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1984

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MPRA Paper No. 29325, posted 15 Apr 2011 14:48 UTC

AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

by

Finn Tarp *

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

A profound transformation of the society and economy of the People's Republic of Mozambique was initiated in the early seventies, during the struggle for independence and reinforced after independence in 1975. The basic political aims of the Government are defined in the Constitution and include:

- Eliminating the oppressive and exploitative colonial and traditional structure and changing correlated mentalities
- Extending and consolidating the people's democratic power;
- Establishing an independent economy and promoting socio-cultural progress;
- Defending and consolidating independence and national unity;
- Establishing a people's democracy and constructing the material and ideological bases for a socialist society.

The attainment of these wide ranging objectives clearly implies a radical change in the socio-economic structure of the country, foreseen to take place in two subsequent phases: first, the stage of Popular Democracy, and second, the stage of Socialist Revolution.

1.2 CONSTRAINTS

The context within which the above transformation process is to take place is influenced by the historic heritage of colonial domination in all its aspects and Mozambique's geo-political situation in Southern Africa. In addition, the world economic crisis and adverse climatic conditions have had a serious impact on development efforts. From 1981 to 1982 average export prices dropped by 11% and average import prices grew by 3%. A serious drought occurred in 1983 and affected one third of the population causing the death of human life and thousands of cattle.

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Many of the more specific constraints to developing Mozambique and transforming its society are related to the structural deformation of the economy which took place in colonial times, reflecting an economy organized mainly to serve the needs of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in addition to enabling Portugal, the colonial power to extract the maximum surplus.

This implies that economic links between sectors and regions within the country are lacking. Banking, commerce and insurance were promoted at the expense of productive sectors. Basic communications are either lacking or as in the case of main road and rail lines run east-west, designed to connect the hinterland with the ports on the coast neglecting the north-south communication within the country.

Export and luxury production facilities were established but often based on imported raw materials, geared towards the needs of the Portuguese, and with no adjacent internal growth effects. No internal market or marketing system which could have fuelled an independent development was established. The population in the rural areas continued to be extremely dispersed with little or no education and training facilities.

The economy became excessively dependent on migrant labour numbering more than 100 000 and a plantation and settler dominated export-oriented agriculture where cash crops accounted for more than 80% of foreign exchange earnings.

In addition to the structural deformation and insufficient social, economic and technological infrastructure, exogenous factors like the exodus of 200 000 Portuguese left the country practically without administrators and skilled workers in production and service activities.

Mozambique's geographic situation and political role in Southern Africa as well as the continued instability in the region pose another set of serious constraints. Following UN-sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in 1976 Mozambique lost an estimated US\$ 500 million due to the diminished transit trade, migrant labour incomes etc. To this must be added the effects of the war in Zimbabwe and the costs of accepting refugees. With Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 the situation has changed, but it has been difficult to regain the transit trade which is inter alia affected by sabotage by the so called resistance movement Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). The escalated activities of the MNR groups of armed bands operating in most Provinces inside Mozambique presently poses one of the most important constraints to development work.

1.3 STRATEGY AND POLICY MEASURES

The basic longer term strategy and policies to achieve the objectives listed above were defined by Frelimo's Third Congress in February 1977, and later materialized in the Ten Year Perspective Plan (PPI) for the 1981-90 Decade.

These guidelines were revised by Frelimo's Fourth Congress in April 1983 in view of experiences during the 1977-83 period and present problems faced by Mozambique. Yet, development programmes will continue to be developed and implemented within the framework and on the basis of a centrally planned economy. The state controls the economy directly through production and investment plans as well as indirectly through measures such as control over prices, wages and transactions in foreign currency.

It is through state control of the economy and their productive sectors that the basis for a socialist society with new relations of production and ways of life is to be established. It is in this context that 'socialization

of the country-side' with the establishment of communal villages and cooperatives - radically changing the present dispersed way of living of the majority of the people, and transforming the peasant sector - has been identified as a main objective.

In line with the above a wide ranging set of measures to transform the Mozambican society - politically, economically, socially and culturally - have been implemented including inter alia the:

- Development of the Frelimo Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology;
- Creation of people's assemblies and tribunals;
- Establishment of mass democratic organizations;
- Nationalization of land, banks, public services (including medical care and education), and some industrial enterprises.

In addition, a state agricultural sector has been developed. Cooperatives and communal villages are being promoted and a new institutional framework for the provision of agricultural services is being developed.

2. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION

2.1 PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

National indicators of agricultural growth indicate a rather bleak picture for the agricultural sector which was identified as the base for development by Frelimo's Third Congress. Gross agricultural production rose by a mere 8.8% from 1977 to 1981 and from 1981 to 1982 fell by 2.4%. A further decrease from 1982 to 1983 implies that total agricultural production has stagnated over a substantial period of time and developments in food production have been even worse. Taking account of a 2.7% population growth per annum, a downward trend in per capita production can be noted.

Increases in production of tea, cotton and citrus which are important export crops have been registered from 1977 to 1981, but significant shortfalls have occurred in cereals, vegetables and oilseeds. Despite investments amounting to 14% of all centrally planned agricultural investments, production increases in meat are not very significant. Forestry production fell to almost half from 1977 to 1982, whereas fisheries recorded a catch in 1981 of 30.000 tons which is 2.7 times higher than 1977. Yet, consumption of fish has remained stagnant as fish imports have diminished to half since 1977.

Marketing of agricultural products has developed in a rather heterogeneous pattern depending upon the importance of the different social sectors. Products primarily marketed by state farms notably rice, citrus, tea and maize have in general shown increases (ranging from 25% to almost 130% from 1977 to 1981), whereas family sector products such as cashew and cotton have developed less favourably. From 1981 to 1982 in particular cotton and cashew experienced decreases in marketed quantities. Also livestock production suffered considerable decreases from 1981 to 1982, especially in family sector marketing.

2.2 FOOD SECURITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Shortages of food and large imports of cereals are not new features in Mozambique. Import of wheat reached more than 100 000 tons a year before independence and forced cash cropping resulted at times in extreme food shortages for the agricultural population (1).

However, up to independence Mozambique was self-sufficient in maize and rice, and it appears that the rural population practising traditional agriculture generally maintained its self-sufficiency conditions although with a calorie supply below requirements. The urban population on the other hand was entirely dependent for its food requirements upon local production surpluses and imports.

At independence, food prices were frozen and wages in money terms started to increase (more than 250% between 1973 and 1979) resulting in shortages of food in urban areas and increasing imports. These had to be increased even further when the rural population lost its relative self-sufficiency in view of adverse climatic conditions. By 1982, annual imports including food aid had increased from 100 000 to 400 000 tons of cereals (maize, wheat and rice) and a further increase took place in 1983.

The overall food situation as evaluated by the Government by mid-1983 indicated a total marketed cereal need from August 1983 to the new harvest in May 1984 of about 650 000 tons. Of this amount 190 000 tons were emergency needs due to drought with an estimated 140 000 tons in the rural and 50 000 tons in the urban sector. Taking into consideration marketed production still to be collected, commercial imports and donations expected, a cereal need of almost 320 000 tons, mostly maize, remained uncovered.

By December 1983, revised estimates indicated a deficit still to be covered until the end of April 1984 of almost 170 000 tons despite increased food aid which for 1983/84 will reach more than 350 000 tons already allocated, committed or shipped.

The above data clearly demonstrate the serious food situation in Mozambique. Rural people have not been able to cope with the adverse climatic conditions, and there is no secure supply of food stuffs to the towns. The shortage of food has become evident in both rural and urban areas. A rationing system came into effect in 1980 in Maputo for some essential foodstuffs such as sugar, rice, maize and spaghetti. This system has had some effect in securing a minimum allocation of necessary food to urban people. However, the system is limited in geographic coverage to Maputo and quantities distributed.

2.3 SECTOR OBSERVATIONS

2.3.1 Agricultural Structure

The sectoral and regional distribution of agricultural production before independence is indicated in Table 1. Subsistence farming dominated with 55% of the total agricultural production, but commercial production with 45% was also important. It can also be noted that the North and Central regions were approximately equal in importance whereas the South was much less important.

After independence the rural institutional structure changed dramatically. A large number of state farms came into existence in the modern sector and in today's peasant agriculture the basic elements are communal villages, cooperatives and family farms.

Table 1

SECTORAL AND REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL
PRODUCTION BEFORE INDEPENDENCE (1970)
(Percent)

Sector	North	Central	South	Total
Subsistence Production	24.0	22.4	8.3	54.7
Commercialized Production	16.0	20.6	8.7	45.3
of which:				
by small farmers	10.4	3.9	1.8	16.1
by plantations	0.8	11.7	0.3	12.8
by settlers	4.8	5.0	6.6	16.4
Total	40.0	43.0	17.0	100.0

Note: North includes the Provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula; Central includes Zambezia, Manica, Sofala and Tete; and South includes Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo.

Source: (2)

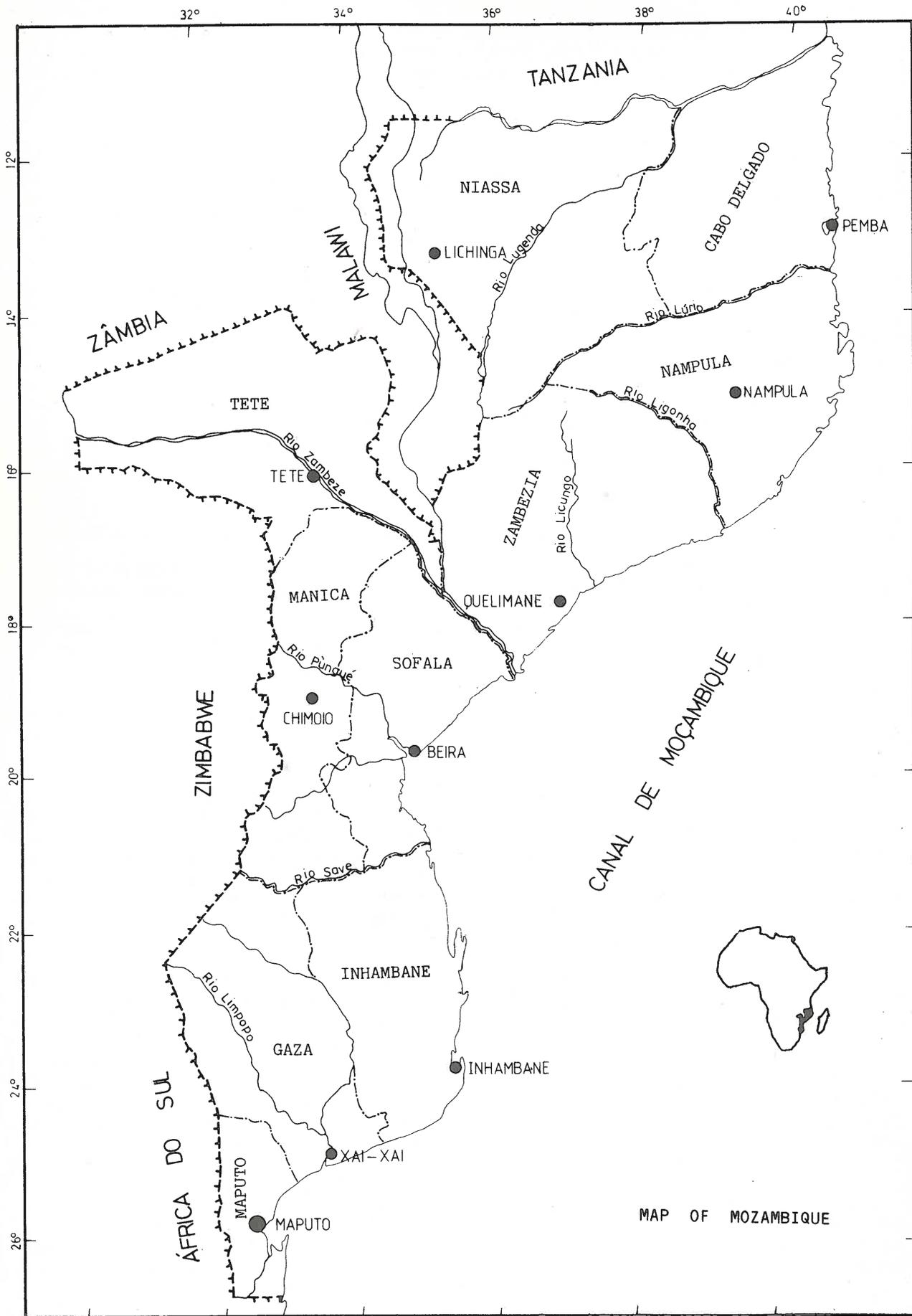
2.3.2 The State Sector

The state agricultural sector of Mozambique was set up on the basis of farms and estates of colonial settlers that were in a state of collapse or abandoned after independence. The sector has grown from an area of 100 000 ha in 1978 to 140 000 ha in 1982 and represents some 70% of the total planned area figuring in annual plans. The remaining 30% pertain to private and cooperative farms. In 1982 the state sector provided an increasing 50% of total marketed production in agriculture, which may represent some 15% of total gross value of production.

About 70 state companies and farms have been set up, some of which provide services to agricultural production and to marketing. Employment in the sector has grown from 90 000 in 1977 to 150 000 in 1983.

State farm development has been given top priority in the development and transformation process of Mozambique until the Fourth Congress of Frelimo in 1983. More than 90% of the centrally planned investment in agriculture has gone to the state sector which also received the major part of skilled personnel (farm managers, agronomists, agricultural technicians, accountants, etc.).

The reasons for the emphasis on state farm development are various. Drastic measures had to be undertaken following independence to safe-guard valuable assets from destruction. In addition, it was considered that only state farms could contribute rapidly and regularly to export production, provide inputs to local agro-industries and safeguard urban consumption. The



MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE

sector was seen as the dominant and dynamizing element in development, in modernizing agriculture and in providing technical services to the cooperative and small family farmer sectors.

The above policy has met with some success in establishing the state sector as an important factor in Mozambican agriculture. Production and marketing have increased in recent years. However, this has been achieved at a very high cost, and overall results have not been encouraging.

Lack of trained manpower, the top heavy nature of the farms with little capacity for implementing plans, weak supply and service systems etc. have led to unsatisfactory levels of production and productivity. Export cash crops have not developed as planned and the urban food supply has not been safeguarded. Assistance to other sectors has been minimal, and there has been competition in the allocation of resources.

Crop production targets have been established with the status of laws by central authorities in physical terms (tonnage and hectares) and using national 'technical norms for agriculture' to determine input requirements and serve as guidelines for farm managers (3). This procedure coupled with the absence of genuine cost accounting for individual farms have led to a situation in which farm managers have been more concerned about fulfilling production targets rather than producing at minimum costs. Local knowledge about agricultural conditions prevailing in a particular area has been neglected, in favour of so called 'scientifically correct farming'.

Finally, capital intensive production systems have been developed. They reflect national crop priorities and largely correspond to modern sector consumption patterns as well as to the above mentioned concept of development. However, these technologically advanced production systems are very vulnerable to breakdowns, and are not conducive to using locally available skills. Less expensive and less capital intensive methods of food production do exist and deserve attention in particular for traditional food crops such as maize, cassava, groundnut, sweet potatoes and beans.

The inefficiency in use of resources has given reason to doubt whether the state farms have generated a net financial surplus. Few exact data are available, but in some cases not even recurrent costs have been covered. While this does not exclude that future surpluses could be generated it stresses the need for carefully planned developments. This planning must take into account the need for consolidating the state farm sector, Mozambique's limited foreign exchange, and the lack of trained manpower resources.

2.3.3 Communal Villages

The establishment of communal villages as a strategy springs from the need to create an adequate social structure for the development of the rural sector of the country, and it is clear that no political and administrative reorganization would be possible in rural areas without regrouping the vastly dispersed population in villages. In addition, the village is to serve as a mechanism whereby government can ensure the dissemination of the benefits of economic and social development to peasant farmers as well as to seasonal labourers. The village is conceived as a basic political, social and economic unit which should develop an autonomous administrative and political entity, responsible for its own administration, justice, security, finance, production and basic services.

Since independence more than 1 350 communal villages with about 1.8 million people or 15% of the country's population have been established, mainly in the north of the country where the rural population was already grouped either in villages organized by the liberation army or in camps

established by the Portuguese to control suspected populations. They have also been organized in the southern provinces to resettle the population following abnormal climatic conditions.

The villages so far established differ substantially in their stage of development. Some are very big (4 000-5 000 people) and semi-urban in character in terms of services, others are medium-sized with relatively greater organizational development and some are newly started with work just begun on housing, land development etc. However, it appears that ideally a village would aggregate a minimum of 250 families on a given territory.

The internal organization of the communal village consists of a general assembly and an elected executive committee. In addition, there may be one or more agricultural production cooperatives and consumer cooperatives, depending upon the size of the population and their needs.

Of the 1 350 communal villages 460 have people's assemblies, 156 have people's tribunals and 515 have party cells with clear leadership roles.

The population resettled has been attracted by the possibilities for a better life, provision of services, water supply etc., and achievements in this regard have implied significant improvements in the standard of living. However, it is on the other hand only a relatively limited number of villages which have been established in accordance with the theoretical model emphasizing local initiative and collective production.

Furthermore, the process of communal village organization has been affected by many errors which derive mainly from the big burden of insufficiently trained personnel, together with lack of financial resources to satisfy minimum needs in the initial stages. Some of the sites selected have had neither good soil nor water, and this has affected the new villagers adversely.

It must also be noted, that the productive basis for the communal villages in the longer run according to government should be that of the cooperatives and the state farms. So far, the main economic basis has been family agriculture.

Policies and programmes relating to the development of communal villages have until the Fourth Congress been coordinated at the national level by a National Commission for Communal Villages (CNAC) reporting directly to the Office of the President. After the Congress CNAC was moved to the Ministry of Agriculture to increase its efficiency and coordination with developments in the agricultural sector. However, responsibility for 'cooperativization and assistance to the family sector' rests since 1980 with Provincial Governments. Central level activities have therefore been limited.

Despite the difficulties encountered the importance of the communal village programme in the overall transformation and rural development process remains unchanged.

2.3.4 The Cooperative Sector

The establishment of agricultural producer cooperatives forms an essential element in government's strategy for socializing agriculture. However, cooperativization of agricultural production is still in a very incipient stage and to a significant extent consists of abandoned farms taken over by their former workers. Only some 2% of centrally planned investments made in agriculture from 1977 to 1982 went to cooperatives.

The cooperative movement has met with a number of difficulties and

production is less than 1% of total marketed agricultural production. Lack of experience in organization and planning of production and accounting, lack of direct support from the state, unreliable services and poor advice and the rather authoritarian approach to cooperative members are all factors which have led to passivity on the part of the cooperatives. Their role in the planning process has been limited. Targets have been formulated at national and provincial level without proper integration of cooperative members who have had little or no influence on the decisions affecting their daily life and productive activities.

Consequently their productivity is lower than that of individual family farms, a situation which prevents other people to join the cooperatives. The Directorate for the Organization and Development of Cooperatives (GODCA) is part of the Ministry of Agriculture. It suffers from lack of direction, efficiency and qualified staff. GODCA's activities have been limited to actions under an aid-programme for the establishment of cooperative centres, promotion of animal traction, introduction of improved agricultural techniques and training related to cooperative management.

Between 1977 and 1982 the number of producer cooperatives increased from 180 to 370 and their membership from 25 000 to 37 000. The area cultivated in 1981/82 was 11 500 hectares which is 1 700 less than the 1978/79 figure. Production fell even more, from 11 200 tons in 1978/79 to 6 500 in 1980/81. These data clearly demonstrate that the cooperative movement is still to gain momentum. Yet, it should not be overlooked that there are also cooperatives which have been established by peasants who recognized the advantages of joint production and access to inputs. Furthermore, experiences gained will be useful in identifying essential preconditions for better development of this sector.

In the field of trade the cooperative movement has demonstrated a higher degree of success. Currently about 20% of retail trade takes place through 1 300 consumer cooperatives with a total of 500 000 members reaching about 2.3 million people. The numbers of consumer cooperatives more than quadrupled and the number of members grew 5.5 times from 1977-82. However, only some 20% of these cooperatives are in rural areas.

2.3.5 The Family Sector

The family sector plays a fundamental role in Mozambican agriculture. Some 10 million people or 80% of total population live in rural areas, and the sector produces more than one third of total marketed production. In cashew, cotton and oil seeds family sector marketing is considerable. However, from 1977 to 1982 its contribution has decreased consistently.

There are no reliable data on total production and area cultivated, although a recent estimate puts the total cultivated area at 2 million ha. Yields continue to be low even by African standards reflecting the almost complete absence of even the simplest technology, farm implements, fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds.

Family sector farmers continue to live dispersed, and have received very little support in terms of investment resources and factors of production. Despite advances in establishing 63 buying brigades and some 270 fixed buying posts marketing continues to be unnecessarily complex and centralized, therefore not incentivating peasant marketing.

It is government policy to keep consumer prices on basic food items low and at the same time offer producers remunerative prices. For several basic foods the price to consumers is therefore subsidized. In 1980 the subsidy for imported rice was equivalent to 75% and for wheat 50%. Total subsidies to basic products were more than US\$ 110 million in that year.

Whereas the terms of trade between rural and urban sectors seem to have remained much the same due to recent adjustments in official producer prices the present price structure still poses a problem, and there is need for a thorough review of existing policies and their effects.

While price effects may be complex and difficult to assess under present circumstances it is beyond doubt that the extreme lack of agricultural implements, inputs and consumer goods in rural areas have had a serious negative effect on production and marketing.

This may be explained simply from an incentive point of view, but it can also be noted that farmers have had to spend a considerable amount of time in organizing whatever little could be found. The inefficiency and psychological effects resulting from this situation have been damaging.

The low priority given to the family sector so far reflects to a certain extent the view of modernization of agriculture referred to in the section on state farms. The family sector has been seen mainly as a tool for extracting a surplus for accumulation to fuel modern sector development. No institutional structure has catered for family sector needs and it has been generally held that the sector would be quickly transformed. Individual farmers would become members of cooperatives or labourers on state farms within a matter of a few years. Therefore, it has been considered that there was no real justification for giving priority to family farmers' problems or even to establish for instance, an agricultural statistics system which - it was thought - would become redundant quickly.

The transformation of Mozambican agriculture will not be completed within the time horizon set out above. Family farmers will continue to co-exist with cooperatives and state farms for quite some time. Ways and means of meeting the pressing short and medium term need for solving the food problem as well as ensuring the gradual transformation of the family sector into a cooperative sector must therefore be found.

There are at least four basic reasons why family sector needs are relevant in this regard. The size of the sector is overwhelming. To achieve a 15% increase in total agricultural production would require less than a 20% increase in family sector production while state farm production would have to be doubled. Furthermore, current production levels are well below past levels in production and marketing implying that increases are feasible with existing technology.

A continuing lack of food, consumer goods, inputs, seeds etc. would gradually undermine the substantial enthusiasm which has been one of Mozambique's characteristics and assets during its first post-independence years.

The so called resistance movement does not by any means form a political alternative to Frelimo. However, the fact that MNR by now with assistance from South Africa and in view of the increasing demobilization of the Mozambican people have been able to create security problems in two thirds of the country seriously hampers the development process.

Food shortages have adverse effects on the economy as a whole. Considerable time spent searching for food reduces the efficiency and the input of labour in the industrial sector, in the transport network, in development projects and on state farms as well as in the family sector. This further reduces the availability of consumer goods and services which are so badly needed in the rural areas to encourage food production and counteract banditry.

2.3.6 The Private Sector

The private agricultural sector is based on a relatively limited number of farms whose Portuguese owners stayed in the country after independence, and it appears that there is ample potential for mobilizing those who have a capacity for work, leadership and initiative to the benefit of the country.

This sector has continued to reduce the volume of its marketed production in recent years. However, its weight in certain products is still important and a total of 50 000 ha are under private cultivation. Production has been estimated at 5% of total agricultural production equivalent to one-third of state farm production. Total labour force may be estimated at approximately 75 000.

As for the family sector no support has been given to the private sector and means and ways of organizing and extending its contribution to the overall economy should be found.

2.3.7 Development of Non-farm Rural Activities

Support to the development of rural industrialization, rural works programmes and other non-farm activities has been given in two forms in post-independence Mozambique: first, general expansion of health, services, education and infrastructure, and second specific development projects.

Rural areas have benefitted from the expansion of social services which will be discussed more in detail in Sections 3.3 and 3.4. The establishment of high and medium tension lines has led to electrification of towns and communal villages. A small scale hydro-electric power station has been built in Niassa and more are underway. Production of energy is increasing since 1977 and has surpassed colonial levels. A survey of hydro-electric resources is being undertaken. A new maize mill has been installed and a network of small flourmills has been extended, and there are plans for promoting small scale industries for local production of edible oils, soap and footwear, using local resources and skills. Construction activities have been undertaken to establish schools, health posts and centers, but also for some local storage facilities. Rural water supply systems have been built, boreholes and wells established, and irrigation schemes in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete have been prepared. Heavy investments in transport facilities have been made, buying brigades and fixed buying points are now in operation, and credit facilities are being developed. Social communication activities have also been promoted in remote areas, and now reach 40 communal villages.

Small scale forest industries in communal villages have been supported by an experimental project. The area of reforestation has been expanded and although not all reforestation and charcoal production projects around major cities have been successful, experiences are being gained. Food aid has supported forestry sector activities in Manica, Sofala and Inhambane as well as agricultural and social development of the tea industry in Zambezia.

In respect of forestry activities sabotage has been of particular importance. The above forest industries project has had to move its area of operation and 20 sawmills out of approximately 100 have been destroyed. Another problem of a more general nature has been the question of systems of fiscal incentives already discussed in previous sections. Charcoal has been sold from a project in Maputo for 100-150 Mt whereas the prevailing 'market rate' has been around 1 000 Mt. 1/

1/ In December 1983 40.6 Meticais (Mt) equalled US\$ 1.00.

Production of small fishing boats started in 1981. The supply of nets and fishing gear has been increased, and despite some doubts about the strategy followed, support to artisanal fisheries and exploitation of new resources has been given.

The above clearly stresses that although the growth in non-farm rural activities has not been sufficient the concept is known. Further development will depend on priority the government gives to these activities and on the implementation of a policy which makes use of local initiative and available resources. It is in this context encouraging that a project proposal for small scale rural industries development is being included in negotiations with the Nordic countries for the period 1985-89 and that a project for cottage industries will soon be financed by UNDP. In addition, plans for using food aid resources for community rural works programmes etc. are being developed.

3. EQUITY

3.1 ACCESS TO LAND, WATER AND OTHER RESOURCES

Two different types of land tenure systems existed before independence. The first was based on the traditional African system whereas the other followed European traditions and legal rights. Both were, however, under Portuguese control. The traditional African system was based on the principle of holding common land, the right of usufruct being allocated over part of the land for the duration of the cropping season. On the rich soils along the large river valleys there was some stability with fixed farm borders. However, traditional agriculture did - and still does - imply in general shifting cultivation with farmers moving frequently to new fields of one to two hectares in size cleared by slash and burning. Traditional farmers outside communal villages usually reside in habitations built in small clusters occupied by a group of relatives and located close to the cultivated area.

After independence all land was nationalized, but some of the better quality land which was earlier occupied by Portuguese settlers was taken over by farming families spontaneously. In some areas this land was later handed over to communal villages or redistributed under guidance of the base level political organizations. Much of the redistribution which took place in this first period of transition was arbitrary and it has correctly been observed that it is unclear to which extent the poorest families were in fact given access to better or more land through this process. (4).

A new law on land was passed by the People's Assembly in mid-1979 which provides for access to land as a basic right for any Mozambican citizen who may live on his land and keep the crops grown there. However, the land cannot be sold or rented out.

Land used for family agriculture is free and the same accounts for land used by state entities, for housing and by cooperatives and communal villages. Family plots can still be passed down from parents to children but the ultimate ownership remains with the state. The state may therefore move people if the land is to be used for other purposes, but it has an obligation to resettle the people and compensate any losses.

Private firms may also use land, but could be asked to pay rent and the land will only be ceded to them for a specific purpose which cannot be altered.

Distribution of land holdings in 1970 according to the Census of Agriculture indicates that there were 1.65 million farms in the traditional

sector on an area of 2.5 million ha. The average sized farm was thus 1.55 ha. Only some 45 thousand traditional farms (i.e. less than 3% of the total) were above 5 ha. in size. A survey of Inhambane in 1965 indicates that 12% of farmers had less than half a hectare and 4% more than 5 ha.

Less than 3 million ha. are under either seasonal or permanent crops out of a total area of 78.6 million ha. with a population density of approximately 15.8 per Km². Only some 70 000 ha are under irrigation which is less than 3% of total crop area, and the potential runs into hundreds of thousands of hectares.

The apparent absence of land shortage and the low population density do not reflect, however, substantial variations in the site and quality of land and its actual availability in terms of potential for cultivation. The extent of these differences in access to land is difficult to assess in view of lack of data.

The process of socializing the country side should gradually settle the farmers in communal villages and cooperatives, counteracting the present severe fragmentation of holdings. A new system geared towards an egalitarian distribution of land and other resources will become consolidated. Resources will be exploited in accordance with priorities determined by the state and the communal villages. However, it must be stressed that cooperatives do not by themselves assure equity and fundamental changes in the relations of production on the land as demonstrated by Harris (5). Proper planning of cooperative and communal village development is essential.

Considerable differences exist in regard to access to draught power. The majority of ploughs and the 1.4 million heads of cattle continue to be concentrated in Southern Mozambique except for coastal areas in the Zambezia Province and the Angonia district in Tete. This is in particular due to the prevalence of tsetse and trypanosomiasis. The exclusion of the vast majority of small farmers from basic agricultural implements and draught power is an important indicator of absolute poverty and source of inequality.

Reference has already been made to the close linkage between the traditional and modern sectors during colonial times, where farmers became dependent on cash income through wage work of forced cash cropping. Minimum rural wages have been fixed after independence at a considerable increased level, but many farmers are unable to benefit from this. They live too far from where seasonable work is available; work is available when labour on the family farm is required and there has been a decline in overall opportunities. Furthermore, the minimum salary of 62.50 Mt/day is low considering the general lack of food and consumer goods. Several development projects have therefore encountered serious difficulties with lack of labour, underlining the need for ensuring a stable supply of food and consumer goods as well as farm inputs and implements to rural areas.

Inter-regional and inter-community inequalities continue to exist in Mozambique. Population density varies from 4.1 per Km² in Niassa to 24.8 and 30.6 in respectively Zambezia and Nampula. Economic infrastructure is in particular concentrated around the two cities of Maputo and Beira. Government is now actively reviewing those differences, and priority areas for development are being identified. However, it is unclear to which extent the process will counteract regional differences as criteria for choosing these areas are centered around resource availability for agricultural development, potential for producing marketed surpluses and population density. In addition, investments in green zones around major cities may affect urban/rural differences.

3.2 ACCESS TO INPUTS, MARKETS AND SERVICES

3.2.1 Marketing

Before independence the rural marketing system consisted of a network of approximately 6 000 rural traders ('cantineiros') most of whom were Portuguese. The cantineiros were the main distributors of agricultural inputs and consumer goods as well as collectors of surplus produce from small farmers.

The exodus of the cantineiros resulted in an almost complete collapse of the marketing network and a new system had to be created. After a number of reorganizations and an unsuccessful attempt with 'people's stores' a state enterprise Agricom E.E. was created in April 1981 to support the Agricultural Marketing Division within the Ministry of Domestic Trade. The main objective of Agricom is to function as the leading wholesaler of cereals in the country at district level alongside with state distributors such as COGROPA for food stuffs. However, in view of the lack of a well functioning marketing distribution network Agricom also assumes marketing functions not limited to cereals.

Agricom conducts its marketing operations through a network of purchasing centres at national, provincial and district levels, and some 270 fixed buying posts have been established at local level in small villages. The buying posts normally work from a small warehouse and with the assistance of 63 mobile buying brigades. Agricom buys the surplus of the small farmers, the production of state farms, cooperatives and private farms, but in addition sells and distributes consumer goods, agricultural implements and seeds. In many remote rural areas Agricom is the only government structure reaching the rural population.

In fact, Agricom normally only establishes fixed marketing posts in villages where no licensed dealer exists, where conditions are difficult due to poor roads, etc. Agricom's functions are in this respect of social and economic importance to the family sector.

The Agricom share of total marketed quantities increased from 18% in 1981 to 31% in 1982 although in absolute figures quantities decreased from 202 000 to 187 000 tons excluding cashew. It is noteworthy that Agricom purchases increased from 1981 to 1982 in all provinces except Sofala and Manica which were badly hit by MNR rebels. The remaining part of marketed production was channelled through private dealers.

The retail network is now based upon some 4 000 private traders mostly former employees of the cantineiros and consumer cooperatives.

A range of other institutions handling the provision of seasonal agricultural inputs, equipment and spares, export and import etc. has also been established in the form of state enterprises.

Fixed prices and controlled margins apply to all agricultural outputs and inputs. Regarding typical outputs such as maize, rice and cassava, the National Price Commission upon recommendation of the Ministries of Agriculture and Domestic Trade sets prices for every stage of distribution from producer to consumer, i.e. producer and wholesale levels, at the mill gate and to the consumer. These prices are followed by Agricom, but private traders offer higher prices to producers, reducing the Agricom share of marketed production and partly explaining why official marketing has decreased.

Official price increases have averaged 15% per year between 1972 and 1979, more or less following consumer price increases. However, in 1982 most prices paid to rural producers were raised 40-50%. Differential prices were introduced for rice from 1982 to 1983. Rice from the family sector, cooperatives and privates is bought at a substantially increased price of 10 Mt/kg

whereas state farms receive 6.20 Mt/kg. Prices paid for maize and cassava amount to 6.20 and 4.00 Mt/kg respectively.

It is generally agreed that there is a significant potential for increased peasant sector marketing. The major reasons for the poor performance realized so far have been the lack of agricultural inputs, deficient central organizations, insufficient management and control of staff and lack of transport facilities.

3.2.2 Credit

The Bank of Mozambique (BM) which also serves as Central Bank, and the People's Development Bank (BPD) are the main providers of credit to the agricultural sector. They are both state institutions, now almost fully staffed by Mozambicans. In addition, there is a minor private bank.

The Bank of Mozambique is mainly concerned with foreign trade and commerce and provides credit to big estates producing inter alia tea, sugar, cashew, sisal and tobacco, which are of major importance to the foreign currency transactions of the Bank.

Other credit for agriculture is supplied and administered by BPD in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture. BPD has its head office in Maputo and branches in all provinces. The number of branches rose from 108 in 1977 to 133 in 1981 of which 77 are in rural areas. Credit has mainly been supplied for agricultural machinery and mainly to state farms and cooperatives.

The link between the BPD and the borrowing unit are the government representatives responsible for either the area (the provincial director of agriculture) or the field of activity (national directorates) as appropriate.

Any state enterprise in need of capital may submit a proposal to the national directorate responsible which reviews it and submits it to BPD. After approval BPD opens two accounts, one for handling the loan itself, the other for depositing the receipts from the sale of final goods and services rendered by the enterprise. An estimated 80% of all BPD credit goes to the state enterprise sector.

Cooperatives approach the provincial director of agriculture with their requests from credit and they are accorded short, medium or long term credit in accordance with the needs and stage of development of the cooperative. An estimated 15% of all BPD credit goes to the cooperative sector.

So far only a negligible amount of credit (less than 1%) has found its way to the traditional peasant farmers. Private modern sector farmers also channel their requests through the provincial directors of agriculture, but in this case evaluation of the request is carried out directly by the Bank and it is in general rather difficult to obtain loans for this sector. Only some 5% of the total BPD credit has accrued to private farmers.

In evaluating developments it should be kept in mind that the excessive money supply coupled with the lack of investment goods and consumer goods have affected demand for credit from the family and private sectors to a significant degree.

The state enterprises and cooperatives are not required to provide collateral before obtaining loans; but private farmers and traditional peasants must do so. Collateral may range from personal belongings to assets of the farm and no specifications have been defined in this regard.

Annual interest rates charged by the BPD to various sectors range between 3 and 6 percent. See Table 2.

Table 2

ANNUAL INTEREST RATES OF BPD
(%)

	State Sector	Cooperative Sector	Family Sector	Others (including private sector)
Capital Investments	4	3	4	5
Cash Credits	5	3	4	6

BPD encounters a number of major obstacles in the implementation of a more optimal credit strategy and the following can be mentioned:

- i. The present staff is inadequate in number and ill-prepared to deal with a great number of production units;
- ii. Delinquency rates have been high;
- iii. There is an acute shortage of funds to support increased agricultural credit lines.

3.2.3 Research

Agronomic research in Mozambique is in general under the responsibility of the National Agricultural Research Institute (INIA). However, in the field of cotton, cashew, citrus, tea, sugar, coconut and fruits direct responsibility lies outside INIA.

During the colonial period research was concentrated on crops for export or processing and some information on soils, plants, insects etc. was compiled. Yet, in general little is known about the suitability of the environment for the various crops in the different regions of the country. The same accounts for knowledge about the practical field level application of technology or on methods of research, training and social organization involving people's participation.

Change in research priorities has been slow in coming in post-independence Mozambique. However, traditional peasant sector crops like cassava, sweet potatoes, cow peas and groundnuts are now included among priorities for research. A major reorganization of INIA is taking place to counteract an excessive degree of centralization in Maputo and lack of links between research and production activities.

A Land and Water Evaluation Project executed by FAO as well as other projects are building up necessary knowledge about the resource base for planned agricultural development. Finally, a national programme for the establishment of Rural Centres for Research and Development (CRED) has an element of applied research in various regions of the country.

3.3 EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EXTENSION

3.3.1 Education and Training

The educational system under colonial rule left 93% of the population above seven years of age illiterate. Of a total population of 8.2 million in 1970 little more than 50 000 had primary education, about 2 000 had first stage secondary education and some 50 had qualifications equivalent to third to seventh year of grammar school. Not more than a dozen Mozambicans had university education in 1970 and of 3 800 students at the University in 1974 only 40 were black.

Today the proportion of children of school age who are attending school is still smaller than in most countries of the region. However, enrollment in primary school rose from 672 000 in 1975 to 1 330 000 in 1982 and enrollment in general secondary education rose from 23 000 to 94 400. Since 1975 430 000 pupils have completed fourth year, 88 000 sixth year and 7 400 ninth year and since 1981 1 100 have completed eleventh year.

Five national literacy campaigns and three adult education campaigns have been carried out and illiteracy has been reduced by some 20%. A new national education system was introduced in 1983 with the following sub-systems: general education, vocational training, adult education, teacher training and higher education. This system will furthermore have a fourtier structure: primary, secondary, intermediate and higher education.

At the basic level there are eight agricultural secondary schools under the Ministry of Education seven of which have been established since 1975 in former agricultural elementary schools. In 1982 they had an enrollment in three year courses of 2 091.

Fishery education and training is another critical need for the Mozambican development process. In the industrial shrimp fishery which has reached some level of technical sophistication, the massive departure of expatriate masterfishermen after independence created serious problems in maintaining and operating the fleet. A fisheries training centre has been established in Matola (near Maputo) with the goal of training 50 engineers and 50 masterfishermen each year as well as conducting intensive upgrading courses for those Mozambican skippers and engineers already working in the fleet.

In general secondary education the number of schools increased from 33 in 1975 to 133 in 1982. The teacher/pupil ratio in primary education fell from 1:84 in 1977 to 1:53 in 1982. Between 1976 and 1981 10 200 primary teachers were trained and by 1982 the first 139 intermediate level technical teachers had been trained.

The number of students enrolled at University amounts to more than 1 800 with about two-thirds having part time work outside University.

In the agricultural sector a system of training has been established as indicated below in Table 3. Emphasis is on the lower levels.

Table 3

SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL TRAINING

Level of Training	Length of Course	Criteria for Admission
Professional (higher)	4 years	grade 11
Medium (intermediate)	3 years	grade 9
Basic (secondary)	1-3 years	grade 5-6
Elementary (primary)	1/2 year	grade 4
Peasant Training	Short courses	grade 2/literate

Note: The criteria for admission may be less if other factors such as working experience justify this.

At university level there are two faculties, one for agriculture and forestry and one for veterinary medicine. The number of students is still very low and only 8 students graduated in 1981/82.

There is only one medium level school, it is located in Chimoio and had in 1982 a total enrollment of 334 in four specialized fields.

3.3.2 Extension

Following independence at which time an agricultural extension network as such was non existent it has become increasingly obvious that one of the crucial bottlenecks faced by the government is to find ways and means by which to transfer knowledge about improved agricultural technology to the farmers. The serious shortage of trained personnel and the need to keep key state functions in operation as well as the concentration on the state farms originally left agricultural extension for small farmers and cooperatives to be the responsibility of district agricultural officers. They have had extremely limited time and capacity to carry out this function which added to the existing serious lack of field knowledge and low level of training.

3.4 HEALTH AND NUTRITION

The colonial health system was mainly directed towards meeting the curative needs of the white population in towns. Preventive medicine hardly existed and the allocation of some 3% of the overall budget to health was minimal.

This situation left a legacy with a very low standard of health with numerous communicable diseases, a population suffering from nutritional deficiencies and an almost complete lack of health statistics about the mass of the population. The crude death rate has been estimated at 17 per thousand, life expectancy at birth at 46 years and infant mortality at 140 per thousand.

Immediately after independence private clinics and mission hospitals were nationalized. The allocation of funds to health was increased to 10% of

total government expenditure, and a new health programme was designed. Three basic principles were defined:

- i. Health services are to be seen as an integrated part of a whole package of activities to improve the overall level of health;
- ii. Health services must be available to everyone;
- iii. Emphasis is to be on prevention rather than on curative medicine.

In accordance with these principles new structures have been introduced, and from 1977 to 1981 333 health posts, 28 health centres and one rural hospital were established. Whereas each health unit used to serve 16 200 people in the past it now serves 11 600. The network of laboratories grew from 32 in 1977 to 122 in 1981 by which year every district had at least one health worker with ability to diagnose and provide treatment. In 1975 35 doctors were in districts, by 1981 there were 47 and the overall number of doctors rose from 284 to 404. Since 1975 3 250 nurses and other health workers have been trained.

Clearly, the establishment of a fully developed rural health system will not be realized in the short term, and pending this, mass preventive campaigns are undertaken. The National Vaccination Campaign was launched in 1976 as a two and a half year programme and carried out by three brigades each in a position to carry out 6 000 injections per day. The programme had reached 96% of the target groups in September 1978 and 10.9 million had been vaccinated against smallpox, 5.1 million against tuberculosis, 2.0 million against tetanus and 1.2 million against measles.

Despite the success of this campaign major problems remain, and it may be mentioned for instance that cholera has broken out in several places in the country during past years.

No general surveys are available of food consumption patterns but they vary in different ethnic groups and geographical areas. Roots and tubers (especially cassava), maize, millet, sorghum, sugar, oil and fat make up for more than 80% of the total calorie supply, with cassava and maize overly important. Rice is becoming increasingly important.

Daily calorie consumption has been estimated at 1 920 calories in 1980, equivalent to only some 81.5% of the requirement. Protein and fat amount to only approximately 40 and 30 grammes respectively with low percentages (11-18%) of animal origin.

3.5 POVERTY, INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND EMPLOYMENT

No studies of poverty or income distribution have been undertaken in Mozambique nor are there as yet household surveys of family budgets or consumption patterns which can be generalized to national level. Similarly, systematic data on the size and pattern of current employment are not available, and the detailed results of the 1980 Census are still awaited.

It is therefore difficult to piece together a comprehensive picture of developments, but some general observations can be made.

The latest estimates made available by the Government seem to confirm earlier estimates that per capita income in 1981 was equivalent to approximately US\$ 170 per year. This represents a stagnating level of per capita income as compared to 1977. A 6.9% decrease in total GNP took place in 1982 and per capita income in this year is therefore lower than in 1977.

An estimate of rural per capita income of US\$ 50 in 1972 which is referred to in the report of an IFAD Mission (4) also gives a rough measure of absolute poverty at the lowest levels. The 1970 average annual salary for an agricultural worker was equivalent to US\$ 126 (6). Wages and salaries have been approximately tripled since 1970 and subsidies have been substantial. Producer prices have also generally tripled leaving the terms of trade of the rural sector more or less unaltered.

The minimum daily salary for a labourer in the agricultural sector is 62.50 Mt. The minimum monthly salary for unskilled workers with some supervisory functions is 3.500 Mt.

At independence an unusually high percentage of the labour force was employed as wage earning labour. Estimates as high as 20-30% for 1970 have been indicated implying a total wage employment of about 1 million for 1970. Total wage labour employment fell drastically after independence due to the exodus of the Portuguese, the almost complete stop of plantation labour in Southern Rhodesia, the drastic curtailment of mine labour to South Africa and the crisis in the export-oriented cash-crop production in the northern provinces as well as the difficulties in other sectors of the economy.

The above developments should have led to an oversupply of people seeking work. This is the case in major cities but there is at present a lack of unskilled labour in many agricultural development projects. This appears in particular to have been caused by the lack of food in which situation the minimum wage rate has become less attractive than staying at the family farm full-time or migrating to urban areas.

It is difficult to change over relatively short periods of time long term inequalities of income and poverty induced economic behaviour. In Mozambique this task has become even more difficult due to the bleak performance in economic growth and employment difficulties. Furthermore, the traditional peasant sector has a considerable potential for absorbing labour producing both for own consumption and marketing thereby fuelling growth and equity. So far this potential has not been realized due to the relative neglect of the sector in terms of investment resources, credit, technical assistance etc.

Yet, the above observations must be seen together with the considerable expansion of literacy, education and health services at little or no cost to the individual which are important policy measures already taken to achieve the objectives of less poverty and more equal development.

3.6 WOMEN'S CONDITIONS

According to the Constitution Mozambican men and women have the same political, economic, social and cultural rights and obligations except that a woman loses her citizenship if she marries a foreigner, which does not apply to a man who marries a foreign woman.

A Women's Organization (OMM) was established in 1973 as an association of Frelimo and fully institutionalized as a mass democratic organization in 1976.

A programme of action for the emancipation of women has been formulated and adopted by OMM to abolish initiation rites, bride payments, child marriages and polygamy, and it is an objective of the authorities that women participate actively in the collective sector of the agricultural production in the communal villages as well as in state enterprises. However, OMM has mainly served as a political organization with limited executive capacity and in practice the rights of the women are still rather limited. Without formalities the husband can abandon his wife if she cannot bear children. Early marriages and frequent childbirths are common.

Furthermore, the women's participation in the economically active population is only approximately 25% and out of these 94% are to be found in agriculture. In training, male dominance is also prevalent. Of 2 091 students enrolled in Ministry of Education basic level agricultural schools in 1982, 302 were women (i.e. 14.4%) and in the medium level school at Chimoio out of 334 students 26 were women (i.e. 7.8%).

At district and local levels in the rural sector OMM is trying to persuade women to move to communal villages, sharing this task with the Party and the State. However, despite progress in resettling 15% of the population in communal villages the majority continue to live dispersed. The women continue to be the child rearers and the main food producers for home consumption. Sometimes a quantity is produced for sale to the market but husbands keep control of earnings. Women also have traditional duties such as fetching of firewood and water for cooking, watering of plots, etc. taking up many hours each day. According to OMM the rural women therefore constitute the most oppressed and exploited group in Mozambique today.

Considerable legal and political changes related to women's conditions have taken place in Mozambique since independence. Yet, there is a clear need to reinforce OMM's executive capacities and the process of integrating women into communal villages, cooperatives and state farms where traditional ideas about women still prevail.

4. PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

4.1 THE PARTY

The style and work methods of the National Liberation Front were profoundly popular and democratic during the independence struggle. It was tradition to discuss people's problems. People's participation in the discussion of problems and in decision making was - and continues to be - seen as a measure to guarantee not only that decisions are correct but also that people are consciously committed to their implementation.

Following independence there was for the first time freedom of expression and assembly in zones not liberated during the liberation war. Thousands of meetings were held all over the country, and it was decided to establish dynamizing groups ('grupos dinamizadores'), a political innovation in Africa. The groups were to carry out mobilization and organizational work throughout the country, resolving problems of a political, economic, social and administrative nature and incorporating the population into the political process.

Mentalities correlated with centuries of colonial oppression and exploitation are difficult to change quickly and the dynamizing groups suffered a range of practical problems, i.e. lack of transport. However, they carried out an important task in the first post-independence years and demonstrated a determination to involve the people.

As the process of restructuring the state apparatus was implemented executive functions of the dynamizing groups passed naturally to state bodies, and at Frelimo's Third Congress in early 1977 the National Liberation Front was transformed into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party. The role of Frelimo is to guide the State and Society. Frelimo defines the political line and supervises the state organs so as to ensure that their activities are in accordance with the interests of the people. However, Frelimo has no legislative, administrative or coercive power. It does not represent the State and nor the Government, even if both are under its formative influence and controlling presence.

The basis of the Party are the cells established in places which were

defined as priorities for their political, economic and social importance. Choosing the right people to become party members was clearly crucial. Those who put forward their candidature or were proposed by others were only considered for approval after they had appeared in front of their own communities in mass meetings led by veterans from the independence struggle. Discussions of the political, working and moral qualities of the candidates took place and full admission to the party only followed after approval by provincial secretaries and one year's candidature where the person's conduct was closely followed.

By early 1984 4 244 party cells have been established throughout the country in localities, production units, state bodies and residential areas. Frelimo has more than 110 000 members (i.e. about 1% of the population) of which about half are peasants and one fifth are workers. Some 26% are women. The cells have a secretariat and regular cell meetings are convened. When necessary the cells are grouped into circles with a circle secretariat and a committee, and at locality level 427 committees have been organized. The locality committee may be based on a certain geographic area but may also be established in major production units. At district and provincial levels conferences, committees and secretariats are the institutions of the Party, and at national level the Congress is the central body. A Central Committee with 130 members, a Politbureau with 11 members and the Secretariat with 6 members are also established as well as a Control Committee.

The party cells are seen as the decisive level for the party's work and a clear leadership role is attributed to them. However leadership demands skilled cadres and a number of problems have been encountered. The growth of the party apparatus has not kept pace with the growth of the party itself in terms of the number of members and extent of geographical coverage. Sufficient cadres in terms of quantity and quality have not been available. This partly reflects Mozambique's general situation but also that most cadres have executive positions in the state apparatus. The pressing needs here have implied that little time has been available for the functions of developing a party. Its independence from the state is, however, necessary if the party is to exercise political control.

Planning has as already been pointed out been excessively centralized and complex, not involving the grass root level in the process. Unrealistic targets have been set affecting the daily lives of people who were - by law - obliged to meet these targets. Ambitious but realistic targets may lead to mobilization, but unrealistic targets lead to frustration, dissatisfaction and mismanagement. The cells have not been capable of intervening in the essential function of economic planning obviously undermining their leadership role.

Cells have therefore often restricted themselves to mobilization, repeating slogans and exhortations that had no connections with solving the concrete problems of the masses (7).

4.2 THE STATE

Frelimo inherited a lethargic, cumbersome, bureaucratic, racist and corrupt Portuguese colonial state apparatus, festooned with red tape and special tax stamps - to be affixed in appropriate denominations in specific places on administrative forms and filled in for virtually every activity the citizen wished to undertake (8). The state existed to serve the interests of the colonial power, and the complicated procedures virtually excluded most Africans from such limited rights as they might legally have enjoyed. To take over, transform and control this apparatus and make it a tool to serve the needs of a new society and its people has been a major challenge in post-independence Mozambique. The process is far from completed although advances have been made.

In 1977 barely two years after independence general elections were held. A People's Assembly with 230 members was elected and simultaneously people's assemblies were formed from locality to province level. At present there are 11 assemblies at provincial level, 101 assemblies at district level, 1 332 locality assemblies and 43.606 deputies to assemblies at various levels.

In practice people's participation in this system begins with an assembly-delegate structure at the immediate community level defined either by place of residence or place of work. Each community is expected to meet regularly in public session and everyone is encouraged to attend. The people's assembly elects an executive committee among its members and this - subject to assembly control and reelection - is the community's governing body. The community while subject to the laws of the country governs above all by local initiative. The watchword is self-reliance (9).

The People's Assembly is the Supreme State Legislative Authority. It meets twice a year and passes all laws and government budgets and legal acts of the 15 person Standing Commission. The President, who is Chairman of the Party and Head of State as well as Commander-in-Chief convenes and guides both the Assembly and the Standing Commission.

Executive bodies of the State have been established and include a 22 person Council of Ministers, ministries, national commissions and secretariats of state. At local level, provincial governments and executive councils for district, town and locality have been founded. New structures in the cities have just begun to take shape.

A judicial system based on new values and principles is being established. Ten provincial people's tribunals, 34 district people's tribunals and 535 locality people's tribunals have been created. The Supreme People's Tribunal and the Public Prosecutor's Office are being structured.

The people's tribunals, especially at locality level give judgement on the basis of common sense and justice taking into account 'the principles that govern the building of socialism'. They are characterized by a high degree of popular involvement.

The above transformation process is clearly not an easy one. Difficulties in maintaining the party's separation from the state have been mentioned. However, it has also been recognized that although the powers of people's assemblies are defined in legal terms they need to develop through democratic practice. The people at the base do not have precise powers over planning, distribution of means of production, supplies and management of housing. Local initiative has been squeezed due to lack of central support. Some assemblies meet merely to fulfil legal requirements and there is no follow-up of decisions. They operate formally but the practical effect of their leadership is not felt (7).

Uncoordinated operation of executive structures is still prevalent at all levels. There is a clear tendency to act in isolation reacting to instructions from 'above' neglecting local integration and initiative.

Furthermore, the state apparatus has been too much involved in the management of production units and services rather than concentrating on its proper role of defining overall policies and plans, guiding and supporting the productive sectors. This to a certain extent reflects the lack of qualified staff at all levels, but also a lack of consistency in implementing the transformation process and keeping priorities clear.

4.3 OTHER FORMS OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

People have participated in the transformation process not only through their involvement with party and state structures, but also through national meetings, production councils, mass democratic organizations, socio-professional organizations and various other associations.

A number of national meetings with i.e. former political prisoners, veterans of the armed struggle and religious groups as well as 'ex-compromised' have been held to analyze their situation and assure their involvement. These meetings as well as the tradition of tolerance and clemency with former protagonists of the colonial system lie at the center of the policies of Frelimo. Despite the recent introduction of public flogging and increased use of capital punishment the philosophy remains one of reeducation and reintegration of 'enemy agents, traitors and deserters, criminals, anti-social and marginal elements'. The restoration of political rights in 1982 to 'ex-compromised' is another aspect of the wish to further a feeling of national patriotism and involvement of the people.

Production councils were launched on 13 October 1976 as a means to increase the consciousness of the workers, their involvement in decision making, planning and control of production, discipline at the workplace, etc. The production councils have undertaken educational activities and stimulated health and safety at work. The councils have succeeded in mobilizing and involving many members of the working class.

However, a side effect has been increased confusion of responsibilities of various groups, administration, workers and party cells. In addition it has been noted that amongst cadres of the production councils at various levels there is a 'tendency to bureaucratism and to solving problems administratively' (7).

The production councils have led to the recent creation of an Organization of Mozambican Workers (OTM), a trade union which will serve as the means of the party to organize the workers. The OTM is presently being organized and set up and experiences will show to which extent it will increase people's real involvement.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS AND MAIN PROBLEMS

The previous sections have reviewed the main achievements and basic issues in the process of agrarian transformation in Mozambique. It may be concluded that party and state structures are now well established at all levels. Possibilities for enhancing people's participation in decision-making and in the economic and social development of the country have been put on a sound base. Mass participation and mobilization as well as self-criticism continue to be characteristic elements of the process. People's minds and mentalities are becoming those of a free African Nation.

Social services have been significantly increased and general living conditions in terms of housing, education, health, water supply, electrification etc. are improving.

Socialization of the countryside involving the resettlement of rural people in communal villages and the development of cooperative modes of production has begun and state farm production expanded. Systems for delivery of credit and other agricultural services are being developed.

Mozambique has after only eight years of independence following hundreds of years of colonial exploitation succeeded in establishing the basic framework for transforming society.

Yet, Mozambique is also a country in deep crisis. An adequate food base is an essential prerequisite for development, but per capita food production is declining. The country is becoming increasingly dependent on food imports and food aid. Food security at local level in its various aspects is precarious. Demobilization can be observed and the degree of enthusiasm of the people has fallen.

Mozambique is by no means the only African country which is encountering difficulties. Africa and Mozambique as well do not have an ideal agricultural environment. Periods of too much water are followed by periods of drought. Soils are not particularly rich. Infestation and crop diseases make agriculture a haphazard exercise. Vast areas suffer from tsetse flies transmitting sleeping sickness, making impossible the use of draught animals and implying that traditional agriculture has been limited to what man can accomplish with hand tools (10).

Adding to this, enormous constraints like Mozambique's overwhelming colonial heritage, the extreme lack of trained people, continuing sabotage and war and the world economic crisis are major reasons for poor performance.

The Fourth Congress of Frelimo held in April 1983 noted that 'the centre of gravity of the class struggle in our country is located increasingly in the economic field'. However, the analysis did not stop here. The state apparatus came in for strong criticism for being excessively centralized and top heavy. Planning, it was pointed out has been carried out without indispensable survey of local reality, culture, custom and tradition of the people. Veterans of the independence struggle noted that 'we are witnessing the infiltration of our state apparatus by agents of the bourgeoisie who try to block the implementation of our party's policy. They repress popular initiatives, they refuse to work with the people'. The statement that 'power corrupts' was repeated over and over again.

The report of the Central Committee identifies 'giantism' of the state farms and neglect of cooperative and peasant family sectors as main problems (7). Despite their essential role, peasants have been relegated to a secondary position neither being supplied with basic tools and inputs nor with consumer goods on which to spend the money earned by agricultural activities. It was recognized that 'the transition from the hoe to the plough and from the plough to the tractor and the combine harvester must be accompanied by a higher level of organization of work and of production, and by a rise in the skills of those who have to use them'.

The agrarian question was identified as of fundamental importance and 'since rural development strategy is based on the peasants, it must make sense to them. They must master it and understand their role within it'. This basic prerequisite for solving Mozambique's food crisis - and indeed Africa's as well - could not have been put any clearer.

5.2 MAIN LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

The overall framework and objectives of agrarian transformation were not changed during the Fourth Congress. Rather short and medium term needs were put more into focus so as to ensure the realization of longer term goals. Increased agricultural production therefore becomes an overriding priority.

There is repeated emphasis on efficient use of existing resources and installed capacity, minimizing the use of imported inputs. The state farm

sector is thus to be reorganized and consolidated instead of expanded. The sector continues to be assigned a leading role but it was stressed that this is based on higher efficiency not size.

Wideranging support to the family, cooperative and private sectors is now a declared priority with emphasis on small scale projects with an immediate impact on people's living standards, national defence and optimal use of existing resources.

Key areas where main activities of organization, planning and investment will be concentrated are to be defined based on priority products and existing natural features and potential. Improving, simplifying and decentralizing the planning process is foreseen so as to assure a higher degree of people's participation. The basis for planning will be the district, which will be assigned more authority and responsibility, leading to local management, initiative and self reliance.

Self reliance is seen as essential in ensuring that development is 'a process we master, a process in which man dominates the reality around him' (11).

As integral elements of the above main lines of development, attention will be focused on import substitution sectors that use local raw materials and resources, on food production and export sectors. Traditional food crops for internal consumption will be encouraged, drought resistant crops introduced and rational use of water resources strengthened. Small scale industries producing for local needs will be established and rehabilitated.

It is also planned to organize marketing and supply networks to rural areas. Support in improved techniques and organizational methods and extension are necessary, and in the whole process 'principal agents will be local authorities and state enterprises' based in the respective areas.

The family sector composed of dispersed individual and traditional farm families will produce for own consumption and the market and will gradually be transformed into a cooperative sector. Cooperatives must solve local food supply problems first, then produce for the market. In addition state institutions must assure that cooperatives are supported and made more efficient than the family sector, thereby promoting cooperativization. Furthermore due regard to wishes, experience and needs of peasants is foreseen. Establishment of communal villages will be continued, but greater care in avoiding earlier mistakes in planning will be taken.

Private farmers will be given incentives to increase food production, develop exports and reduce imports through credit, price and fiscal policies.

5.3 FINAL OBSERVATIONS

Following Frelimo's Fourth Congress a major government reshuffle took place. A new Minister of Agriculture was appointed. Senior government officials have been delegated to run farms and factories initiating a large movement of staff out of central structures into rural areas in the districts. State farms are being broken up into smaller, more manageable enterprises. The State Secretariat for the Accelerated Development of the Limpopo and Incomati Region (SERLI) has been dissolved. Its 'unit of production' has been split into 13 autonomous units. Planning for 1984, although far from being based on the district has been decentralized to provincial level to a significant degree with central levels concentrating more on coordination and overall priorities.

The reflections of Frelimo at the Fourth Congress are indeed remarkable

in their self-criticism and frankness, and practical follow-up is taking place. Yet, while the documents from the Congress contain clear declarations of principles and targets they do not contain programmes of action.

A thorough review of policies towards the agricultural sector has taken place, and experience will show whether practice will be changed. There seems to be little disagreement in Mozambique that this is absolutely necessary in the short and medium term.

Yet, while the Fourth Congress confirmed that a future socialist society must be built on state farms, heavy industry and a strong working party as well as on a base of peasant cooperatives such balance is not an easy one to strike. Modifying the prevailing 'exploitative' view of agriculture and the urban-industrial high technology bias will be difficult. Painstaking decisions in the allocation and the commitment of resources, marketing and prices, provision of inputs, services and infrastructure to the peasant sector will have to be taken. And above all Mozambique has to develop its programme of action of 'how to do it'. In this, it is essential to note that peasants do not react to instructions and orders, but to incentives which 'make sense to them'.

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