterioration of agricultural marketing and 4) the increase of rural unemployment.

In order to cope with these crises, FRELIMO government chose three types as a socialization of the countryside, that is, state farms, cooperative farms and communal villages. FRELIMO government claimed that state farms were the quickest way of responding to the country's food need because of the size of the area they covered, their rational organization of human and material resources and the immediate availability of machinery. The government investments and support concentrated into state farms. In your paper, you cited the case study of CAIL (Complexo Agro-Industrial de Limpopo) conducted by Hermele. But only referred to the problem of rural unemployment and not mentioned the production of food crops and export cash crops, and agricultural marketing.

- (1) As far as the shortage of urban food is concerned, could the state farms supply the food that urban population needs? Again according to Joseph Hanlon's statistics, the import of food grains have increased since 1977 (see table 1). So I thought that the state farms could not supply the food to

urban population.

- (2) As for the export crops, it is difficult for us to evaluate it. Because, according to table 2, cashewnuts were produced by peasant, sugar and tea were produced by state farms, cotton by state farms and peasant, sisal by private, and copra by private and peasant. According to table 3, state farms only contributed to sugar and tea, and cotton partly. How do you think of the expansion of export crops in state farms?
- (3) Agricultural marketing was deteriorated following the exodus of Portuguese immigrants. But I had no information of it after independence.

Generally speaking, it is said that state farms failed from over-mechanization and lack of managerial and technical experts. Besides, you pointed out the problem of democracy. In the case of Mozambique, democracy did not work in spite of a central issue of the constitution adopted by independent government. It means that party control, intervention, centralism and elitism of FRELIMO were dominant in Mozambique after independence. I have overlooked the problem of democracy. I owed it to you very much.

Table 1

Foodgrains

Marketed grain, 1982 (1,000tons)

	Wheat	Maize	Rice	Total
Commercial imports	46	20	42	108
Donations Arrived	82	71	45	198
Local marketed production*	1	89	42	132
Total	129	180	129	438

* Does not include black market sales or production for self-consumption.

Estimated grains imports (1,000tons)

	1960	65	70	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82
Total	40	90	110	180	200	200	300	300	300	300	300
of Which:											
Commercial purchases				150	100	100	200	150	200	150	100
Delivered food aid				30	100	100	100	150	100	150	200

J.Hanlon, Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire, London, Zed Books, 1984, p.287

Table 2

	1970			1980	
	Private	Peasant	State	Private	Peasant
Total	69	31	52	10	38
Cotton	35	65	45	10	45
Sugar	100	--	85	15	--
Cashew	10	90	--	--	100
Tea	100	--	90	10	--
Sisal	100	--	30	70	--
Copra	80	20	20	40	40
Rice	60	40	80	--	20
Tobacco	80	20	55	40	5

Ibid. p.100

Table 3

Exports by Product

	Value (£ million)						
	1973	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Oil products	4	3	5	11	17	31	*
Cashew nuts	16	17	23	23	23	34	33
Prawns	2	6	6	8	12	18	32
Sugar & Molasses	9	10	5	4	18	26	25
Tea	4	3	6	6	11	18	19
Cotton	19	9	5	7	12	12	16
Copra	4	3	5	7	9	5	*
Timber	5	3	2	2	3	3	*
Sisal & sisal cord	3	2	2	2	4	2	*
Coal	--	2	2	1	3	2	*
Citrus	1	1	--	1	1	1	*
Total	88	73	77	85	132	188	208

	Volume (1,000tons)					
	1973	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Oil products	403	90	133	257	271	314
Cashew nuts	30	21	17	18	17	16
Prawns	2	4	3	3	4	5
Sugar & Molasses	281	148	78	77	184	106
Tea	18	13	12	13	23	23
Cotton	51	16	6	13	16	*
Copra	48	41	36	34	29	19
Timber	128	62	38	31	26	21
Sisal & sisal cord	27	13	14	12	19	7
Coal	50	205	173	39	152	98
Citrus	21	9	3	12	16	14

* = not available

-- = less than £ 500,000

Ibid. p.282