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The Society

Mozambique

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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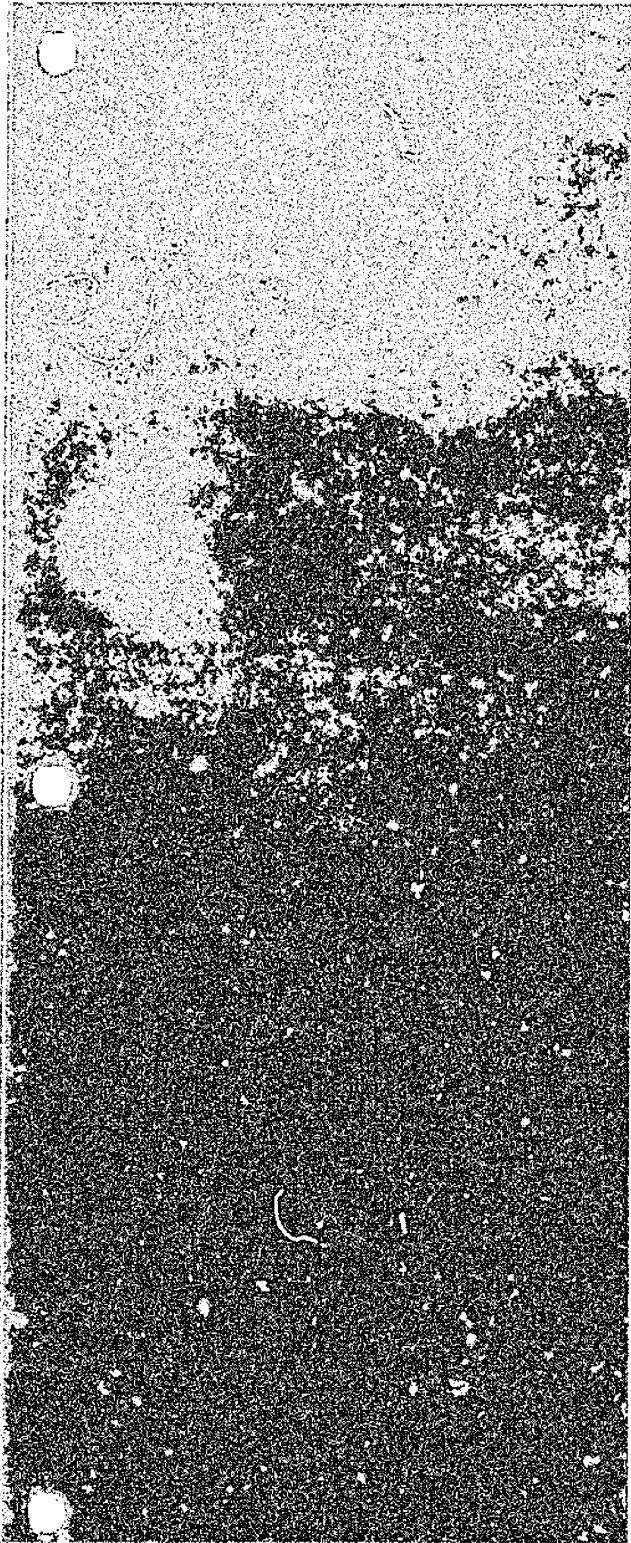
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MOZAMBIQUE

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"In spite of everything there is love that remains around us," contemporary painting by Mozambique's most noted artist, the African Malangatana. Critics see in Malangatana's paintings, in which violence and blood are dominant themes and there is frequent portrayal of teeth and claws, the artist's attempt to express the frustrations and anxieties of his race. (U OU)

The Society

A. Introduction (C)

As a Portuguese overseas state, Mozambique is one of the few remaining dependent areas in Africa. It is characterized by a large rural, traditionally oriented African society which—except for a few thousand insurgents in the north—is completely dominated by a small, urban-based Portuguese community. The colonial nature of Portuguese rule, together with the agricultural focus of Mozambique's economy, has helped preserve this fractured social structure. A vast gulf separates the sociocultural traditions of indigenous African society from those of the modern European community, while Portuguese attempts to instill Western culture and values have had a disruptive effect on tribal life.

For centuries the Portuguese have neglected the interests of the indigenous population, whose living conditions are poor and level of literacy low, partly because Portuguese has been the only language of instruction used in the schools. For much of the time, government administration of African affairs has been marked at best by paternalism and at worst by forced labor and other forms of exploitation. Reforms instituted by the Portuguese since 1961 have largely been the result of political necessity. To alleviate the unrest that swept through its African possessions early in the 1960's and to improve its image abroad, Portugal has increased development expenditures and instituted limited political, economic, and social reforms. African levels of living have improved slightly as a result, but Portugal still is not financially able or psychologically prepared to make rapid and comprehensive changes in the structure of society.

Proud of their cultural heritage, the Portuguese do not assign a high priority to the preservation of traditional culture and continue to claim a mission to civilize the tribal African. Thus, the government accords equal legal rights to the few Africans and mulattoes who become fluent in Portuguese, attain advanced education, and adopt Portuguese cultural values. While there is little evidence of racial discrimination as such, white merchants, petty administrators, and laborers, with whom most

Africans are likely to come into daily contact, are frequently patronizing in their treatment of Africans. The bulk of the African population appear apathetic about their role in Mozambique society.

Mozambique's original inhabitants, thought to be bands of Bushmen and Hottentots, were displaced by extensive waves of Bantu-speaking tribes which invaded the area and mixed with the indigenous population between the early Christian era and the 16th century. Some Bantu tribes remained cohesive, others broke up, or new tribes formed around the leadership of strong chiefs. Pastoral tribes tended to retain an aggressive military organization. In the 16th century, the powerful Monomotapa dynasty, centered in what is now Rhodesia, controlled much of the interior Zambezi River basin.

The fact that Mozambique was situated on the southern edge of Arab influence along the east African coast substantially affected the social and cultural development of northern Mozambique. Arab traders were in contact with areas of the region during the early Christian period; however, the first permanent Arab settlements were not made until the ninth century, when fortified coastal towns as far south as Nova Sofala, inhabited by Arab merchants and people of mixed Arab and African descent, became centers of trade with Arabia, Persia, and India. Over the years the surrounding African population adopted Islam along with Arab dress and dietary customs. The Swahili language, with its Arabic vocabulary and Bantu structure, slowly developed and remains today the lingua franca of many coastal peoples, including a few along the northern coast of Mozambique.

Pero de Covilha in 1489 was the first Portuguese explorer to reach what is now Mozambique. The region was not opened to European influence, however, until after it was visited by Vasco da Gama on his historic voyage to India in 1498. In the following years the Portuguese systematically conquered Arab towns and established fortresses through which they could control the rich trade routes between Europe and the spicelands of India and the East Indies. By 1520, Portuguese trading posts and

forts reached as far south as the Zambezi River. Main settlements were established at Vila de Sena in 1531 and, later, at Tete in order to secure a trading route to the fabled Monomotapa empire. At various times the Portuguese were able to conclude alliances with tribal chiefs, including those of the Monomotapa, but most of these alliances were short lived, and the amount of gold traded generally did not cover the cost of the expeditions. The garrisons of coastal towns as well as outposts in the interior were periodically attacked and destroyed.

When the Dutch wrested control of the spice trade from the Portuguese in the 17th century, the latter turned toward Brazil, and Mozambique was left in the hands of traders, adventurers, and military governors. A slave trade developed, but it was never as extensive as that in Portuguese West Africa.

There were seldom more than 1,000 Portuguese in the east African territory at any time during most of the 17th and 18th centuries. Nevertheless, in order to stimulate the slack Zambezi River trade, Portuguese and Indians were encouraged to migrate to Mozambique. Some moved into the interior, where they prospered and intermarried with Africans; others became well established on the coast. To promote permanent colonization, *prazos da coroa* (crown grants) were conferred on the Portuguese and Indians, as well as on ex-soldiers and even condemned criminals deported from Portugal. Although the holders of crown estates were expected to provide a focus for European settlement in the Zambezi valley, most concentrated on trade and became virtual local chieftains with more power than crown-appointed administrators. They maintained private armies of Africans and made military alliances with tribal chiefs as personal advantage dictated.

Portugal's inability to control the region was also manifested by continual uprisings of hostile local tribes, the invasion of Nguni tribes from Zululand, and increasing challenges to Portuguese hegemony by European powers. In the first half of the 19th century, the *prazo* system was abolished and various codes and decrees were promulgated to create a more responsible provincial government, but these efforts met with little success. The *prazos* continued to hold a monopoly over commerce, to collect a head tax from Africans, to use forced labor, and to openly defy Portuguese authority. Also, Portugal was unable to abolish the slave trade, the territory's largest and most profitable export business.

As late as 1890, Portugal exercised little real control of the region outside the coastal areas and principal river ports. In 1894 an expeditionary force from Lisbon

began an extensive pacification campaign in southern Mozambique, but responsibility for final control of tribal groups and *prazos* north of the Rio Save was given to three large concessionary companies, whose officials performed the services of magistrates, tax collectors, educators, and health officers and maintained private police forces. Judicial functions, however, were reserved to the state.

Meanwhile, solution to the longstanding dispute between Portugal and Great Britain over the boundary separating their southern African territories led to other agreements between the two countries which strongly influenced economic development in Mozambique and the consolidation of Portuguese power. After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886, the British needed a cheap labor force to work the mines and a means of rapid transportation to the coast, while the Portuguese recognized the advantage of controlling rail and shipping facilities for the transit of goods from British areas in the interior. Consequently, under the terms of a treaty signed in 1891, Portugal agreed to build a railroad from Lourenco Marques¹ to the Transvaal and, in 1901, granted the exclusive right to recruit Mozambican labor to the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association. Since 1928 the exchange of labor from Mozambique in return for transit trade from the Transvaal has been regulated by a convention between Portugal and South Africa.

Since World War II the Portuguese Government has used various agricultural settlement schemes to encourage white immigration to Mozambique. Although the European population increased substantially between 1950 and 1967, in recent years the number of immigrants has declined considerably, partly because of the growing insurgency in the north. The government has provided financial assistance to the settlers, including passage, land, a house, and equipment. Despite much publicity, the program has not worked well and has been a costly drain on government resources. Many settlers have not succeeded because of ignorance and refusal to accept advice.

In addition to the agricultural settlement, or *colonata*, schemes, large-scale resettlement projects have been undertaken in northern Mozambique as part of a military plan to isolate Africans from rebel guerrillas and form a strong perimeter of fortified villages to contain the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Since 1964, when the movement

¹For diacritics on place names, see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map in the Country Profile chapter, the map itself, and maps in the text.

initiated armed insurgency against Portuguese authority, the insurgents have gained a degree of control over portions of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete Districts. By 1973, Portugal had committed over 50,000 troops to oppose an estimated 7,000 to 8,000 FRELIMO fighters in these areas.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (U/OU)

Mozambican society is divided between a small, mainly urban-based modern sector dominated by Europeans and a large traditional sector consisting of rural Africans who adhere to the social institutions of their forebears. The two are separated from each other physically, culturally, and socially, and communication between them is quite limited. Although the overwhelming numerical superiority of the black population makes African languages, culture, and values loom large in Mozambican life, there is no organization among the many tribal groups and no tribe is clearly dominant. Political and economic affairs are in the hands of the Portuguese, who occupy the upper level in the highly stratified social system. They control the government and the important industries and commercial institutions, and their language and religion, Roman Catholicism, officially prevail in national society.

I. Ethnic composition

Limited data available from the 1970 Mozambican census indicate that about 96.8% of the population at that time was African, the remainder consisting of Europeans (mainly Portuguese), Asians, and persons of mixed blood, designated as mulattoes. Most of the Asians are from the Indian subcontinent, including the former Portuguese enclaves of Diu, Damao, and Goa. There is also a small Chinese community.

The African population of Mozambique is made up of Bantu peoples whose ancestors began coming into the area from the north and west in the first millennium A.D. Other migrations from the south occurred in the 19th century. No complete delineation of the tribes inhabiting the state can be made because of the imprecise use of tribal names in some regions and also because of a more or less continuing process of amalgamation and separation among certain groups, giving rise to varying interpretations of tribal divisions. Estimates of the number of tribes in Mozambique range from about 70 to more than 100. Generally speaking, there are two major regional groupings, the northern and the southern, each

including tribes with some degree of cultural similarity stemming from historic, geographic, and economic factors. North of the Zambezi River dwell numerous tribes which, by tradition, are matrilineal, tracing their descent from females; some are Islamized. South of the river the tribes are mainly patrilineal and have been more influenced by the Portuguese. In the intermediate region of the Zambezi valley is a large, heterogeneous aggregation which has absorbed cultural traits from both northern and southern tribes. Many Mozambican tribes are part of larger groupings extending into the neighboring countries of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Rhodesia, Swaziland, and South Africa.

In the northern region, the major tribal groupings are the Makua, the Lomwe, the Maravi, the Makonde, and the Yao; the principal peoples of the southern region are the Thonga, the Shona, the Chopi, and the Nguni. Each encompasses a number of subtribes. Most Mozambicans engage in some form of subsistence agriculture, practice the indigenous animistic religion, and live in small, scattered villages and hamlets typically consisting of round wattle and daub huts with conical roofs. The southern peoples are involved in cattle raising as well as agriculture, cattle being viewed as an important symbol of wealth among them. Because the tribes of the south have had greater contact with Europeans than have those of the north, a larger number are in process of detribalization. The tabulation below shows the approximate size of the major groupings in Mozambique's African population as indicated in the census of 1950, the latest year for which such information is available. The figures are understood to be estimates.

Northern groups:	
Makua	1,775,000
Lomwe	520,000
Maravi	425,000
Makonde	138,000
Yao	120,000
Southern groups:	
Thonga	1,260,000
Shona	300,000
Chopi	240,000
Nguni	14,000
Peoples of the Zambezi valley ..	800,000 to 1 million

Largest of the groupings and one of the few found entirely within Mozambique, the Makua are concentrated in the District of Mocambique and in parts of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Zambezia Districts. They are a peaceful people who enjoy good relations with most of the other groups in the region, and there has been some intermarriage with the

neighboring Lomwe and Yao. The coastal Makua were strongly influenced by Arab traders who had settled in the area before the arrival of the Portuguese, and many adopted Islam.

The Lomwe are culturally similar to the Makua, and some scholars group them together; however, the Lomwe exhibit little Arabic influence. They are found primarily in Zambezia. Since the beginning of the 20th century many have migrated to Malawi.

The Maravi are centered in Tete District but are also found in Zambezia and Niassa. Well-known subtribes are the Chewa, the Nsenga, and the Nyanja. All of the Maravi tribes extend across international boundaries, and there is considerable movement of Maravi laborers back and forth, especially across the Malawi border.

Among the major groupings, the Makonde have perhaps the strongest sense of tribal identity. Isolated for centuries on the Planalto dos Macondes in Cabo Delgado, they were little affected by the Arabs who traded in the region and were successful in keeping most of their tribal customs. Known as a fierce and dissident people, they have long been hostile toward the peaceful Makua and are the principal group involved in the antigovernment insurgency which has been going on in northern Mozambique for several years. The Makonde have strong ties with fellow tribesmen in southern Tanzania.

Also identified with insurgent activities are the Yao, who inhabit Niassa District, dwelling primarily between the Rio Lugenda and the Rio Rovuma. For centuries the Yao functioned as middlemen for Arab slave traders in eastern Africa and later were competitors with the Portuguese for trade in the interior. They raided neighboring tribes for slaves, and many of the women whom they captured became wives or concubines of Yao tribesmen. There was also some intermixture with the Arabs. The Yao adopted a number of Arabic social customs and profess to be Muslims while nevertheless retaining much of their traditional animistic religion.

The largest tribal grouping in the southern region and second largest in all of Mozambique are the Thonga, most of whom live south of the Rio Save. There are four notable Thonga subtribes: the Ronga, who inhabit the area around the capital city of Lourenco Marques and have been strongly influenced by the Portuguese; the Shangana, who occupy much of Gaza District; and the Tswa and the Hlengwe, who dwell in Inhambane and in northern Gaza. Migratory labor has become a pattern among the Thonga and is discouraged neither by the Portuguese nor by tribal

authorities. About 40% of Thonga males reportedly work in the mines of Rhodesia or South Africa at some time in their adult life.

The Shona grouping in Mozambique is spread out in the area between the Zambezi River and the Rio Save, now comprising the Districts of Beira and Vila Pery, but the main body of Shona inhabits Rhodesia. Once organized into feudal states headed by powerful chiefs, they were conquered by raiding Nguni in the 19th century. The principal Shona tribes located in Mozambique traditionally have been the Bargwe, the Danda, the Manyika, the Ndau, and the Teve. Reportedly, the Bargwe are gradually disappearing as a result of absorption into neighboring tribes.

The Chopi, one of the more Westernized African peoples in Mozambique, occupy coastal areas in Inhambane and Gaza. The main subtribes are the Gwambe, the Lenge, and the Tonga. Unlike most other southern Mozambicans, the Chopi usually live in square rather than round dwellings. Many have migrated to urban areas, and they are particularly numerous in Lourenco Marques. They have also participated in the stream of migrant labor to Rhodesia and South Africa.

Historically, the Nguni have had an important impact on the Mozambican population—an impact far out of proportion to their present small number. In the second quarter of the 19th century Nguni tribes swept northward from their original territory of Zululand (now part of the Republic of South Africa) and overran numerous Mozambican tribes, driving some out of their native regions and bringing others temporarily under Nguni domination. In many areas, however, the Nguni were themselves absorbed by local tribes through intermarriage. They had a well-defined culture, and their influence can be seen among the Thonga, the Shona, the Maravi, and the Yao peoples. Today the principal Nguni tribe is found in the extreme south near the Swaziland border. Another small Nguni group inhabits the Angonia highlands in the northeastern corner of Tete District.

The heterogeneous peoples of the Zambezi valley consist of many tribes with mixed and often unclear cultural characteristics. Throughout history, the Zambezi River has been a major route to the interior for Africans as well as for foreigners, including Arab traders, Asians, and Europeans, and the ensuing contact and ethnic intermixture have left the original tribes of the region fragmented and dispersed. Although ethnographic boundaries are difficult to define, it is possible to locate some of the better known groups. The Chuabo, of Makua-Lomwe stock but adhering to some southern cultural practices, occupy

the north bank of the river near its mouth, as well as the adjacent delta region. On the south bank in the same area are the Podzo, also of Makua-Lomwe stock but with a culture that is mainly Shona. In the region west of the Podzo dwell the Sena, who are a mixture of Makua, Maravi, and Shona peoples and who show signs of both Arab and Portuguese influence. The Zambezi Tonga and the Tawara tribes are found farther up the river, northwest of the Sena; these are of Maravi and Shona origin, with Shona influences predominating. In the northern sector of the valley are the culturally similar Chikunda and Nyungwe tribes, of mixed Tonga and Maravi heritage.

There are few physical differences between the African peoples of Mozambique. Most are typically Negroid in their physical characteristics (Figure 1). Nevertheless, there is considerable diversity in appearance. Traditionally, various tribes were distinguished by their facial and body decoration, their dress and ornamentation, or their hair arrangement, and this is still true to a considerable extent. The Makonde and certain tribes of the Makua are noted for facial and body scarification, which is sometimes done in fanciful patterns. Some members of these groups also wear a *pelele*, or lip plug; others file the upper incisors. A popular method of beautification among tribal women of the northern coast is to apply a white, masklike coating to the face. Traditional dress, often meager, is still worn by large numbers of tribespeople. In the urban centers, however, and even in some rural areas, simple Western-style clothing is common. The more devout Muslims of the north wear the type of garments dictated by the precepts of Islam—long, enveloping robes for both sexes. Muslim men also wear turbans.

Almost all of the state's Africans speak a Bantu language as their mother tongue. These languages belong to the large linguistic family, part of the Niger-Congo language group, whose speakers inhabit central and southern Africa. Although some of the tongues are related in terms of structure and vocabulary, most are mutually unintelligible or intelligible only with difficulty. All told, some 20 Bantu languages and close to 100 dialects are spoken in Mozambique, the use of the major languages extending across international boundaries since linguistic divisions correspond in large part to ethnic divisions. As of 1950 there were more than 2 million speakers of Makua in the northern region, making it the principal language in Mozambique. The most important language of the south is Thonga, with more than 1 million speakers in 1950. Languages of note among the peoples of the Zambezi valley are Shona, Chuabo, and Sena. The

Nguni still speak Zulu dialects. North of the Zambezi and particularly along the coast, the trade language and lingua franca of a number of tribes is Swahili, a Bantu tongue which has been influenced by Arabic. Portuguese is the official language of the state, used in government, education, and industry. It also dominates the public information media. Only a small proportion of the African population have a functional knowledge of the language; most of these are urban dwellers who have steady contact with Europeans. Conversely, few non-Africans are able to speak an African tongue.

According to the 1970 census, Mozambique's nonblack population accounted for about 3.2% of the total population, divided into the following categories: whites (203,000), mulattoes (40,000), Indians (23,000), and Chinese (3,000). Although most of the whites are Portuguese, there are also small communities of other Europeans and some white South Africans. The majority of the whites reside in urban areas, where they function as government administrators, civil servants, managerial personnel, small businessmen, or laborers; comparatively few are involved in agriculture. Mozambique's mulattoes are largely of mixed African and European origin (Figure 2). Like the whites, they commonly reside in urban areas and usually assimilate Portuguese culture. Most of the Indians in Mozambique are Portuguese citizens, those with origins in Goa and former Portuguese enclaves in India are mostly Roman Catholics, living in the towns and working as civil servants or shopkeepers. A larger number of Indians are Hindus, and some are Muslims. These are mainly small businessmen whose ancestors emigrated to east Africa late in the 17th century, encouraged by the Portuguese to develop trading in the region. In urban areas they form an important commercial element dealing mainly with low-income Africans, and in the interior they operate trading stations; some travel from village to village. Most Indians wear Western dress, but they retain much of their native culture. Indian languages are little used however. The small Chinese community largely descended from immigrants who began to arrive in the last quarter of the 19th century, is concentrated chiefly in Lourenco Marques and Beira. The majority are Portuguese citizens and are quite Westernized, although they have kept a sense of community by maintaining their own schools and associations. Many of the Chinese are proprietors of restaurants, bars, and grocery stores, and a few operate farms in the suburbs of Lourenco Marques, growing produce to supply the market stalls of the capital. Most of the Indians and Chinese have little social interaction with the Europeans.



FIGURE 1. Representative African physical types* (U/OU)

- (a) Makua girl in Muslim garb
- (b) Makua man wearing traditional Muslim turban
- (c) Makonde hunter exhibiting scarification on face and torso
- (d) Makonde tribesman with lip plug
- (e) Chopi marimba player
- (f) Girl from a northern coastal tribe wearing beauty mask
- (g) Women of Ilha de Mocambique in traditional island dress, among the most colorful in the state
- (h) Thonga warrior



FIGURE 2. Mulatto girl. Most mulattoes are of African and European extraction. (U/OU)

The official policy of the Portuguese colonial administration is to prohibit racial discrimination and develop a multiracial society. Implicit in this policy is the gradual assimilation of Africans through their achievement of European behavioral patterns and literacy in Portuguese and through their acceptance of Christianity. To attain this goal, the government has encouraged social contact and intermarriage between blacks and whites, a position which has promoted a degree of racial tolerance. Racial integration is nevertheless minimal. Since the early 1950's, settlement programs have been undertaken for the stated purpose of providing the opportunity for both races to work together in an agricultural setting where there is equality in levels of living and social status and where the problems to be faced are similar. However, complete social integration is not yet a fact and there has been a strong tendency for the white settlers—mainly newly arrived peasant immigrants from Portugal—to remain aloof from the blacks.

2. Social organization

a. Class

In the traditional African society of Mozambique, life centers around small villages which are usually occupied by a single lineage or clan. There is no social stratification as such, but status and prestige accrue to certain persons within the community—the village elders, the headman, the local diviner—who serve as

interpreters of custom and arbitrators of conflict. The headman gains his position through succession along specified lines of kinship, depending on how descent is reckoned, whether matrilineal or patrilineal; if the tribesman in line for the post is not acceptable to the elders, they may choose one of his brothers. The Portuguese have generally recognized the position of village headman and in many cases have appointed headmen as agents of the government, responsible for tax collection and other administrative duties.

In the largely urban-centered modern sector of society, a three-class system prevails on the basis of wealth, occupation, educational attainment, and family background. The small upper class is wholly of European origin and almost entirely Portuguese, consisting of government officials, high-ranking representatives of Portuguese enterprises, owners of large plantations or businesses, and wealthy professionals. Most members of this elite have strong ties with Portugal and do not intend to remain in Mozambique permanently. A smaller number belong to families which have lived in the state for generations and have accumulated considerable wealth through landholdings, or other interests. Family connections are extremely important to the upper class, as are material comforts and social amenities.

The middle class is larger, and although its members are mainly Europeans, it also includes Indians, Chinese, mulattoes and Europeanized Africans. This element is made up of civil service employees, salaried persons in industry, white-collar workers in general, and the more prosperous merchants. Most aspire to upper class status but find it difficult to rise to that level of society.

The lower class, the largest in the modern sector, encompasses persons from all of the racial groups, including recent immigrants from Portugal who have little financial means or education. Generally characterized by the need to do menial labor to survive, the lower class includes skilled and unskilled laborers, those in service occupations, street vendors, small cash-crop farmers and farm laborers, and the unemployed. A large proportion of this class consists of Africans who work as unskilled laborers or servants and who live in native quarters on the periphery of the larger urban centers. Living conditions among lower class people in the modern sector are poor, and there is limited opportunity for upward mobility.

Newly detribalized Africans are in a somewhat transitional state. They have become separated from the traditional sector without yet being totally integrated into the modern sector, and, as a result,

they participate marginally in both. Most of these Africans live in or near urban centers where they have come to seek employment. Some have had their first contact with modernity as laborers on short-term contracts to work in the mines of Rhodesia or South Africa. Others in the transitional group are still living in native villages but have had the opportunity to attend a school or to work in a nearby economic enterprise where they have contact with Europeans and are exposed to modern technology. A dichotomy sometimes develops in villages where a school is maintained; those who have obtained some education, converted to Christianity, and adopted certain European customs may dwell in one part of the village, while those still adhering to the traditional life style occupy another section.

b. Family

The family and its larger kinship grouping, the lineage, constitute the most important units of traditional African society in Mozambique. A village commonly consists of two or more extended families which form a lineage united under the senior male, whether in patrilineal or matrilineal succession. A lineage is generally reckoned in terms of several generations and is based on real or culturally defined kinship with a founding ancestor or ancestress. Family organization has assumed various patterns among the different tribes and has been influenced in varying degrees by Islam and Christianity in areas where these religions have been accepted, as well as by European custom in some regions. For example, many Bantu tribes which were traditionally matrilineal are known to have become patrilineal either totally or in some aspects. In both patrilineal and matrilineal tribes, the extended family is the norm and male authority is recognized. In matrilineal groups, however, children regard their mother's eldest brother, rather than their father, as the primary authority figure.

A traditional patrilineal family consists of a man and his wife or wives, their unmarried children, and their married sons, together with the families of the latter. A matrilineal family, traditionally, comprises a group of sisters, their husbands and offspring, and their eldest brother. Instead of moving to his wife's village at marriage, as is customary, the brother remains in the village of his sisters in order to supervise their affairs and the upbringing of their children. The children receive their mother's name and reckon descent and inheritance from her; the husband has little responsibility for them except to contribute to their support. It is not clear to what extent the

structure of the matrilineage and the pattern of matrilocal residence survive among Mozambican tribes today.

Although the practice of polygyny is no longer common, it is still regarded as the ideal form of marriage for the wealthier tribesmen. Plural wives usually work together as an economic unit under the direction of the first wife, but each is entitled to her own hut for herself and her children. Where the matrilineage prevails, sororal polygyny is the most workable form of plural marriage. In this arrangement, a man marries one or more of his wife's sisters. The Portuguese have discouraged polygyny as much as possible, and since 1949 it has been prohibited among urban-based Africans.

Basically, marriage is regarded as a contract between two families. Patrilineal tribes require the payment of a bride-price by the groom's family; this may be paid in cash or consist of cattle or other goods. Some matrilineal peoples continue to maintain the tradition of "bride service" whereby the groom performs a period of service for his mother-in-law, usually by working her land. He may also give a token gift to the bride's eldest maternal uncle. Formalization of a marriage takes place in a ceremony performed in accordance with local custom, commonly in the presence of several witnesses. A marriage may be easily dissolved, but the disruptive effects of the dissolution on a wife or children are moderated by the strength of the extended family and lineage system, which provides an individual with a large body of kin who recognize a mutual obligation to support and assist one another. Economic dependency is a stabilizing force within the extended family, characterized by a time-honored division of labor. The men hunt, fish, prepare the fields for sowing, construct living quarters, and sometimes earn money as wage laborers, while the women do the cultivating and harvesting, prepare the grain and other produce for use as food (Figure 3), perform household tasks, and care for the children. Herding is done by both sexes.

Children are greatly desired, each child being regarded as an asset to the family to which it belongs. The birth of a child confers status, particularly on the father, and barrenness in a woman is a common ground for divorce. Until age 6 or 7 a child has considerable freedom but thereafter must begin helping with the family's labor, boys working in the fields and girls doing household tasks. Childhood ends with puberty, which in many tribes is signified by an initiation into adulthood, an occasion of great importance to the participants. The practices associated with initiation vary considerably from one



FIGURE 3. Women pounding grain. Preparation of the family's food, from cultivation of crops to cooking, is the work of women in traditional African society. (U/OU)



FIGURE 4. Elaborate puberty ceremonies for girls are a feature of tribal life in many matrilineal groups. The Makonde cover the initiates with castor oil as part of the ceremony. (U/OU)

tribal group to another. In matrilineal tribes the process is more extensive for girls than for boys, and traditionally it has involved a period of confinement during which older women provide the girls with instruction in sex and other matters deemed appropriate for a married woman. In some tribes the initiates undergo clitoridectomy, and in others prolonged and elaborate ceremonies are performed (Figure 4). Puberty rites for boys also commonly include a period of seclusion for the initiates, devoted to rigid discipline and instruction in various male skills and tribal lore. This is followed by circumcision, with accompanying rituals. Youths who have gone through the initiation together frequently form so-called age-grade groups which are pledged to lifelong solidarity. After puberty, an individual, male or female, is considered to be prepared for marriage and for shouldering the responsibilities of adulthood.

Among newly detribalized Africans in the urban centers, the traditional extended family has necessarily given way to the nuclear unit consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children. Although ties to one's larger kinship group and the native village may be retained to some extent, they are inevitably weakened and in many cases completely abandoned, along with the concepts of kinship obligation and respect for senior male authority which are implicit in the extended family and lineage system. The system has also been subject to erosion in rural areas among those peoples who have become a source of migrant labor for mining interests in Rhodesia and South Africa. The long absences of married men fulfilling labor contracts have an adverse effect on family life, and participation in the money economy tends to undermine the tradition of economic cooperation and interdependency which is characteristic of the tribal kinship group.

In the European sector the typical family is nuclear, although it is not uncommon to find one or both parents of the husband or wife dwelling in the household. The Portuguese regard the family as the basic social institution and as the primary source of material and psychological support for the individual. Family loyalties are strong, and mutual assistance is looked upon as an important obligation for family members. Most of the Portuguese in Mozambique are married in a Catholic ceremony, and the marriages are generally stable. Although divorce is prohibited by the Catholic Church, it is permitted under Portuguese law. The legal provisions are restrictive, however, involving sanctions against the spouse judged to be at fault. Legal separation is also permissible. The husband and father wields strong authority within the

family and makes most of the important decisions in family matters. A double standard prevails in regard to social activities and sexual mores, the men claiming complete freedom in their leisure time, including the freedom to pursue extramarital liaisons as long as they exercise reasonable discretion. In contrast, the social life of women, particularly those of the upper and middle classes, traditionally has been confined largely to contacts with relatives and a small circle of friends, although an increasing number of women now seek outside employment or enter the professions. The situation with respect to low class Portuguese women is somewhat different in that many are forced to seek employment outside the home.

Little precise information is available on family patterns of the Indians and Chinese in Mozambique. The Chinese are known for their cohesiveness and for the emphasis they place on family solidarity; Chinese business enterprises are usually family operated. The Indian community is divided by religious differences, encompassing, as it does, Hindus, Muslims, and Roman Catholics. There is no intermarriage and little social contact between the Indian groups. However, Indians engaged in trading in the interior have been known to marry Africans or mulattoes.

3. Values and attitudes

The basic value system of black Mozambicans is essentially that of all Bantu peoples, affected in some areas and in varying degrees by the penetration of Islam and Christianity and by modernizing influences stemming from the Portuguese presence. For most Mozambicans, the traditional goals in life have been to live in peace, to have large families, to grow enough food for subsistence, and to appease the spirits of one's forebears. Of primary importance to the animist is the maintenance of harmonious relations with the universe as represented by his surroundings and by gods and spirits. Such relations are established and maintained by proper personal conduct, by the performance of rituals, and by observance of tribal customs and taboos. Ritual means of achieving or restoring harmony consist mainly of offering sacrifices and participating in various ceremonies. These are generally a group activity.

Identification of the individual with the group of which he is a part, and loyalty to it, are inherent in the traditionalist's scheme of values. One's first loyalty is to the family, and beyond that to the lineage and the village. In addition to common participation in ritual ceremonies, solidarity is expressed in many ways. These include cooperation in such activities as planting, harvesting, hunting, and the construction of

dwellings, and in the observance of life cycle occasions—birth, puberty rites, marriage, and death. The fellowship and personal security that group membership affords are highly valued. In cases of deviant behavior significantly affecting the welfare of the group, the threat of ostracism will generally assure the deviate's return to the norm.

Personal characteristics prized in African society are wisdom, generosity, sociability, and hospitality, and—among men—physical strength and courage. Verbal cleverness is much admired, as is shrewdness in dealing with outsiders. Cunning is disapproved within the kinship group, however, and economic transactions are expected to take place without deception. The young are required to show respect for authority as represented by the senior males in the family and lineage, the village elders, and the village headman.

While traditional values still prevail among most of the African population, those Africans who are becoming detribalized as a result of the increasing urbanization are inevitably experiencing a change in values and attitudes as they become separated from the extended family, lineage, and village and begin to adapt to European customs and mores, specifically those of the Portuguese. As detribalization of the individual progresses and he gains some knowledge of the Portuguese language and an acquaintance with the Urban European life style, he begins to value the material aspects of the culture. At that point personal competition assumes importance for him as he tries to obtain gainful employment which will produce the funds to satisfy his newly felt needs. Education also becomes highly valued as a means to making his way in the modern sector of society.

The Portuguese in Mozambique share the values of their compatriots in the motherland, values which have been shaped to some extent by their religion, Roman Catholicism. Ties with the mother country are of great importance; Portuguese history is emphasized in the school curriculums, and Portuguese is the language of instruction at all levels of the educational system. The holding of Mozambique and other overseas possessions for Portugal is seen as a "civilizing" mission with the long-term aim of developing them as part of a single economically productive community.

Despite the long Portuguese presence in the region and efforts by both Portuguese and nationalist groups, most of the African population have little sense of Portuguese or Mozambican identity, and few profess loyalty to the state or the government. An official U.S. source estimated in 1970 that only about one-fourth of the Africans have any direct contact with Portuguese

authorities. Native *regulos*, chosen according to local custom, generally serve as the liaison with government officials. Very few Africans play a significant role in the state's political life, the mass of the black population being inhibited by a high rate of illiteracy, a lack of educated leaders, poor communications, and government vigilance over associations with African membership.

Politically aware Africans resent the social and economic privileges of the Europeans and some voice grievances over the lack of political opportunities, the limited health and educational facilities available to them, and the scarce job opportunities. However, the strength of governmental control has succeeded in keeping demonstrations of unrest to a minimum, and on the surface most of Mozambique appears stable. The greatest threat to stability and to continued Portuguese control comes from exile nationalist organizations, of which the most important is FRELIMO, which operates out of Tanzania and maintains representatives in several other countries. FRELIMO's main goal is to drive the Portuguese out of Mozambique and establish an independent black-ruled state. Funded by a number of sources, it began the militant phase of its movement in 1964, and since that time has sponsored sporadic insurgency against Portuguese authorities in the northern part of Mozambique, deploying sizable numbers of trained and well-armed guerrilla fighters for its purposes.

Tribal rivalry is still an important factor in Mozambique. Individuals of one tribe often fear or despise members of other tribes, and occasional violence occurs between tribal groups. In particular, there is strong animosity between the Makonde and neighboring peoples. In the urban setting, African residential districts are frequently segregated along tribal lines, each group living in its own enclave. Africans in urban areas also feel a certain amount of hostility toward mulattoes, because of the latter's generally superior economic position. And as elsewhere in east Africa, the blacks exhibit a dislike for the Indians and Chinese with whom they come in contact, resenting their monopoly in trade. Despite the professed commitment of the Portuguese to a multiracial ideal, attitudes toward the Africans held by individual Portuguese are often derogatory, expressed in such terms as "mentally childlike," "lazy," and "irresponsible."

C. Population (U/OU)

The population of Mozambique, Portugal's most populous overseas possession, has been growing by about 2.2% per year and was estimated to have reached 8,698,000 as of June 1973. While the rate of

population growth in the state has been rising since at least 1940, it is still below that prevailing in many African countries, including those six with which Mozambique shares a common border. The increase in the rate of population growth, determined by successive censuses, results mainly from a decline in the death rate. Because it is probable that the death rate will continue to fall and because it is unlikely that the state will enact any form of family planning program in the near future, the population can be expected to grow, probably at a slightly more rapid rate than in the past. Should the present rate of growth persist, Mozambique's 1973 population will double in 31 years; the population will reach 10 million late in 1979. A reversal of the state's immigration policies, basically a reflection of Portugal's stress on emigration, could slow population growth slightly, however, as could an expansion of insurgency activities.

Because numerous births and deaths remain unreported, especially in rural areas, it is impossible to determine the prevailing vital rates precisely. Estimates for 1970 place the birth rate at about 44 per 1,000 inhabitants and the death rate at 22 or 23 per 1,000 population, both perhaps being somewhat lower than the actual rates. Generally, the birth rate has remained at a high but fairly stable level, while the death rate has declined somewhat. The incidence of death is highest among infants. In 1970, the number of deaths of infants under age 1 per 1,000 live births was estimated at 175. Although the 1970 figure for infant mortality was very high, it represented substantial improvement over the rate a few years earlier. The United Nations has estimated that life expectancy at birth in 1965-70 was 41 years.

Although the government has promoted settlement in Mozambique by whites from Portugal and elsewhere, emigration has cut into the gains made in population through immigration. During the 1960-70 period, the net gain in legal arrivals over legal departures was 127,545 persons, a figure which may approximate the total net immigration by whites. Of that number, 13.4% received government assistance in resettling. The impact of this immigration was reduced, however, by the flight of an estimated 62,500 black refugees from areas of insurgency into neighboring countries, especially Tanzania but also Malawi and Zambia. Additionally, numerous black males are recruited annually to work under officially sanctioned contracts in South Africa, while others have entered that country and Rhodesia illegally in search of employment.

1. Size and distribution

According to preliminary results of the 1970 census, Mozambique had a population of 8,233,834, a 24.7%

FIGURE 6. Population, area, and population density, by district, 1970 (U/OU)

DISTRICT	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	LAND AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Cabo Delgado.....	567,478	6.9	29,790	10.0	19.0
Gaza.....	753,347	9.1	29,008	9.7	25.9
Inhambane.....	746,711	9.1	29,240	8.8	28.5
Lourenco Marques.....	799,358	9.7	9,117	3.0	87.7
Manica e Sofala.....	1,085,209	13.2	50,156	16.8	21.6
Mocambique.....	1,735,206	21.1	30,140	10.1	57.6
Niassa.....	297,428	3.6	45,945	15.4	6.5
Tete.....	402,233	5.0	39,100	13.1	12.6
Zambezia.....	1,756,864	21.3	30,262	19.1	44.7
All districts.....	8,233,834	100.0	298,857	100.0	27.6

NOTE—Since the 1970 census, the District of Manica e Sofala has been divided into two new Districts, Beira and Vila Pery.

to isolate insurgent guerrillas from the rural population, the project has proved to have considerable social and economic significance, and has grown to involve some 700,000 Africans in the three insurgency zones. Widely scattered rural populations are brought together, preferably voluntarily, and resettled in villages of from 1,000 to 2,000 persons. These villages, each of which is supplied with an elementary school, a medical post, and agricultural-technical advisers, are guarded, the extent of fortification depending upon the state of security in the area; access, however, is not regularly controlled.

Urban growth has been rapid since the end of World War II, but the state is still overwhelmingly rural, and the typical form of settlement is the small tribal village or hamlet. It is impossible to determine precisely the extent of urbanization. Nonetheless, most authoritative estimates place the urban population at 10% of the total. In addition to natural increase, the growth of cities, notably the capital, has been caused both by immigration from abroad and, since the removal of restrictions on the free movement of Africans in 1961, by the arrival of increased numbers of rural residents in search of employment. The population of the city of Lourenco Marques, political and economic hub of Mozambique and capital since 1898, has more than quadrupled since midcentury, reaching a total of 383,775 inhabitants in 1970; with the inclusion of suburban residents, the figure was approximately 430,000. Having more than doubled since 1960, the population of Beira and its suburbs was estimated at about 115,000 in 1970. The populations of seven other cities (including suburbs)—Nacala,

Nampula, Quelimane, Inhambane, Tete, Porto Amélia, and Ilha de Mocambique—were estimated to have ranged between 15,000 and 30,000 persons each.

2. Age-sex structure

Characterized by a large number of children and few elderly persons, the population of Mozambique is predominantly young. Although data concerning the age structure were not published in the preliminary results of the 1970 census, estimates for that year reveal that the median age was 19.9 years, higher than that prevailing in many countries at a comparable stage of development but about 8 years lower than that of the U.S. population.

According to estimates, in 1970 half of all Mozambicans were under age 20. At the other extreme, however, 12.4% were age 50 or over, and only 3.6% were 65 or older. Persons in the dependent ages (conventionally defined as 0-14 and 65 and over) accounted for 43.9% of the total population, with those in the working ages (15-64) making up the balance. The resulting ratio of 783 persons in the dependent ages per 1,000 in the working ages was some 27% higher than the ratio in the United States. In areas such as Mozambique, however, the formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependency, as many children under age 15 perform some type of work, while many individuals age 65 or over are obliged by economic necessity to remain productive.

The state's population profile, compared with that of the United States (Figure 7), shows that the proportion of Mozambicans under age 5 is roughly double that of the U.S. population, attesting to

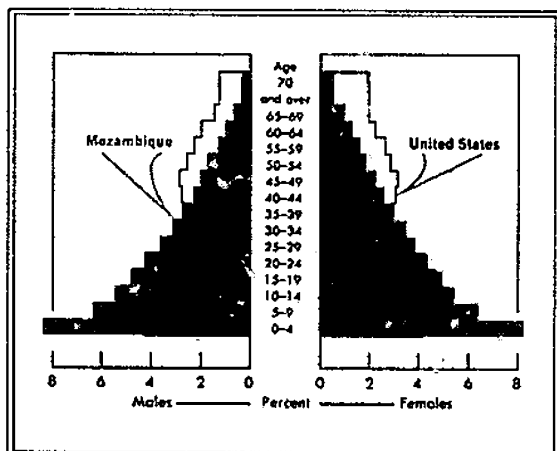


FIGURE 7. Age-sex structure, Mozambique and the United States, midyear 1970 (U/OU)

Mozambique's much higher level of fertility. Mozambique, in fact, has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 40 than does the United States. On the other hand, the proportion of the U.S. population in the middle and older ages is markedly higher than that of Mozambique, indicative of the lower level of mortality in the United States.

In 1970, Mozambique had an estimated 92.7 males per 100 females, a ratio that had not changed appreciably since 1960. In both years, the disparity between the sexes stemmed largely from the departure of African males, mostly in the 20-44 age group, for work in neighboring countries. Among nonindigenous peoples, however, disproportionately large numbers of men historically have inhabited the area, as exemplified by the following ratios derived from the 1960 census:

	MALES PER 100 FEMALES
Africans	92.5
Mulattoes	97.9
Chinese	118.0
Whites	123.2
East Indians	133.4
All groups	93.0

Reflecting both the concentration by members of non-African communities in the capital and the attraction which the city holds for black male jobseekers, the District of Lourenco Marques had a sex ratio of 106.1 males per 100 females. Conversely, in the Districts of Gaza and Inhambane—which are within an area officially designated by the recruitment of laborers for the mines in South Africa—the sex ratio was only about 84.

D. Living and working conditions

As the bulk of the population depends on subsistence farming for its livelihood, levels of living throughout Mozambique are generally low. Non-Africans and those blacks who have been assimilated by urban society enjoy the best living conditions, owning the finest homes and having ready access to medical, sanitary, and educational facilities. For the majority of urban blacks, however, modern social services and the amenities of contemporary Western society are difficult to obtain, and most live in overcrowded quarters and compete for low-paying menial jobs. The level of living of the typical African city dweller, nonetheless, is somewhat higher than that of his rural counterpart, inasmuch as the earning of wages permits the acquisition of some consumer items beyond those required for bare subsistence. Having changed little over the centuries, conditions of living among most African villagers remain primitive. Even in the most backward tribes, however, it is fairly common for males to seek wage employment outside the community, or for families to raise cash crops, usually in order to pay the annual tax (\$4 to \$13) that is levied by the government on each adult male. (U/OU)

Although few details are available concerning the adequacy of personal and family incomes, the purchasing power of wages, or the pattern of consumer expenditures, it is known that earnings, despite having risen considerably during the 1970's, remain predominantly low. Because of a heavy demand for skilled workers, however, such individuals command high salaries. Conversely, the typical urban black family is hard pressed to satisfy the basic necessities of life. During the 1960's, per capita income rose by an average of about 2.7% per year, reaching an amount approximately equivalent to US\$200 per annum at the close of the decade. Real cash income, however, probably was somewhat lower, as the larger establishments customarily deduct a portion of wages to defray the cost of providing employees with food, clothing, and lodging. Although payments in kind tend to reinforce the workers' dependence on their employers, such payments help reduce the impact of inflation, the overall rate of which has roughly paralleled that in the United States since the mid-1960's. Spearheaded by soaring rental and home ownership costs in the capital (Figure 8) and other large cities, inflation continued into the early 1970's, posing a serious hardship for most working class individuals, as wage increases do not appear to have kept pace with the higher prices for consumer goods.

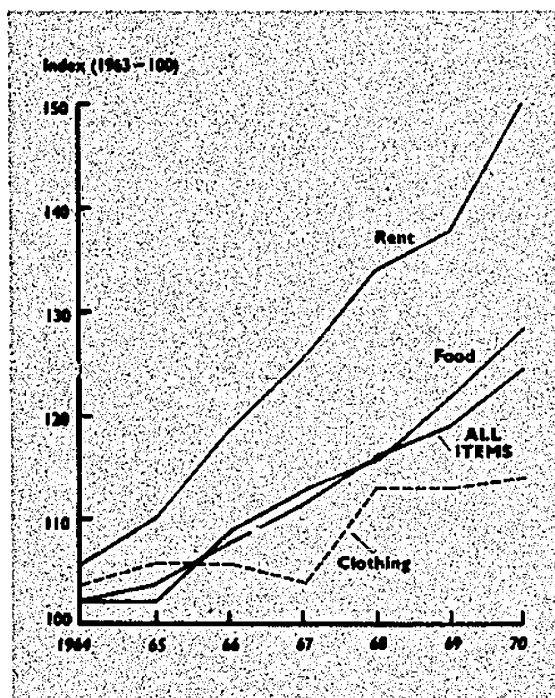


FIGURE 8. Consumer price index, Lourenco Marques (U/OU)

In many urban households, therefore, two or more members must work, at least part time. Inflation appears to have been most acute in such northern cities as Nampula, Tete, and Vila Cabral, where large numbers of troops are stationed. (U/OU)

In part because of the inflationary pressures, there is little incentive for personal savings. In the wake of a substantial pay raise granted to stevedores in Lourenco Marques during mid-1972, for example, retailers experienced a major upturn in the sale of such items as transistor radios and motor scooters. Some shipping firms, moreover, reported heavy absenteeism by stevedores, who, having received their first pay at the new rate, returned to their villages to display their newly acquired wealth and celebrate their good fortune. (C)

Partly because governmental contributions for health and welfare programs have been small in terms of both funding and personnel, the state's modern social services are poorly developed, being concentrated in the cities and available chiefly to government workers and to persons employed in the larger private enterprises. Welfare services other than those furnished by employers are supported mainly by religious groups and by worker organizations, under the general supervision of the Welfare Bureau of the State

Directorate of Health and Welfare Services. While the directorate is also responsible for administering most health care facilities, day-to-day operation of some is entrusted to private entities under contract to the government. The state's two psychiatric hospitals, for example, are operated by Roman Catholic orders. Since the mid-1960's, a large proportion of public investment for social services has been destined for agricultural colonies and rural resettlement communities; in the latter, schools and health posts normally are provided, as well as technical assistance from sanitation and agricultural experts. (U/OU)

Because of the paucity of formal social services in the countryside, the role traditionally played by the family, or by the tribe at large, in attending to the well-being of its needy members remains indispensable. Although tribesmen who migrate to the cities often retain ties to the ancestral village and sometimes aid newly migrating kinfolk, the principle of communal welfare obligations is considerably weaker among African urban dwellers. Urban life, in fact, has tended to undermine the traditional values of tribal society, resulting in increased instances of antisocial behavior and, on rare occasions, in outbreaks of rioting in slum areas despite the rigorous police controls. While the intense competition for housing and jobs under conditions of high unemployment has been a prime cause for such violence, the shortage of African women in the cities reportedly has been an important source of friction among males. Nevertheless, it is difficult to gauge precisely the extent of antisocial behavior, as official crime statistics are subsumed under rather vague categories. Press censorship, moreover, makes it hard to assess the magnitude of social unrest. (U/OU)

In 1970, when 7,012 persons were convicted of crimes, 29% of the total violated "the public order," 26% committed offenses against property, and 11% committed personal crimes; the category of crime, however, was not listed for 34% of those convicted. Almost 95% of the offenders were males. Mental illness, drug addiction, and alcoholism evidently do not constitute serious problems. Some illicit use of cannabis occurs. Reportedly, there was 1 drug addict per somewhat fewer than 5,000 inhabitants in 1969. (U/OU)

1. Health and sanitation (U/OU)

a. Health problems

Environmental and cultural factors have combined to perpetuate poor health conditions throughout Mozambique, especially in rural areas, and have contributed to a high incidence of preventable disease.



FIGURE 9. Diviner studying his collection of fetishes (U/OU)

The prevalence of disease is linked in large measure to an inhospitable climate and, outside the main cities, to the scarcity of safe drinking water and of adequate sanitation measures. In particular, modern medicine has made only limited inroads in the countryside; among much of the African population, moreover, it has not undermined the longstanding reliance placed on diviners (Figure 9) or sorcerers to cure illnesses, which are believed to emanate from evil spirits. To a large extent, tradition likewise governs choice of foods and type of dwellings, both of which pose hazards to health. Besides being scarce and maldistributed, medical facilities in general are poorly equipped, understaffed, and overcrowded with patients. The abilities of available medical and paramedical personnel vary, and shortages exist in all categories. One consequence of these conditions is that life expectancy at birth in 1970 was about 29 years lower than in the United States.

Situated for the most part within a tropical zone, much of Mozambique has a hot, humid climate, which is enervating, favors the propagation of numerous diseases, and complicates the maintenance of medical equipment and the storage of drugs and supplies. In the lowlands, swamps and marshes constitute ideal breeding places for disease-bearing insects and parasites. Malaria, which remains uncontrolled and is the state's single greatest health threat, usually attends the hot, rainy season (November through April). Malaria is found throughout the territory and is endemic along the coast and in the river valleys, the chief areas of settlement. Additionally, some 30 species of poisonous plants are dangerous to humans, while cyclones, which average two per year, threaten the coast during much of the wet season.

Communicable diseases pose a more serious threat to personal health than do organic and degenerative ailments, although these also take a heavy toll. Accurate data concerning the incidence of disease are unavailable, but the leading causes of death, as officially reported in 1971, were, in order: respiratory diseases, including pneumonia, bronchitis, tuberculosis, and whooping cough; parasitic illnesses, notably malaria; accidents; gastrointestinal ailments, including gastritis and enteritis; diseases of early infancy; malignant tumors; heart diseases; complications of pregnancy or childbirth; vascular lesions affecting the central nervous system; and various forms of anemia. Young children are especially susceptible to many of the diseases that cause death. In 1969, youngsters under age 5 accounted for 35% of all officially registered deaths, a proportion which, although high, no doubt grossly understates the actual number of deaths in that age group, as the recording of vital events is largely confined to municipalities, where health conditions are better than elsewhere in the state.

In addition to those causing high mortality, other diseases are widespread, including schistosomiasis, helminthiasis, infectious hepatitis, and typhoid and paratyphoid fevers. A high proportion of the population suffers from schistosomiasis, which causes chronic debilitation and even incapacitation or death; hepatitis, meningitis, and typhoid and paratyphoid fevers occur in the main urban centers, occasionally attaining epidemic proportions. Venereal diseases are widespread, and a high incidence of leprosy exists in Zambezia and Mocambique Districts. Smallpox, formerly endemic, has been thought under control, as about 80% of the population have been vaccinated.

Although the program against smallpox has been successful, other disease prevention measures sponsored by the public health authorities, including the distribution of drugs and the use of insecticide sprays to combat malaria, have been less effective. Immunization programs against poliomyelitis and tuberculosis, the latter through the use of BCG vaccine, have been ongoing for several years; tuberculosis is diagnosed by administering tuberculin tests and X-ray examinations. The public health authorities also carry out diagnostic and treatment procedures for those suffering from leprosy, schistosomiasis, venereal diseases, and yaws.

Brucellosis and rabies are the most prevalent animal diseases, the latter often being epizootic and thus constituting an indirect threat to humans. Other principal animal diseases, in order of importance, are

trypanosomiasis, anaplasmosis, pleuropneumonia, African swine fever, foot-and-mouth disease, Newcastle disease, and blackleg. Veterinary control programs include vaccinations against anthrax and rabies, the slaughter of rabid animals, and compulsory testing for tuberculosis, with disposal of the infected animals.

b. Medical care

Overall responsibility for public health programs and facilities rests with the Health Bureau of the State Directorate of Health and Welfare Services, which also supervises private medical activities. Dependent for technical and staff matters on the health branch of Portugal's Ministry of Overseas, the directorate is assisted locally by an Institute of Medical Research and an Advisory Health Council. District health bureaus which correspond to the state's main administrative divisions and are controlled by the respective district governors are charged with local administration of public health and sanitation services. The heads of such services are usually qualified under standards prescribed in the metropole and are fairly effective in utilizing available funds, personnel, and facilities—all of which are in short supply. These officials are aware of the leading health problems and of the shortcomings of the programs they administer, but normally are powerless to institute rapid, meaningful improvements. Political considerations, moreover, have impeded cooperation between the state and multinational agencies, including those of the United Nations, and have complicated the acquisition of outside assistance. The last externally assisted program, a malaria eradication campaign supported by the World Health Organization (WHO), was discontinued in mid-1966. Although the state was not represented at the 1972 session of the WHO regional committee for Africa, it has cooperated with Rhodesia and South Africa in a program to control the tsetse fly in areas along the common borders.

At the beginning of 1970, 498 physicians were practicing in Mozambique, a ratio of roughly 1 per 16,500 inhabitants. Most were Portuguese. Of the total, 69% were in government service, 20% maintained private practices, and 11% were attached to missions or other organizations. Nearly half were located in the District of Lourenco Marques, while there was a paucity of medical personnel elsewhere in the territory. By 1972, the number of physicians

reportedly had increased by about 50. The number of other health care personnel active in 1969 was as follows:

Pharmacists	23
Pharmaceutical assistants	40
Nurses	752
Auxiliary nurses	789
Nurses qualified as midwives	83
Auxiliary midwives	206
Veterinarians	8
Technicians	10

Although they have been expanded and upgraded since early in the 1960's, facilities for medical and paramedical training remain limited. Since 1970, the University of Lourenco Marques, whose hospital is said to rank among the best in Africa (Figure 10), has offered a complete 6-year program leading to a doctorate of medicine, as well as a program to train veterinarians; 347 medical and 85 veterinary science students were enrolled at the university in 1970. Training for paramedical personnel takes place at the Technical School for Health and Hygiene Services (ETSSH), which is affiliated with the Miguel Bombarda Central Hospital in Lourenco Marques. In addition to a 3-year course for nurses, the ETSSH offers 2-year courses for auxiliary nurses and midwives, a 1-year public health course for graduate nurses, a 1-year course for auxiliary nurses, and 3-year courses for laboratory, pharmacy, and X-ray technicians. Physicians desiring to pursue postgraduate studies usually go to Portugal, as do paramedical personnel who wish to obtain specialized or advanced training.

The larger, better staffed and equipped medical care institutions are concentrated in the main urban centers. Rural residents are served mainly by small outpatient installations staffed by paramedical personnel; few have access to facilities offering comprehensive medical services. In fact, on a



FIGURE 10. Hospital of the University of Lourenco Marques (U/OU)

statewide basis, far fewer than one-half of all patients with terminal illnesses are attended by physicians. Early in 1970, 578 facilities, containing a total of 11,557 beds (about 1.4 beds per 1,000 inhabitants) offered inpatient care, as follows:

	NUMBER	BEDS
General hospitals	103	6,791
Health posts	252	206
Maternity clinics	204	1,936
Leprosariums	7	1,258
Psychiatric hospitals	2	930
Trypanosomiasis clinics	8	138
Tuberculosis hospital	1	250
Dermatology clinic	1	48

Approximately 94% of these facilities, containing 89% of all beds, were administered by the government. Among the private facilities, religious missions operated 7 hospitals and 7 maternity clinics, while various private groups supported 12 hospitals and 9 maternity clinics. Most general hospitals are small, only 10 having more than 75 beds. The largest such facilities were the 1,500-bed Miguel Bombarda Central Hospital (Figure 11), the 500-bed Dona Amelia Hospital in Beira, and the new 300-bed Egas Moniz Central Hospital in Nampula, all of which are public. Outpatient treatment of varying quality is available through a network of 438 medical posts, 185 maternal and infant care centers, 3 tuberculosis dispensaries, and 76 other dispensaries; the bulk of these facilities are situated in villages.

Laboratory and blood bank facilities are inadequate in terms of their capabilities and quality of services. Lacking qualified personnel and modern equipment, the medical laboratories cannot fully support the demands of preventive medicine campaigns and

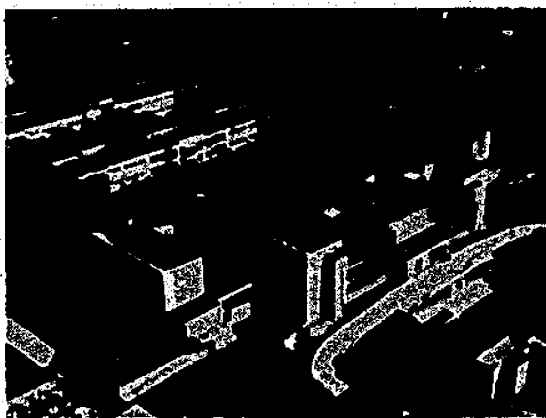


FIGURE 11. Mozambique's largest medical facility is Miguel Bombarda Central Hospital, which also houses several training and research activities (U/OU).

diagnostic and analytical work. The Central Laboratory of Public Health, attached to Miguel Bombarda Central Hospital, provides clinical diagnostic services, and the Institute of Medical Research of Lourenco Marques, which operates under the auspices of the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Lisbon, engages in research on several of the more prevalent endemic diseases including malaria, schistosomiasis, infectious hepatitis, and anemia.

Because of a shortage of facilities, technical personnel, funds, and raw materials, the state has a limited capability for producing medical supplies and pharmaceuticals. As a result, most drugs are imported in finished form or in bulk quantities which are repackaged locally. All medical equipment is imported from Europe (especially Portugal), South Africa, and the United States. Except for rabies inoculations, the territory is self-sufficient in vaccines, which are produced at the Central Laboratory of Veterinary Pathology in Lourenco Marques. The capital is also the site of a small plant which supplies bandages and gauze required by the city's health care facilities.

Emergency medical activities and disaster relief operations are coordinated by the State Directorate of Health and Welfare Services, an agency that is authorized to mobilize the State Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defense, which has 1,500 men trained in administering first aid. Additionally, the Portuguese Red Cross maintains a branch in Lourenco Marques, and the Cross of the East has two emergency treatment centers there. These groups, in conjunction with the regular medical services and medical units of the armed forces can be pressed into service during epidemics or such natural disasters as floods and cyclones.

c. Sanitation

Potable water is unavailable to most Mozambicans. Except for that drawn from deep wells, most water consumed by rural residents comes from contaminated sources (Figure 12). Piped water systems are being constructed or expanded in several urban centers, but only Lourenco Marques has an extensive system. The capital obtains its water from the Rio Umbeluzi after it is subjected to pollution by wastes discharged from population centers in Swaziland. The water is filtered and chlorinated prior to distribution, but recontamination occasionally takes place in the distribution system, in which case local health authorities customarily alert residents concerning the need to filter and boil water intended for human consumption. Limited water systems serve Beira, Inhambane,



Contamination by human excrement, an underlying cause in the widespread incidence of schistosomiasis, is commonplace in streams and other surface sources



Women on the Planalto dos Macondes preparing to draw water at a public well house



Communal rain catchment under construction at Furancungo, a village in Tete District

FIGURE 12. Rural water supplies (U/OU)

Joao Belo, Nampula, Porto Amelia, Quelimane, Tete, and Vila Pery, but the potability of water in these cities, except for the first two, is questionable.

Improper sewage disposal, in both urban and rural areas, is also a prime cause for the prevalence of enteric diseases. In the capital, a waterborne central sewerage system serves the main commercial area and non-African residential neighborhoods; however, waste matter is discharged, untreated, into the Espirito Santo estuary. Residents of some other sections of the capital are served by cesspools and septic tanks, but many of the African neighborhoods are devoid of sanitary waste disposal facilities of any kind. Moreover, because of the absence of sewers, these areas are subject to severe flooding during the rainy season. Bucket latrines, septic tanks, and cesspools are the principal facilities for the disposal of human waste in urban areas other than the larger cities. In rural areas, where sanitary facilities are largely unknown, the disposal of waste is indiscriminate.

The accumulation of garbage and trash poses a serious health threat in heavily populated areas. Streets are cleaned and garbage is collected on a regular basis only in the non-African quarters of cities. Throughout the rest of the state, refuse disposal is haphazard.

The use of refrigeration is increasing in the cities, but storage facilities and handling practices often are unsanitary, and food spoilage is commonplace. In rural areas, few precautions, if any, are taken to prevent food contamination. Inspectors of the district health services are responsible for enforcing compliance with sanitation regulations at establishments which dispense food; veterinary services attached to the State Directorate of Agriculture and Forestry supervise the meat and dairy industries.

2. Food consumption and nutrition (U/OU)

Being subordinate in importance to subsistence agriculture, commercial crop and livestock production is highly limited, and available food supplies in some areas fail to meet certain basic nutritional needs. The prevalence of archaic farming methods and the scarcity of adequate storage facilities contribute to intermittent scarcities of some foodstuffs, and periods of drought and flood occasionally cause critical food shortages. Even when crops are bountiful, however, local predilections limit the variety of foods consumed by most Africans, contributing to the high incidence of anemia and other manifestations of malnutrition. Malnutrition poses a particular threat to infants and young children. Tribeswomen customarily prolong the period of lactation for 2 years, after which time

children are placed on an essentially unvaried diet of starchy foods. Children are seldom served meat; eggs are reserved for men.

The diet of non-Africans is generally adequate in terms of quantity and quality, but that of the African population is markedly imbalanced, being particularly deficient in animal protein and vitamins. During the mid-1960's, per capita daily consumption of food amounted to 1,333 grams, which supplied some 2,130 calories. Whether gauged by weight or by energy supply, cereal and starchy foodstuffs constituted about four-fifths of the typical daily diet, as indicated by the following percentage distribution:

	GRAMS	CALORIES
Cereals	16.4	36.4
Starchy roots	64.4	43.7
Sugar	1.8	4.3
Pulses, nuts, and seeds	2.3	5.9
Vegetables	4.1	0.6
Fruits	6.4	1.8
Meat	1.4	2.0
Eggs ..	0.1	0.1
Fish	0.4	0.3
Milk	2.0	0.9
Fats and oils	0.7	4.0
All foods	100.0	100.0

Based heavily on items that are high in carbohydrates, the per capita daily diet supplied 40.4 grams of protein and 28.8 grams of fat. Animal sources contributed only 11.4% of the total supply of protein, while most of the intake of fats and oils was derived from vegetable foodstuffs.

Cassava, which is prepared in a number of ways, and bread and porridges made from corn or millet are mainstays of the African diet. These items are supplemented, in accordance with tribal preference, with rice, sweetpotatoes, pulses, peanuts, leafy greens, pumpkins, and fruits. While goats, pigs, and poultry are raised in most villages, meat consumption is low, being concentrated mainly among the more affluent urban families. The ocean fishing industry is not well developed, and little if any of the catch reaches the hinterland. The dairy industry mainly serves the larger urban centers; in rural areas, milk is generally consumed in a fermented form.

3. Housing (U/OU)

Drawing on an abundant supply of local building materials, rural residents by and large are self-sufficient in housing. Chiefly as the result of a rural-to-urban migration by Africans, however, an acute shortage of dwellings exists in Lourenco Marques and the other larger cities. Although the government has

funded the construction of a limited number of low-cost housing units, slums surround the urban centers. In the cities, higher priority has been accorded to public works programs such as roadbuilding and electrification than to housing.

While some of the slum dwellings resemble rural huts, others are crude shacks fashioned from discarded materials, including shipping crates and sheetmetal. By contrast, the housing available to most non-Africans, whether urban or rural residents, is constructed of durable materials and contains many of the comforts and amenities that are enjoyed by the inhabitants of European cities (Figure 13). Featuring balconies, verandas, and clay tile roofs, the spacious stucco bungalows of the early Portuguese agriculturalists resemble farm dwellings in the metropole. Although smaller and more functional in design, the government-funded farmhouses for contemporary settlers are usually built of cinder block or concrete, with tile or tin roofs; in addition to the living quarters, which consist of two or three rooms, most homesteads have outbuildings for sheltering animals and storing crops and farm equipment.

In recognition of the serious deficiencies that exist in the traditional African dwellings, the government, in its development plan for the years 1972-74, has called for the construction of additional low-cost housing units, to be attended by a campaign to make "the less evolved groups" aware of the desirability of living in more sanitary, structurally sound houses. It is highly unlikely, however, that significant progress will be made in the foreseeable future toward replacing villagers' huts, which are characteristically rustic and afford only minimal protection from insects and the elements. Normally clustered into family compounds within each village, the huts of southern tribal groups generally have stockade walls, whereas clay stucco walls are prevalent in the north. Round, windowless huts with thatch roofs and earthen floors predominate in all areas, although certain northern villagers erect rectangular houses which evidence a higher level of architectural advancement (Figure 14).

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. The people and work (U/OU)

Inhabited in the main by illiterate tribespeople, most of whom gain a livelihood through subsistence farming or by hiring out as low-skilled wage laborers, Mozambique offers scant opportunities for the attainment of advanced skills and modern jobs. Skilled workers almost invariably have been in short supply, as have professionals and persons qualified to



Modern apartment building in Lourenco Marques



Although varying widely in style, the residences of whites in the capital usually have concrete or stucco walls and clay tile roofs



Residence of a longtime Portuguese colonist



Subsidized homestead for recent European settlers

FIGURE 13. Representative dwellings for non-Africans (U/OU)

hold managerial and administrative positions. While there are reports that the *de facto* denial of equal employment opportunities for Africans has abated somewhat, white Portuguese, some of them recruited in Europe under contract, as well as mulattoes and Asians, traditionally have occupied a disproportionately large number of the better paying, more highly skilled jobs. And, although racial prejudice still lingers among certain Portuguese and other minority employers, kinship or class considerations perhaps constitute more imposing barriers to equality in job opportunities.

As elsewhere in tropical Africa, where Europeans introduced a variety of laws and practices designed to draw on the indigenous manpower pool and, more generally, to incorporate the Africans into the money economy, the Portuguese imposed a capitation tax on adult African males and established "duty of labor" legislation requiring that such individuals work for cash wages during one-half of each year or that they raise marketable crops (usually cotton), under penalty of being forcibly consigned to public works projects. In time, the system came to be abused by profiteering recruiters who induced Africans to enter into contracts

Hut in the south. In addition to clay pots, mortars used for grinding grain are among the most popular household utensils



Weathered by the harsh climate, the clay stucco has begun to crumble from the walls of this northern hut

Erected on raised platforms and featuring windows and overhanging eaves, the rectangular huts of the Ajawa and of other northern peoples generally represent the best in tribal housing



FIGURE 14. Representative African huts (U/OU)

which they failed to understand and which called for onerous labor at low wages. Not infrequently, village chiefs were simply instructed to deliver "efficient" tribesmen to satisfy the labor needs of private contractors or plantation owners. Moreover, under an arrangement dating from the late 19th century between the Portuguese and South African authorities, mine operators in the latter country were permitted to recruit Mozambican tribesmen in an area south of the Rio Save. After World War II, mounting criticism concerning the compulsory labor laws, as well as the existence of fraudulent and otherwise exploitative practices directed against the migrant mineworkers, prompted the Portuguese authorities to correct the more flagrant abuses. The "duty of labor" statutes were abrogated in 1961, at which time full Portuguese citizenship was extended to Africans. Rather than rescind the annual capitation tax, however, the authorities simply extended it to non-Africans.

Besides stimulating an intense competition for wage-paying jobs among a large segment of the adult male African work force, the "duty of labor" laws had the effect of institutionalizing the contractual labor arrangement while concomitantly contributing to the formation of certain work patterns and outlooks regarding wage employment. In central Mozambique, for instance, many African men alternate 6-month periods of routine village life and contract wage labor; often, two work crews take turns working for the same employer for years on end. In the south, employment in the South African mines has marked the onset of adulthood for large numbers of young men, many of whom have used the wages they earned as bride-prices. (South African recruiters have been experiencing some difficulty in hiring Mozambicans as the result of recent wage hikes in the overseas territory.)

Whether within the state or in the South African Mines, working conditions for the typical wage laborer are quite harsh and earnings are low. Nevertheless, a substantial degree of job mobility exists. Although many of the contract laborers migrate to the South African mines, the larger cities of Mozambique have become the main arena of competition for jobs. The growth in urban employment, however, has failed to keep pace with arrivals from the countryside, resulting, among other things, in chronic unemployment, destitution, and the proliferation of slums. In the capital and in Beira, conditions have occasionally caused strife between newly arrived jobseekers, and the employed, long-established slum dwellers.

Although the existence of high unemployment in the cities stems mainly from the rural-to-urban exodus, other factors, including the state's small

industrial base, have also been responsible. Additionally, a growing segment of the unemployed consists of discharged military conscripts who have been recruited in the countryside but are unwilling to return to farming after acquiring a substantial acculturation to European ways during their tour of service.

African women, who are far less likely to seek wage employment than men and who normally remain behind during the seasonal migrations of their mates, constitute the backbone of the agrarian labor force, serving as unpaid family workers. In subsistence farming they perform most of the day-to-day chores and many of the arduous tasks as well. On the other hand, the liberal amount of leisure time enjoyed by men farmers accounts in large measure for the prevalence of high underemployment in rural areas. While few women are wage earners (5% of all female workers were so classified in 1963), the situation does not derive entirely from their predilection for farming, as the Portuguese community and most of the indigenous tribes traditionally have attached much importance to the woman's role as a mother and homemaker. Most women wage earners are household domestics.

Certain profound differences between the African and Portuguese communities cause disharmony in labor relations and contribute to low productivity. The lack of a common language perhaps is the most imposing barrier between employers and employees. Fluency in Portuguese, therefore, is the basic tool for obtaining a job that pays wages. Even when fluent in Portuguese and acculturated in other ways, however, the African worker is apt to differ from his white counterpart in matters relating to job expectations and performance. The black worker, with poor working and living conditions and limited channels for improvement through advancement or the accumulation of wealth, often tends to be unresponsive to work incentives. For instance, black workers often fail to capitalize on incentive wage schemes offered by employers even though base wages are meager. In fact, many wage laborers from rural areas return to their villages after earning sufficient cash to pay the annual capitation tax and to purchase a few manufactured articles.

Despite the hardships endured by urban workers and the high turnover that characterizes employment in the wage sector, an ever increasing number of African workers, especially those with some schooling, permanently abandon agriculture. Such individuals find that the civil service generally affords greater employment opportunities and somewhat better

chances for advancement than does private enterprise. The promulgation in mid-1969 of a lower educational requirement for entry into the civil service opened numerous positions in the lower echelons of the administrative service of government, including the police force and other municipal activities. The measure was not prompted solely by a desire on the part of the authorities to increase employment opportunities for blacks, however, but was motivated in part by difficulties experienced in filling these responsible but low-paying jobs.

The employment of children in various branches of economic activity is commonplace. Although young children frequently work on family farms, the legal minimum age for agricultural employment is 12 years, at which age children may also be hired as domestic servants under certain conditions. In manufacturing and commerce, the legal age varies from 14 to 16 years, depending on the type of work. Prior to a revision in the minimum wage law during mid-1971, youngsters under age 18 were customarily paid at a flat rate equal to one-half the base wage for adults. At that time, however, a graduated minimum wage schedule was enacted, taking into account the location, occupation, and specific age of minors, with those nearing age 18 being entitled to higher wages than younger ones. Generally, minors in agriculture earn the equivalent of about US\$0.30 to \$0.50 per day, whereas those in nonagricultural activities are entitled to wages ranging from \$0.40 to \$0.66. Deductions are made if the workers are supplied with food and clothing. The legal minimum wages for minors are roughly one-third to one-half lower than those stipulated for adult workers.

b. Labor legislation (U/OU)

Enacted in the wake of the Angolan rebellion of 1961 and in the face of international criticism of Portugal's overseas labor policies and practices, the Rural Labor Code of 1962, as subsequently amended, is the basic device for regulating working conditions in Mozambique and other Portuguese possessions. The code in effect replacing the "duty of labor" laws, was designed to put an end to labor practices which had the potential for engendering unrest among workers. Responsibility for implementing the labor legislation rests with the Labor Institute, a semiautonomous agency under the State Secretary for Labor.

Although known as the rural Labor Code, the present statute applies to wage earners in enterprises of all types (including urban industrial plants) having 20 or more employees, except those covered under special laws or by contracts negotiated between management

and worker organizations, locally known as syndicates. Thus, at the start of the 1970's some 500,000 workers, representing roughly one-fifth of the labor force, were covered by the code; virtually all were black. Besides governing the health and safety aspects of employment, the law contains provisions concerning minimum wages, hours of work, and holidays; woman and child labor; workmen's compensation; recruiting, work contract terms, and dismissals; and fringe benefits and remuneration in kind, including food rations, clothing, housing, medical care, and educational facilities. In addition, the code has established a limited social insurance program, providing old-age pensions and maternity benefits. Furthermore, an amendment to the code decreed the formation of the Social Action Fund, to be administered by the Labor Institute and supported by contributions equivalent to 2% of wages, paid by employers and employees alike, for the purpose of maintaining and improving worker welfare services. Although some workers are permitted to organize, the requisites for syndicate membership are stringent, and workers, whether organized or unaffiliated, are not allowed to strike. The provisions of the code do not apply uniformly to all workers, as allowances are made for the size and location of establishments.

Varying in accordance with geographical location and type of activity, the present legal minimum daily wage for adults ranges from a low equivalent to US\$0.50 for agricultural workers in the north to a high of \$1.00 for industrial workers in the vicinity of Lourenco Marques and Matola-Rio. Wages in many industries, however, are higher than the minimum legal amounts. For example; port and railworkers, who rank among the best paid, earn at least \$2.80 per day. The minimum wage levels were raised in 1966 and again in mid-1971, but some observers maintain that they have generally lagged behind increases in the cost of living. The validity of such claims is difficult to judge, however, as many workers covered under the base wage legislation receive a substantial portion of their earnings in kind. Housing, for example, must be provided to all migrant workers, including those contracted to labor in neighboring countries.

The social insurance and workmen's compensation provisions of the code evidently are administered by the employers themselves rather than by the government; firms employing 50 or more persons, however, are obliged to post a security deposit with the Labor Institute to guarantee the payment of valid workmen's compensation claims and retirement pensions. Workmen's compensation benefits, which are payable to eligible workers who contract

occupational diseases or incur work-related injuries, amount to as much as two-thirds of the annual earnings for those experiencing total incapacitation. The spouse of a covered worker who is killed in the line of duty is eligible for an annual payment amounting to one-fourth of annual earnings.

Other provisions of the code require the granting of at least 2 weeks of vacation a year. The smaller establishments covered by the legislation are required to provide first aid, whereas larger firms must maintain more comprehensive medical services. Upon submission of medical certification, expectant mothers must be given 6 weeks of leave prior to childbirth and an equal period afterward, at a rate of pay equal to at least one-half of the normal wage.

Under pressure from the business community and lacking sufficient staff and funds, the Labor Institute has not enforced the labor code fully, and compliance has been characterized as "spotty." In fact, during the first decade of the code's existence, implementation and the policing of compliance proceeded at a faster pace in Angola than in Mozambique. In hopes of correcting the situation, the director of the Angolan Labor Institute was transferred in 1971 to head the counterpart agency in Mozambique. Subsequently, the Mozambique Labor Institute has been expanded and upgraded in importance, and it is now responsible for collecting labor and employment statistics and for evaluating the adequacy of minimum wage levels. The authority of its labor inspection service has been strengthened, and its social services division plans to establish hotels, cafeterias, day-care centers, and recreational facilities for urban workers. In order to eventually do away with the private labor recruiters, an autonomous Employment Service has been established which provides free placement services; training programs for the unskilled are also to be formed.

c. Labor and management (C)

Despite indications that workers were assuming a somewhat more dynamic role in the state's socioeconomic life during the early 1970's, organized labor remains small and passive, subservient to the will of the government. The syndicates are, in essence, corporate entities of the state, which limits them to serving mainly as mutual aid societies. In addition to subsidizing the syndicates, the government appoints their topmost leaders; lesser functionaries, although elected, must receive official sanction prior to taking office. Nonetheless, since unskilled workers usually cannot meet the entry requirements and whites occupy most skilled jobs, syndicalists comprise an elite

sector of the labor force. At the beginning of the 1970's, there were some 47,000 officially registered syndicate members, or about 2% of the labor force. Although Africans ostensibly are guaranteed the right to join syndicates on an equal basis with whites, the latter comprise approximately three-fourths of the total membership.

Besides limiting membership to skilled workers, other entry requirements have effectively insured the movement's continued domination by whites while reinforcing its elitist character. Until recently few nonwhites met the minimum educational standard, which consists of 3 years of primary schooling. Also, few nonwhites have been able to afford the membership dues, which are high. As a result, there are sharp disparities in employment opportunities and earning power between the small minority of organized workers and the mass of unorganized ones. Whereas unemployment is high among unaffiliated workers, it is nominal among syndicate members. Base wages among the organized workers, moreover, are anywhere from 2 to 10 times higher than those prevailing among the mass of workers. Jealousy safeguarding the privileged position of their constituents, syndicate leaders have not promoted an expansion in membership.

Apprehension over the possibility that a substantially higher membership would overtax certain social services that are provided to syndicalists also has reinforced the policy of restricted growth. Exercising little if any initiative as champions of workers' rights and otherwise performing few of the functions and responsibilities that normally accrue to the heads of freely organized worker groups, the leadership largely confines itself to the operation of social services, mostly medical care, for members and their dependents. Syndicate spokesmen seldom forward worker grievances to the Labor Institute, and they are reluctant to contest decisions by management, even when involving such basic and seemingly uncontroversial issues as the granting of retirement pensions. This posture stems in part from the fact that the syndicates are permitted, if not obliged, to accept the membership of management personnel.

Before 1965 all syndicate headquarters were in the capital, with local branches throughout the territory. Complaints that the main offices were unresponsive to the needs of constituent groups outside the capital subsequently led to the granting of administrative autonomy to all local entities. Thus, at the end of 1970, 36 syndicates were in operation, 7 of them in Lourenco Marques, 5 in Manica e Sofala, and 4 each in the remaining districts, except Niassa, which had

none. Reflecting the concentration of syndicalists in the capital and in Beira, the districts in which those cities are located accounted for three-fourths of the total membership. Elsewhere, most of the syndicates are little more than paper organizations. The syndicates in Lourenco Marques represent bank employees, office employees, commercial and industrial workers, construction laborers, construction supervisors, transportation workers, and dock and harbor workers. Paradoxically, the rank and file of the last-named group includes only foremen and white-collar administrative personnel of the Harbors, Railway, and Transport Services Administration, an autonomous agency which is by far the state's largest employer. On the grounds that they fail to meet the educational prerequisite, cargo handlers, who comprise the bulk of the agency's workers, and stevedores employed by private firms have been ineligible for syndicate membership. Although lacking formal cohesion, the cargo handlers and stevedores constitute the only element in the work force to have manifested some degree of militancy. On a number of occasions since midcentury they have staged strikes, work slowdowns, and demonstrations to obtain higher wages. While attempting to suppress such activities, the government has at times authorized wage increases, as in mid-1972 when a 45% raise, plus liberalized bonuses for overtime and hazardous work, was granted in the wake of a slowdown. Deriving in large measure from the vital economic importance of Lourenco Marques, the second largest port in East Africa, the strength of the cargo handlers and stevedores also accounts for the fact that their wages are among the highest in the state.

In view of the statutory injunction against work stoppages, and since voluntary collective bargaining is virtually unknown, the slowdown is probably the most effective tactic available to workers wishing to improve their lot. Even so, it is employed infrequently, the 1972 slowdown by stevedores being a landmark event. Negotiations between workers and management generally occur at the behest of the Labor Institute, which acts as an arbiter. Nevertheless, formal procedures exist for workers to lodge grievances with the Labor Institute concerning the interpretation and execution of collective labor agreements or of individual employment contracts. Issues that cannot be resolved through the intervention of that agency may be forwarded to special labor courts or to the civil courts.

Although management normally is able to maintain its position in matters of labor relations, the treatment

accorded to African workers varies widely throughout the state. Many high-level managers, in both public and private sectors, tend to be paternalistic, if not condescending, toward their subordinates. While some observers in Lourenco Marques have suggested that rapid change has taken place in this regard during the early years of the present decade, as recently as 1970, Antonio Rita Ferreira, a sociologist assigned by the Labor Institute to conduct the state's first survey of management attitudes, noted that white managers seldom gave blacks the opportunity to fill positions requiring thought, imagination, or considerable dexterity. On the contrary, they generally appeared to consider blacks superior to whites at monotonous assembly line tasks or at gathering raw agricultural products, because of their supposed ability to withstand boredom. Although these attitudes, coupled with the lack of effective work training programs, have constituted a hindrance to the upward mobility of African workers, Rita Ferreira found that most white foremen and first-line supervisors, themselves usually blue-collar workers, have constituted an even more formidable obstacle to progress by black workers. Perhaps because they regard blacks as a potential threat to their own position, white blue-collar workers have been known to openly berate or otherwise abuse their black subordinates, whom they regard as indolent and untrustworthy.

Artisans and the urban self-employed, who are ineligible for syndicate membership, may join associations organized along occupational lines. Representing individuals in such varied occupations as shoeshining, barbering, and carpentry, the associations, like the syndicates, are little more than mutual aid societies. Members, however, have been known to fix base prices for their services.

While management is represented within the labor syndicates, other organizations are dedicated exclusively to promoting the interests of the business community. Some industries are organized into officially sanctioned corporate entities known as *gremios*, which have declined sharply in number during the 1960's; by the end of 1970, 8 *gremios* representing 165 firms and 1,214 individuals were functioning, mostly in Lourenco Marques. Additionally, there is a statewide Industrial Association, while various lesser associations, headquartered in cities throughout the state, represent businessmen, cattlemen, and agriculturalists, or groupings of these within a given region. A Chamber of Commerce operates in the capital.

E. Religion (U/OU)

Religion plays an important role in Mozambican life, encompassing a variety of indigenous beliefs, the more formalized doctrines of Christianity and Islam, and a number of syncretic faiths blending animism with Christianity or Islam. At the beginning of 1971 the claimed religious affiliation of the people approximated the following (in percent):

Animist	65.6
Roman Catholic	17.7
Muslim	10.5
Protestant	3.8
Other	2.4

Although the Portuguese constitution guarantees freedom of religion, faiths other than Catholicism are closely regulated by law. Relations between the Vatican and the Portuguese Government are governed by the Concordat of 1940 and other accords.

The promotion of Catholicism is an integral part of the Portuguese policy of assimilation, which also assumes that the church has a corresponding obligation to instill in the Africans not only the Catholic religion but also *Portuguesismo* (an affinity for Portuguese values and traditions). Thus, in general, the government and the hierarchy work closely together, especially in the field of education, the former subsidizing the operation of mission schools for Africans and other church activities. The limited success of missionary efforts, however, with rudimentary and primary education in the hands of mission priests for generations, has occasioned some government criticism of the church. On the other hand, a few Catholic clergy, as well as Protestant groups, have criticized the government for paying insufficient attention to the problems of poor blacks, for its slowness in implementing racial equality, and for alleged occasional atrocities against Africans by Mozambican troops.

1. Animism

Traditional African religion, closely intertwined with tribal culture, varies somewhat according to tribal and ethnic grouping, but all cults are based fundamentally on belief in the existence of a spirit world. Although all groups recognize one supreme being who is the creator of the universe and the ultimate source of good, he is too remote and man is too inconsequential for him to become involved in human affairs. Thus, he is addressed directly only at times of calamity when the fate of the group is at stake.

Veneration of the spirits of ancestors, on the other hand, is the dominant manifestation of indigenous

religion. All tribal groups believe that communication does not cease with death but that all acts of the living are under the constant scrutiny of the departed who may intervene to aid or hinder the course of human affairs. The living and the dead, therefore, compose a close, interdependent community in which ancestors must be propitiated through gifts and ritual ceremonies, and taboos must be followed to avoid offense. Disease, death, crop success or failure, human fertility, and similar phenomena are attributed to the favor or disfavor of particular spirits. It is thus extremely important for a deceased person to receive a proper burial; otherwise his spirit may cause harm. To bring good fortune and to insure immunity from dangers and disasters, various types of ritual ceremonies are performed, including symbolic masked dancing. The southern Thonga place offerings at the foot of a sacred tree, while northern tribes often maintain a shrine where gifts are left (Figure 15). In addition to ancestor spirits, there are numerous other deities, both good and evil, who may be "embodied" in humans, animals, trees, plants, or inanimate objects and must also be placated.

Assistance from the spiritual world is transmitted by ritual mediators, akin to priests, of whom the most important is the diviner. Found in almost all tribal communities, even Christian villages, the diviner is most often called upon to determine which spirit is the source of a particular misfortune and what must be done to restore harmony. Diviners may also interpret omens and dreams, locate lost objects, give advice on personal problems, and dispense medicines and charms. A diviner who has earned a reputation for success usually enjoys a position of great respect in the community and may wield considerable authority in local affairs. Sorcerers and witches, on the other hand,



FIGURE 15. Small village shrine in Cabo Delgado District where gifts are placed to propitiate ancestral spirits (U/OU)

are believed to have allied themselves with malignant spirits for personal gain and are widely feared. Various types of charms, believed to be the dwelling place of supernatural forces, are commonly used to protect the wearer against evil or to bring good luck.

2. Roman Catholicism

Jesuit missions were established on the coast as early as 1560, and missionaries penetrated the interior in the 17th century. Catholicism, however, did not gain a significant foothold until the 20th century because mission activities were greatly restricted by a succession of Portuguese governments which feared strong control by the church of Portugal's overseas territories. In 1759, for example, the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and its colonies, and after 1834, with the suppression of all religious orders in Portugal, few missionaries were sent to Mozambique. By 1850 only 1 missionary was serving in the entire colony, and by 1905 only 12 priests and 3,500 communicants were recorded. The greatest expansion of the church came after World War II. In 1950 Catholics comprised 6.2% of the population as compared with 17.7% at the beginning of 1971. An additional 2.1% were listed as catechumens receiving religious instruction. Most Catholics reside in the south, particularly in the District of Lourenco Marques. The European population is predominantly Roman Catholic.

Mozambique is divided into nine dioceses headed by the Archdiocese of Lourenco Marques. In early 1971 these jurisdictions contained 271 parishes and missions served by 575 priests (90 diocesan), 204 brothers, and 1,224 nuns. The ratio of communicants to priests was 2,415 to 1, or more than 3 times that in the United States. Male religious orders numbered 17 and female orders 33. Although the government views foreign religious personnel with suspicion, 38% of all priests and brothers and 22% of nuns were foreign born, primarily in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. Of the nine prelates, however, eight were born in Portugal and one in Goa.

At the beginning of 1971, 4,041 educational institutions were operated by the church, of which 3,945 were rural mission schools, formerly called adaptation schools, designed for African children who know too little Portuguese to attend standard primary schools. In addition to 210 boarding schools, the church maintained 244 medical and charitable facilities, including 135 medical "posts," 45 maternity clinics, 5 hospitals, 8 day nurseries, 2 orphanages, and 7 old-age homes. It also published several newspapers and journals and operated *Rádio Pax* in Beira.

Still basically conservative, the Catholic Church in Mozambique has been reluctant to become involved in issues relating to social change, although since 1960 the hierarchy has encouraged greater racial equality. The late Bishop of Beira, Sebastiao Soares de Resende (d.1967), was the most progressive and outspoken of the prelates; his diocesan newspaper was censored on numerous occasions and suppressed for a short period. At present, Dom Manuel Vieira Pinto, Bishop of Nampula, is considered the most reform-minded prelate in the state. Within the past 2 years, the government has had minor problems with a few liberal priests in Beira who have denounced social and economic injustice and demanded greater church involvement in national affairs. In 1972 the government expelled 39 members of the Order of White Fathers for "anti-Portuguese" activities. In the Diocese of Vila Cabral, Bishop Enrico Dias Nogueira, transferred to Angola in 1972, promoted cooperation and good will among Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims, but in general there is little contact between Catholic clergy and other religious leaders.

3. Islam

Although Arab traders became familiar with the coastal area during the early Christian era, the first permanent settlements were established in the ninth century when communities of mixed Arab and African elements clustered around fortified trading posts. Despite the Arabs' loss of political control to the Portuguese in the 16th century, the influence of Islam and Arab customs remained strong. With the arrival of Indian and Pakistani Muslims at the end of the 17th century, more Africans were exposed to Islam and additional numbers converted. Today, the Islamic faith predominates along the northern coast and frontier, particularly among the Makua and Yao, but Muslim communities of varying size are also found in all the larger cities. Over 90% of the Muslim population reside in the Districts of Cabo Delgado, Mocambique, Niassa, and Zambezia.

The great majority of Muslims are sunnis who follow the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. Islam is practiced most strictly among the Swahili-speaking Muslims of the northern coast who wear Arab dress, celebrate Islamic holidays, and support religious schools. In the past they maintained fairly close ties with the Muslims of Zanzibar, but since the overthrow of the ruling Sultan in 1964 communication has largely ceased.

There is also a sizable following of the Isma'ili sect, which belongs to the Shia branch of Islam. Concentrated in Ilha de Mocambique and Lourenco

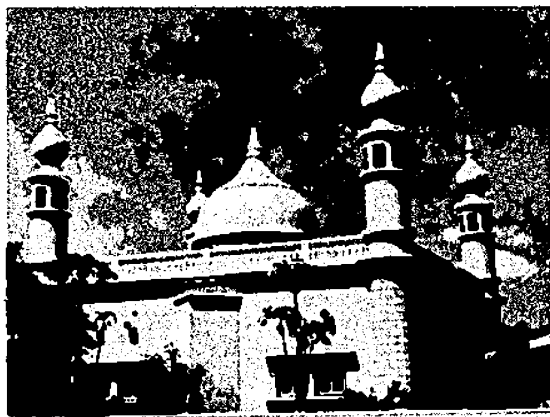


FIGURE 16. Mosque in the city of Tete reflects the influence of Indian design (U/OU)

Marques, the Isma'ilis maintain superb mosques in the architectural style of Islamic India (Figure 16). The Isma'ilis, however, do not wear Arab dress and are the Muslims most open to Western culture. In addition, a few Muslims of Indian and mixed descent, known perjoratively as *monhes*, are adherents of the small Ahmadiyya sect, which originated in the Indian Punjab. The women wear the sari, and various leaders have studied at the famous Ahmadiyya center in Bombay.

Most Mozambicans who claim adherence to Islam, however, are only nominal Muslims; perhaps 5%, largely better educated, can be considered devout practitioners of the faith. Many Africans in the interior who profess to be Muslims have accepted only the most superficial aspects of the religion. In fact, indigenous tribal beliefs and practices are frequently mixed with those of Islam. Moreover, religious fanaticism is rare among Muslim groups in Mozambique, some families having both Christian and Muslim members.

Islam in Mozambique lacks the social prestige of Catholicism. Prior to 1968, Muslims were tolerated but received neither social acceptance nor encouragement. Indeed, they were viewed with suspicion by the government, which mistakenly considered them sympathetic to FRELIMO. In late 1968, however, the government drastically revised its attitude in an attempt to consolidate support against growing insurgent activities. Muslims are now courted, praised in the press, and counted among the most loyal of the state's black citizens. In 1970, for example, the government financed the pilgrimage of seven Muslim religious leaders to Mecca.

4. Protestantism

Although the Protestant faith was introduced by British Methodists in 1823, it was not until the last quarter of the 19th century that Swiss Presbyterians, Methodists, and Anglicans established the first successful missions. Current data on the size of individual churches are not available but, in 1967, 14 of 17 churches listed total communities of less than 10,000. The Anglican Church and four Methodist churches have been the most active, the former claiming some 44,000 members and the latter almost 40,000. Anglican missions are located primarily in and near Lourenco Marques, southern Gaza, and western Niassa, while those of the Methodists are concentrated in Lourenco Marques, Beira, along the southern coast of Inhambane, and the Inharrime area. Other major denominations represented in the state include the Church of the Nazarene, Seventh-day Adventists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Evangelicals.

In 1920 the three oldest missions founded the Christian Council of Mozambique, commonly referred to as the Evangelical Alliance, which today includes most of the major churches with the exception of the Seventh-day Adventists and the Baptists. Through this organization Protestants communicate on matters of mutual interest and present their point of view to the government.

Despite the opposition of the government, a number of nativistic Protestant churches and syncretic sects have formed from time to time. Many are organized by individual Africans influenced by Protestant missionaries while working in south Africa or Rhodesia. Usually referred to as Luso-African or Ethiopian, most are short lived and have small congregations. In urban areas a new group of so-called "Zionist" churches provide black migrants with spiritual excitement, a real if somewhat covert antiwhite organization, and a replacement for tribal gods which do not seem as effective in the city as in the bush. The pastors are usually semiliterate but charismatic figures who have most often been introduced to Christianity at Protestant missions in Mozambique or South Africa. To the government's discomfort, the Zionist churches are growing. In 1970 they numbered over 20 in Lourenco Marques alone, with additional branches in some of the towns in the southern interior. Membership is roughly estimated at more than 20,000.

At the beginning of 1970 the various Protestant denominations maintained 13 major missions, 111 branches, and 828 subbranches, served by 94

missionaries and 544 lay workers. Only 15 of the missionaries were Portuguese; the others included Swiss, Americans, Swedes, and British. The missions operate an undetermined number of hospitals, clinics, schools, and seminaries.

Perhaps with some reason, many Portuguese authorities believe that Protestant missionaries, especially the non-Portuguese, are actively supporting the African nationalist movement, or at least acting as a "denationalizing" influence. Eduardo Mondlane, for example, the late president of FRELIMO, attended a mission school at Cambine, while the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church has openly criticized the methods of Portuguese rule. Consequently, the government has frequently refused visas to missionaries desiring to enter the country, and in some cases resident missionaries have been deported or refused reentry visas after home leave. In July 1972, moreover, the World Reformed Alliance, with headquarters in Geneva, reported that 20 of its members had been arrested by government authorities. As a result of these actions, Protestant missions have gradually lost personnel and are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their activities.

African clergy as well are often arrested and interrogated. The Zionists in particular, regarded as potential leaders of the black community, are kept under surveillance and occasionally harassed. In 1970, for example, 100 blacks, almost all connected with Zionist churches, were arrested by security police.

F. Education (U/OU)

For almost four centuries, education in Mozambique was mainly a function of Roman Catholic missionaries. Although the church still has a highly important role in education, the system as of the 1970's is essentially that of Portugal, adapted to local conditions. Almost all instruction is in Portuguese, reflecting the official desire to reduce social and cultural differences between Mozambique and the metropole and to assimilate the African population.

Before 1964, education in Mozambique was provided in two kinds of schools. Urban primary and secondary schools of generally high quality trained European students and assimilated Africans, and inferior elementary institutions, known as adaptation or rudimentary schools, offered schooling for unassimilated African children. The 3-year, government-subsidized adaptation schools, mainly in rural areas were usually run by Christian missionaries and were designed to give the African children to whom they were accessible a basic knowledge of the

Portuguese language and some rudimentary instruction in other subjects which would equip them to enter regular primary schools. Teachers in such schools often lacked adequate qualification and, as a result, the level of instruction frequently was so substandard that pupils found it difficult—even if physically possible—to transfer to government or private schools in the cities. Even in urban schools, the proportion of Africans in the student body was low, there being no compulsory attendance requirements. Moreover, these schools made no special effort to help Africans overcome problems of cultural or linguistic adaptation, poverty, or lack of home study facilities. Accordingly, the dropout rate among African pupils was high.

After the Angolan rebellion of 1961, the Portuguese Government began to institute general educational reform throughout its overseas territories, intending that the "civilizing" aspects of education for Africans should give way to a more pragmatic type of schooling designed to prepare them for modern life. In 1964, the adaptation schools, as such, were brought within the regular education system. Although the mission schools in the rural areas continued to be under church control, they became "official" institutions, theoretically subject to the same standards as the regular primary schools and using, to the extent possible, the same curriculums. However, most mission schools (now called *postos escolares*) offer the preprimary and three primary grades, and pupils must transfer to a regular public school for the final primary grade.

Also in 1964, education was made compulsory for all children between ages 6 and 12 living within 3 miles of a school. Enforcement of this legislation has not been possible, however, because of administrative difficulties and the shortage of classrooms and teachers.

Mozambique has lagged behind Angola in education. Although some progress has been made since 1964, the number of Africans completing primary schooling is far short of what is needed to implement the Portuguese ideal of an educated, multiracial, modern state. Literacy is low. Most sources have placed the literacy rate of the population age 6 and over at between 7% and 10%, but in early 1973 the U.S. Consulate General in Lourenço Marques reported that the rate "is estimated at about 20% and has doubled since 1960." Perhaps one-fourth or one-fifth of the literate population, according to the Consulate General, are Africans literate only in African languages or in Arabic. The rate for non-Africans is said to be about 98%, with little variation between Europeans, Chinese, Indians, and mulattoes.

There are now three categories of schools in the educational system: government schools, officially recognized and subsidized mission schools, and private schools. The last category includes some institutions operated by the Catholic Church and by Protestant denominations and others sponsored by the Indian and Chinese communities; all are subject to government control. Most of the government schools and the private institutions are located in or near urban areas. Final authority in the sphere of education rests with the Ministry of Overseas in Lisbon and its General Secretariat of Education. Local authority in Mozambique is delegated to an appointed Secretary of Education who works with the Governor General in coordinating educational activities.

The government is committed to providing greater educational opportunity for all of the population, and progress has been made in this respect since 1960. However, a persistent shortage of qualified teachers, classrooms, textbooks, and teaching aids inhibits rapid improvement in the situation. The financial resources devoted to education have been limited. Only 8.4% of the total 1973 budget for Mozambique was earmarked for education, with 35% of the funds going to the University of Lourenco Marques; the 1973 figure showed some improvement over the 5.6% allocation in 1969. Education is free in government-operated and "official" elementary schools and in teacher training schools. Tuition is charged in all other educational institutions.

The number of schools below the level of higher education has risen almost every year. Most elementary schools are in the "official" category, administered by Catholic Church personnel. Of the secondary schools, slightly more than half are privately operated, with the largest single number under the auspices of the Catholic Church. There is a striking disparity between the facilities for elementary education in rural areas and those in urban centers. A large proportion of the bush schools are one-teacher enterprises, carried on either in the open air or in primitive buildings of the same construction as the native huts. Facilities for urban schools are generally good (Figure 17). Even in some urban schools, however, the number of classrooms is insufficient, necessitating double, and sometimes triple, shifts.

Although less than one-third of all Mozambican children between ages 5 and 14 were enrolled in school in 1971, significant strides have been made in increasing educational opportunity since 1960. In March 1973 Governor General Pimentel dos Santos said in a speech in Nampula that state-wide school

enrollment (excluding higher education) amounted to 627,559 in 1972/73; this compared to 441,595 in 1960/61. Enrollment is concentrated in the elementary sector, which, according to the Governor General, absorbed 578,410 schoolchildren in 1972/73, in contrast to 49,149 at the secondary level. Whites constituted about 60% of total secondary school enrollment. The imbalance between the elementary and secondary sectors is compounded by the fact that enrollment in elementary schools is overwhelmingly focused at the lowest level. An exceedingly high dropout rate prevails among African children as a result of their inability to pass the rigid examinations required for progress from one grade to another. A qualified observer has commented that the school system seems destined to produce a massive pool of semiliterate Africans.

As of 1972/73, the basic educational system consisted of 1 year of preprimary training, 4 years of primary school, 2 years of preparatory school, 5 years of secondary school, and higher education provided at the University of Lourenco Marques and in industrial and commercial institutes. Initiated in 1972/73, the preparatory school comprises what was formerly the first 2 years of a 7-year secondary program. Eventually it is to be incorporated into the primary cycle.

At the elementary level, the preparatory year is intended to adapt children to a school atmosphere, but in the rural schools the principal emphasis is on teaching the Portuguese language to African children so that they can continue in the educational system. In theory, after successfully completing the preprimary year the African child will have a sufficient command of the language to keep up with the native Portuguese speakers. However, as the examination to determine proficiency is standardized for all pupils, whether they are white urban children or black children in the remote bush, it is inevitable that the African child is under a severe handicap. As a result, most of the African children fail the examination and drop out at the end of the year; others become repeaters. Although the dropout rate declines in primary school proper, it continues to be very high. The gravity of the problem is illustrated in the tabulation below, which lists enrollment figures for preprimary school and for each year of primary school as of 1968/69, the last year for which such information is available.

Preprimary	322,420
First grade	83,107
Second grade	47,220
Third grade	26,459
Fourth grade	17,169



Salazar High School in Lourenco Marques is one of the largest in the country



Classroom in a modern primary school in the capital. Pupils are drawn from the various ethnic communities

FIGURE 17. Representative urban schools (U/OU)

According to official data, 10,298 children completed primary school in 1968/69; this figure represented only 2.3% of those enrolled in preprimary classes in 1964/65.

The primary school curriculum includes Portuguese, arithmetic, geographical and natural sciences, drawing, handwork, ethics and religion, physical education, music, and Portuguese history. Many of the rural schools which do not have the teachers or facilities to handle the standard curriculum emphasize practical training in agriculture, animal husbandry, and handicrafts for boys, and domestic science and hygiene for girls.

The basic educational structure includes a common 2-year preparatory cycle during which a student decides whether to continue in a government-operated academic *liceu*—its privately run counterpart is the *colegio*—or to enter a secondary-level vocational-technical institution, assuming he is able to pass the examinations necessary for advancement. The *liceu* and *colegio* offer a 5-year span of education, divided into 3-year and 2-year cycles. Courses taught include Portuguese, Latin, Greek, French, English, German, history, philosophy, geography, natural sciences, mathematics, design, physical education, music, and religious education. A Certificate of General

Education is awarded upon successful completion of the 3-year cycle, and for many secondary students this is terminal. However, if a student wishes to pursue a university education he must complete the advanced 2-year cycle, obtaining a Certificate of Secondary Education. The small number of Africans enrolled in academic secondary school are concentrated almost exclusively in the lower cycles. In 1970, an estimated 30% of all students in the preparatory cycle were Africans; the proportion in the 5-year *liceu* program was about 10%.

Secondary level vocational/technical education is available in courses of varying length offered in *escolas tecnicas*, which generally feature training in the arts and crafts and in agricultural, industrial, and commercial skills. Agricultural *escolas tecnicas* are of two types: the "elementary" agricultural schools which teach basic agricultural processes and others which develop technicians and farm agents. The 2-year preparatory cycle is not required for *escolas tecnicas* specializing in arts and crafts and for "elementary" agricultural schools all of which may be entered directly upon completion of primary education. Courses taught in the arts and crafts schools include carpentry, cobbling, tailoring, locksmith work, and graphic arts.

The 2-year preparatory cycle is required for industrial and commercial *escolas tecnicas*. Industrial schools offer such general subjects as mathematics, languages, history, geography, and some science, in addition to automobile mechanics, metalwork, woodwork, and electricity. Commercial schools prepare students for careers in business and provide instruction in office techniques. Many of the vocational/technical schools are housed in modern plants with good equipment and are pointed to with pride by the local residents.

Enrollment in *escolas tecnicas* has been growing at a faster rate than that in academic secondary schools, and the proportion of nonwhite students in such institutions is reported to be much higher than in the *liceus* and *colegios*. In 1968/69, total enrollment in vocational/technical institutions stood at 13,548 as compared with 10,524 in the academic schools. According to educational officials, statistics are no longer being kept on the basis of race, but it has been estimated that 40% to 45% of the enrollment in *escolas tecnicas* consists of Africans and mulattoes. The strict academic requirements for the *liceus* and *colegios* keep their enrollment limited and highly selective. Attrition rates in secondary institutions, while high by U.S. standards, are regarded as comparable to those in Western European countries.

A special category of schools in the Mozambique educational system is that of industrial and commercial institutes, which reach from the secondary level into higher education. Offering 3- or 4-year courses to students who have completed training at lower level industrial and commercial schools, they award technical diplomas in an engineering science (mining, civil, electrical, or mechanical) or in advanced commercial subjects such as accounting. Institute graduates are eligible to enter the university if they choose to do so.

Because of an acute shortage of trained teachers to handle expanded enrollment, established qualifications for teaching in the elementary sector of the school system have been generally disregarded in recent years. Total personnel employed in preprimary and primary schools was estimated to exceed 10,000 in 1970/71, but many of the teachers—perhaps most—were monitors whose education and preparation was minimal.

The highest level of training for primary school teachers occurs in two institutions which offer a 2-year course to students who have completed 5 years of academic secondary school. Graduates are awarded a certificate comparable to that granted upon completion of the third cycle in a *liceu* or *colegio*. More numerous are training schools (12 as of 1973) sponsored by the Catholic missions; these schools provide a 4-year course open to students who have gone through primary school. The output of the teacher training schools has always been inadequate to fill the need for teachers, and the monitor system was adopted in the early 1960's as a short-term expedient. But as time went on and the demand for teachers grew along with enrollment, the use of monitors increased also. Selected from the most promising primary school graduates, the monitors are given 2 months of training, supplemented by subsequent summer school courses, and are permitted to teach the first 2 years of elementary school. According to law, a monitor is to be placed in a school only when there is no qualified teacher available for the post, and whenever possible he is supposed to be directly supervised by a qualified teacher. However, because of the size of Mozambique and the remote location of many of the schools, the stipulation regarding supervision is seldom met. A large proportion of the one-teacher schools in rural areas are presumably staffed by monitors, many of whom are Africans. Monitors do not usually teach in the urban centers.

Teachers at the secondary level are generally recruited from universities in Portugal, although an increasing number are graduates of the University of

Lourenco Marques. Observers regard the quality of teaching staff in secondary institutions as excellent.

The University of Lourenco Marques has been described as the "shining light" of Mozambique's educational system. It opened in 1963 with 294 students, and in 1972/73 had an enrollment of 2,391. Eventually it is expected to have a student body of at least 8,000. Functioning under a rector who is responsible to a governing council, the university is an integral part of the Portuguese university system, although it receives its financial support from the Mozambique budget. The 11 departments which comprised the university in 1970 are listed below, together with the percentage distribution of enrollment for each.

Engineering	38.2
Medicine	23.4
Liberal arts	12.0
Education	8.8
Veterinary medicine	5.7
Agronomy	4.5
Biology	3.4
Mathematics	2.1
Chemistry	1.0
Physics	0.5
Geology	0.4
All departments	100.0

A Department of Economics opened in 1971, but there are no immediate plans for a law school, the most obvious gap in the university's course structure. Degrees are granted in all disciplines except liberal arts; students in this field must spend the final 2 years of study at a university in Portugal.

Admission to the university is open to all applicants who have successfully completed the final 2-year cycle of academic secondary school or who have graduated from one of the industrial or commercial institutes. While prospective students are required to take an entrance examination in accordance with Portuguese university regulations, officials at Lourenco Marques privately concede that the results are not a determining factor in acceptance. The students are mainly from upper and middle class Portuguese families; Africans comprise only about 1% of the enrollment, Asians and mulattoes about 10%.

The faculty, numbering about 200 in 1972/73 (resulting in a student-teacher ratio of 12 to 1), is for the most part young and dedicated. Most are recent graduates of universities in Portugal who have come to Mozambique to make a name for themselves. The predominance of young professors is generally considered to be advantageous for the university, as

they tend to be more ambitious than older academics and better at understanding the students.

Although the university is currently housed in a variety of buildings scattered throughout the capital, construction of a new suburban plant is underway. This will eventually be known as University City. Equipment at Lourenco Marques is quite good (excellent, in fact, when compared with that of other Portuguese universities), and the new facilities should add many improvements. The equipment of the university hospital—the practical research wing of the Department of Medicine—is considered the best in Africa. One weakness as of 1970 was the limited size of the university library.

The students at Lourenco Marques appear to be basically satisfied, oriented to the *status quo*, and considerably less activist than their counterparts in Portugal. University radicals have been few and poorly organized. Nevertheless, some disruptive incidents have occurred, and late in 1972 a student organization—the Academic Association of Mozambique—was banned for "activities against the interests of the national community and the basic principles of social and moral order."

Before the university was established in 1963, a student had to go to the metropole or to a foreign institution of higher education if he wished to pursue his studies beyond secondary school. Although the opening of the University of Lourenco Marques made it possible for all but a few (those interested in law or sociology, for example) to continue their education in Mozambique, many still go abroad to study. In 1970, a total of 769 students from Mozambique were reported to be attending institutions of higher learning in Portugal.

G. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Traditional forms of artistic and cultural expression are closely related to tribal life, primarily as an adjunct to social or religious practices. Although oral folk literature is rich and varied, few outstanding works have been produced in other forms of expression, partly because of the heavy bias in favor of Portuguese patterns of cultural expression. The cultural activities of ethnic Portuguese tend to be regarded as part of the much larger metropolitan Portuguese cultural milieu, except to the extent that they are beneficiaries of uncritical, provincial "hometown" pride. Most non-European cultural endeavors must compete in this same marketplace, with inevitable problems of cultural adaptation, although Portuguese cultural insularity does not exclude a certain fondness for the

"exoticism" of African traditional forms. Obvious attempts to express political, social, or cultural discontent through the arts and literature tend to be suppressed, although implied criticism is often permitted, especially if the artist is well known. During the 1950's and 1960's a number of artists and writers, including Africans, were arrested, although most were shortly released under some degree of surveillance; some were deported or went into voluntary exile.

Although most African artistic expression has been influenced to some degree by Western forms, Portuguese arts in Mozambique have remained largely unaffected by those of Africa. Styles and standards tend to be either contemporary "international" or traditional Portuguese, although the latter contain some elements of Indian and Oriental origin incorporated at an earlier period. Western architectural styles predominate in the major cities. Lourenço Marques, perhaps the most cosmopolitan city on the east coast of Africa, is a modern urban center with imposing buildings, wide avenues, and growing tourist facilities. In a few cities, imaginative modern design is evident in churches, schools, and office buildings (Figure 18), including those designed by the renowned architect and artist Amancio (Puncho) Miranda Guedes and his students.

A few cultural organizations for the literate and essentially nontraditional African and mulatto are found in most of the larger cities. Among the most important is the African Association in Lourenço Marques, founded in 1907. In 1918 it began publishing a weekly newspaper, *O Brado Africano* (The African Cry). During 1960-65 the association encouraged the study of the black African heritage and became a meeting place and recruitment center for the Mozambique independence movement. Since 1965, when most of its activist directors were imprisoned, membership has consisted largely of successful mulattoes dedicated to "racial cooperation." Although the club has a few affluent black members, in general it is rejected by blacks who sympathize with the independence movement.

The African Association of Manica e Sofala, in Beira, is also largely patronized by mulattoes. It has a large club and social center and since 1932 has published a weekly newspaper, *Voz Africana*. This organ has recently been raised from the doldrums by a new editor, the defected insurgent leader Dr. Miguel Murupa, who has expanded its circulation from 800 to 10,000 and made it a fervent spokesman for increased benefits for Africans and full implementation of racial equality. Similar African associations are active in

Quelimane and Ilha de Mocambique, cities where racial integration has deeper roots than in Lourenço Marques or Beira.

For ethnic Portuguese in the major cities there are regional organizations, primarily social in nature, grouping Portuguese with origins in particular provinces or cities of metropolitan Portugal. Similar organizations exist in Lourenço Marques and Beira for ethnic Goans and Chinese.

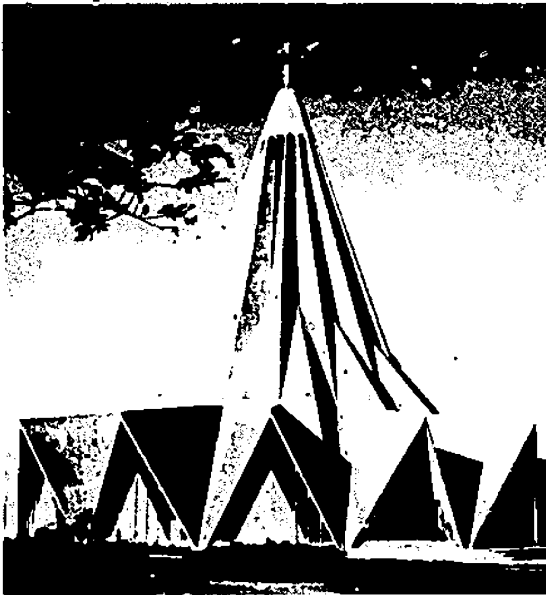
Without specific ethnic focus, but appealing primarily to Europeans and a few others with European tastes, are a variety of other cultural organizations, notably the Association of Native Born (*naturats*) of Mozambique, whose membership includes a number of intellectuals. In 1959 the association launched the weekly *Voz de Mocambique*, which published findings from investigations of Mozambique's social problems. As a result, the journal was suppressed for a time, but it has been revived as a biweekly with an emphasis on art and literature and mildly Marxist intellectual approach. Painting, sculpture, and decorative arts are taught at the Center for Art in Lourenço Marques and the Center for Culture and Art in Beira. Although both are primarily European in focus, the former has served as training ground for a number of Mozambique's most talented African artists. The Society of Studies, with an impressive modern building in Lourenço Marques, sponsors lectures on a wide variety of subjects, exhibits art, maintains a library, and publishes a bulletin with scholarly articles by local intellectuals.

Government-supported artistic and cultural activities are limited. The Mozambique Center of Information and Tourism (CITM) has begun promoting folklore festivals, but these are primarily tourist attractions. One of CITM's major purposes is to disseminate the cultural patrimony of Portugal by means of art exhibits, films, and symposiums. Portuguese history and the works of Portuguese authors are emphasized in public school curriculums. Art is taught in some schools, and the government provides a few art scholarships for study abroad.

Mozambique maintains 10 museums, of which 5 are noteworthy. Located in Lourenço Marques are the Alvaro de Castro Museum, stressing natural history, the Freire de Andrade Geological Museum, and the Museum of Military History. Beira has an important city museum, as does Namapula, the latter emphasizing ethnographic and linguistic research on the Africans of the northern part of the state.

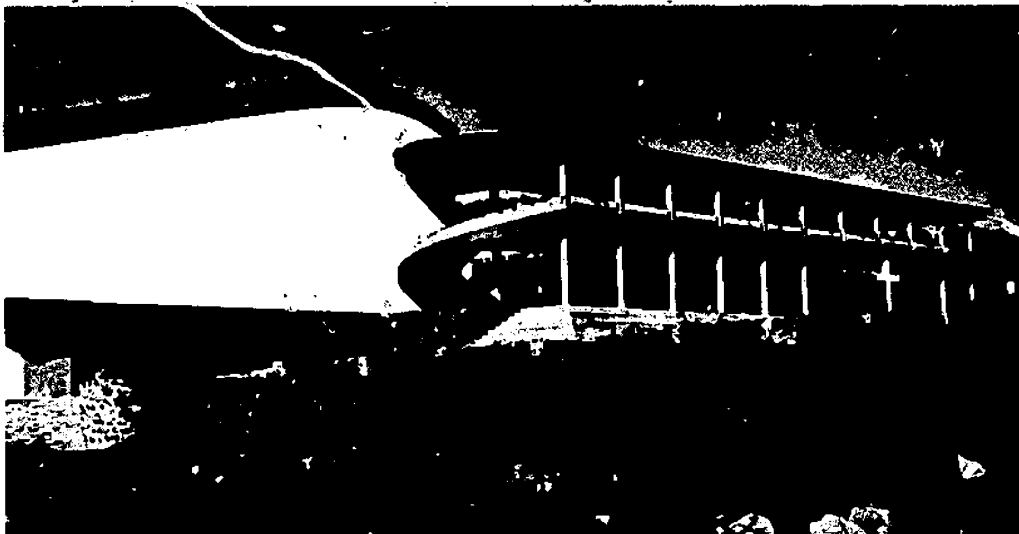
1. Painting, sculpture, and handicrafts

Few traditional arts and handicrafts in Mozambique exhibit the high degree of artistry found in some



Mural in the Overseas National Bank in the capital. This modern eight-story building contains a number of murals by Portuguese and Italian artists

The Church of Santo Antonio da Palana in Lourenco Marques, best known as the "lemon squeezer" church



Private secondary school in Namaacha

FIGURE 18. Modern urban architecture and decoration (U/OU)

other parts of Africa, but the works of a few contemporary artists, painting in the Western tradition, have been internationally recognized. Tribal painting is not widespread, although rock painting is the earliest form of art still extant. Among some tribal groups in the north, mural painting, usually decorating the exterior walls of native dwellings, continues to be popular (Figure 19).

Both Lourenco Marques and Beira have an unusually extensive art life, with a constant stream of one-man shows of painting, sculpture, photography, and various decorative arts. In Lourenco Marques, there are usually several exhibits going on at the Society of Studies, although qualified artists prefer to exhibit at the more selective Center for Art. The COOP Gallery has been particularly active in



FIGURE 19. Native wall painting typical of the northern region (U/OU)

sponsoring exhibits of sculpture by African artists. Although exhibiting artists from outside Mozambique are included, most are Mozambicans—black and white. While the standard of artistic quality varies immensely, exhibit space and an audience are readily available.

Of contemporary artists, Frederico Ayres, Vasco Domingos Campira, and the African Malangatana Valente Ngwenga are regarded as the most notable. Ayres is a prominent Portuguese artist and teacher whose best known works are two triptychs ornamenting the high altar in the modern cathedral of Lourenco Marques. Domingos Campira is an impressionist painter who studied under Ayres and later received grants from the government and the Gulbenkian Foundation to continue his training in Europe. He now paints and exhibits in Lourenco Marques.

Internationally known, Malangatana (b.1936) is perhaps the country's most noted artist. Bold and completely uninhibited in his work, Malangatana has been described as a surrealist with a vision that is bizarre, phantasmic, and sometimes frightening. The dreamlike quality of his earlier paintings and drawings has been replaced with portrayals of monsters and caricatures of people. In an attempt to express the frustrations and anxieties of his race, violence and blood are dominant themes, and his preoccupation with teeth and claws as symbols of savagery is manifested again and again. Malangatana's imprisonment in 1965 for his alleged political beliefs has also strongly influenced his subject matter and style. He has exhibited in a number of countries, including South Africa, Nigeria, France, and the

United Kingdom as well as Mozambique. He is also active in local musical and theatrical circles.

A number of other artists have received some recognition at home and abroad. Charles Fernando, for example, also a jazz musician, has developed rhythmic themes in his painting that suggest waves of sound or stylized instruments. Now living in Salisbury, Rhodesia, where he has spent 10 years at the National Gallery Workshop, Fernando has exhibited in Salisbury and London. Bertina Lopez, a painter and ceramic artist of Portuguese and African ancestry, studied in Lisbon and now paints and teaches design in Lourenco Marques. Her works, which have been shown in Lisbon and Johannesburg as well as Lourenco Marques, have won two prizes. Other talented artists who have exhibited in Mozambique include Jacob Estevao, Agostinho Mutemba, and Maria Christina Miranda Soares.

Traditional sculpture, best developed in the north among the Makonde and Makua, is not especially prized by collectors. Rarely an expression of individual creativity, it is fashioned in forms specifically prescribed by tradition for use in ritual dances, initiation and fertility rites, ancestor worship, and other tribal ceremonies. Nevertheless, some face masks and sculptured figures manifest the influence of Western art forms. Elongated, stylized masks and carved animals in light wood are produced in quantity, largely for the tourist trade, by the Thonga peoples in the south.

In traditional society masks are usually worn by dancers, but some are manipulated like puppets. They may be partial face masks or the helmet type covering the entire head, a style used exclusively by the Makonde; many include body covers (Figure 20). Usually carved of wood, they frequently represent animals, man-beasts, and evil spirits, as well as human beings. Some are fitted with hair, thatched grass, rags, and decorative beads, while others, especially those of the Makonde and Makua, may be painted or incised with the geometric designs used in scarification. Sculptured figures, most often representing ancestors or warriors, also exhibit elaborate facial and torso designs (Figure 21). Now rare, the so-called bed-dolls, used in fertility rites by the Makua, are a pair of naked figures about a meter and a half in height, symbolizing husband and wife.

Although tribal sculpture is largely anonymous, a few African sculptors are known by name. By far the best known is Alberto Mabangalare Chissano, a pupil of the painter Malangatana, who has developed a distinctive style of wood sculpture featuring contorted and often elongated shapes. Chissano, whose works



Somewhat Westernized Makonde mask of the helmet type



Traditional mask typical of the Makua and Makonde

Masks found north of the Zambezi River: strongly reflect Western influence

FIGURE 20. Examples of face masks from the north (U/OU)



sell for high prices in Mozambique and Portugal, has in turn inspired a whole school of imitators, some of them also with artistic talent. Other African sculptors whose works have been exhibited include Nangonga (Figure 22) and Chibanga Muar (Figure 23). These are occasional exhibits by contemporary Portuguese sculptors, although Portuguese artists seem to tend more to the graphic and decorative arts. More traditional Portuguese sculpture is reflected in religious carvings and public statuary.

Handicrafts are often of modest artistic merit and usually reflect strong foreign influences. Notable, however, are the silver jewelry, largely of Indian inspiration and workmanship, produced in Ilha de Mocambique. In addition, utilitarian objects, such as ashtrays, candlesticks, and boxes, of dark wood with

bone or ivory inlays, are produced on primitive wood lathes all over central Mozambique. Basketmaking is widespread. The baskets of the Tonga in the Inhambane area and the ornamental beadwork of the Swazi in the far south are notable. Perhaps the best work is done in coiled and intricately worked basketry and in the use of braided copper and brass wire to outline abstract patterns, particularly on calabashes. Carved objects include stools, boxes, and spoons, as



Makua sculpture in the Nampula Museum showing the impact of Western techniques

Statues representing ancestors

FIGURE 21. Figural wood sculpture depicting scarification (U/OU)



FIGURE 22. A Makonde mapiko dancer by the contemporary African sculptor Nangunga (U/OU)

well as articles for personal adornment, such as double-ended combs and incised brass bracelets (Figure 24). Among the Thonga and Makonde, pottery water jars and bowls may be ornamented with simple geometric designs. Some small ceramic figures are produced for sale to tourists, but most pottery, along with woven baskets, beds, and mats (Figure 25), is utilitarian in design and intended for everyday use. Textiles are all imported, and the old art of making beaten barkcloth is virtually dead.

2. Performing arts

In tribal society, music and dance dramatize and ritualize virtually all important events in individual and village life. Elaborate ritual dances, accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, for example, mark ceremonies at birth, puberty, marriage, and death; celebrate the harvest; and precede hunting and fishing



FIGURE 23. An ebony sculpture by the Makua sculptor Chibanga Muar, found in the Nampula Museum. It is one of the few African works to exhibit a Christian influence. (U/OU)

Incised brass bracelets



Hand-carved wooden combs

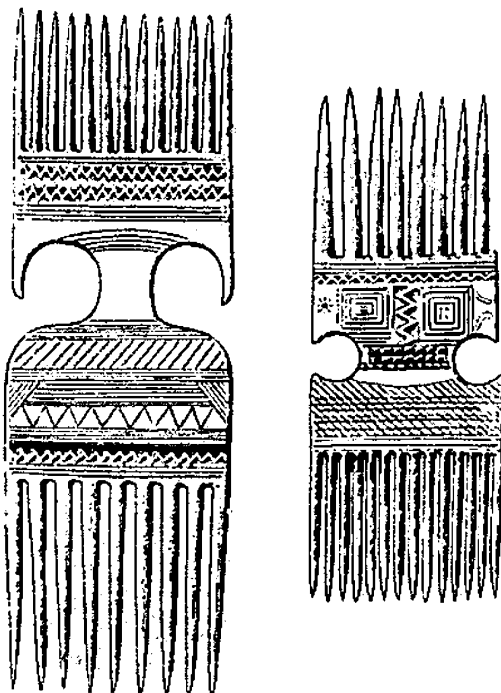


FIGURE 24. Makonde and Makua handicrafts with typical geometrical designs (U/OU)

expeditions. Daily work is usually accompanied by song, and sometimes tribal groups perform simply for entertainment.

Generally spontaneous, tribal music has a complex rhythmic structure, although the instruments used are fairly simple. Drums of various sizes and types are most common and most important. Other percussion instruments include bamboo sticks, marimbas, xylophones, rattles, tambourines, and the *sansa*, often referred to as a thumb piano (Figure 26). Single bamboo pipes, panpipes, and flutes are also played, as well as monochord instruments which are either plucked or bowed. The Chopi and Shona are noted for their musical skills, especially for playing the *mbila*, a type of xylophone. Vocal music is sung by one or two individuals alternating with a chorus, usually the audience, while percussion instruments along with handclapping maintain the rhythm and pace. In traditional music, harmony is unknown.

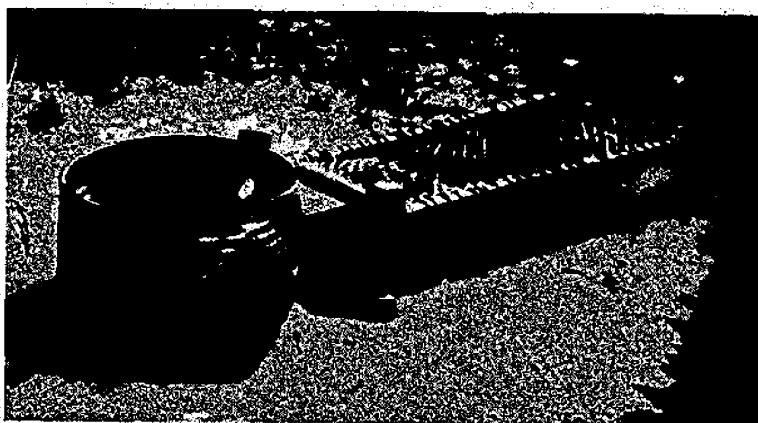


FIGURE 25. Basket and bed typical of those produced in the northern region. These are from a small Nguni settlement located among the Makonde. (U/OU)

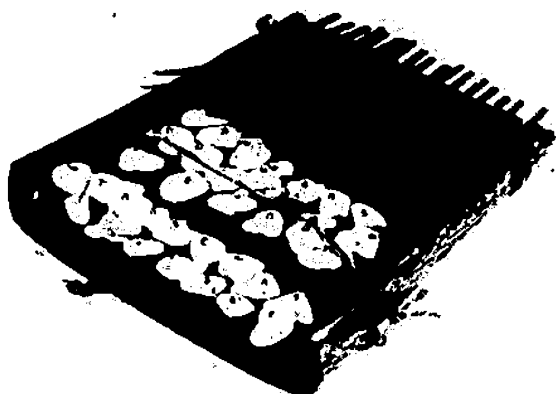


FIGURE 26. Chopi sansa, or thumb piano, decorated with loosely attached shells which add rattling sounds when the instrument is played (U/OU)

Of all tribal dances, those of the Makonde, Makua, and Yao are the most noteworthy, particularly the dance performed at Makonde initiation rites. Among all tribes, the main dancers are men (Figure 27) who usually wear masks, believed to transform the wearer into the spirit of whatever being he is impersonating. In all cases, tradition emphasize the secrecy of the masked dancer.

Among some coastal tribes, however, the traditional functions of the dance are dying out. In recent years, for example, the highly Westernized Chopi have begun to exploit their famous song and dance ballet for commercial purposes. Regarded as one of the finest

expressions of African art in southern Africa, the large Chopi company is composed of male and female dancers and singers, and an orchestra which plays six different types of indigenous marimbas called *timbilas* (Figure 28).

In urban areas, contemporary music and jazz from European countries, Brazil, and the United States are played by popular musical groups, frequently on the radio. A neofolk music is also evolving among recent migrants who play traditional music on such Western instruments as the guitar and banjo and perform modernized versions of traditional dances such as the *maribento*. In addition, the so-called "ye-ye" music and the Portuguese *fado* are widely heard. Many urbanized Africans enjoy European dancing.

Classical European music is presented by a few student, church, and amateur choral groups and in occasional performances by live musical groups or orchestras, usually on tour from Europe or South Africa, sponsored by such groups as the Center for Art and the Musical Culture Circle.

Live theater is performed by amateur groups in most of the larger cities, such as the Eduardo de Brazao Dramatic Group in Beira, the Center for Art in Lourenco Marques, and student groups such as the University of Lourenco Marques Student Theatre. They have mostly produced European plays of a classic or light nature, although the university group has sometimes used the theater as a vehicle of veiled political dissent. *O Lobolo*, the African playwright Lindo Hlongo's pageant about African urban life in Lourenco Marques, has been revived several times for enthusiastic multiracial audiences, and *Gil Vicente-72*, a modernized, multiracial version of works by the



FIGURE 27. Tribal dancers in the north (U/OU). left Dancer portraying an old man. below Makonde vanalomba (diviners) opening initiation rites.





FIGURE 28. Chopi song and dance ballet with marimba orchestra (U/OU)

classic Portuguese playwright, also had a short success in a commercial theatre.

3. Literature

Tribal groups possess an extensive oral literature consisting of riddles, proverbs, poetry, songs, myths, and tales. Dealing with tribal religion and history, nature, and incidents of everyday life, folk literature serves as a medium for recreation and for transmitting traditional mores from generation to generation. Animals with human characteristics are frequent protagonists, and common themes concern moral issues, such as the ability of the clever to outwit the strong and the importance of resourcefulness and cooperation for the common good.

Written literature, on the other hand, is fairly limited, even among the Portuguese. Locally published literature is largely confined to lyric poetry and collections of stories or essays by local writers, predominantly European. Although a few works are published in European cultural reviews and anthologies of African literature, newspapers, including *O Brado Africano*, serve as a major outlet for writers. A small group of educated Africans and mulattoes have made their voices heard since the early 1950's. Among the best known African poets are Rui de Noronha, Luis Bernardo Honwana, and Noemia de Sousa, who have written of the African heritage and character and the strangeness to the African of the modern milieu. Lindo Hlengo is the best known African playwright. Mulatto writers include Jose Craveirinha, Carlos Maria, Rui Moniz Barreto (known as Rui Nogar), and Marcelino dos Santos (writing as Kalungano), a current FRELIMO leader. Ethnic European poets of note include Rui Knopfli and Joao Pedro Graboto Dias. In the late 1950's themes of social protest began to appear in the country's literature, including the works of some Europeans, notably Virgilio de Lemos, who deplored the condition of the African masses. As a result of these efforts a number of writers were arrested and briefly imprisoned in the mid-1960's, including Honwana, Craveirinha, and Barreto, while others, such as de Sousa, de Lemos, and dos Santos, went into exile to avoid incarceration.

There are a few notable writers of nonfiction who publish in both Mozambique and Portugal. Outstanding among them are the sociologist Antonio Rita-Ferreira and the historian Alexandre Lobato, both of whom write on Mozambique.

H. Public information (U/OU)

Largely because of low levels of functional literacy, linguistic barriers, and inadequate technical and

financial resources, the mass communications media have little impact on the population outside the principal cities. The daily press is fairly influential among middle and upper class urban elements literate in Portuguese. Radio is the most important formal medium for the country as a whole, reaching the largest audience, but its effectiveness is limited by an inadequate number of receivers and the practice of broadcasting most programs in Portuguese. There is no television service, but one is scheduled to be installed by 1975. In 1971 there were about 27,500 telephones, or 3.4 per 1,000 inhabitants; service is concentrated in Lourenco Marques and Beira.

Word-of-mouth communication thus remains the principal channel for the dissemination of news and opinion, but even this means of communication is greatly restricted by the multiplicity of language spoken, the isolation of much of the population, and the lack of transportation facilities. Among village tribal groups, information is transmitted primarily by itinerant tradesmen, men returning from work in other regions, missionaries, and occasionally government agents.

Although most of the mass media are privately owned and operated, they are closely controlled by the government. Censorship, in fact, which has existed since 1933, is judged by many observers to be the most stringent in the Portuguese community. Under the provisions of Article 22 of the Portuguese constitution, the government censors all printed matter and films and licenses radio stations. Under Article 23, moreover, the media are required to disseminate official news at the request of the government.

Censorship of printed matter is the function of the Censorship Commission, whose members are approved by the Governor General. Complete proofs of newspapers, periodicals, and all other printed matter, including brochures and leaflets, must be submitted to the commission for approval prior to publication, and items concerning the insurgency must also be cleared by the military. Foreign printed matter, also subject to censorship, may be confiscated without remuneration if considered objectionable. Generally speaking, all direct criticism of the government or of government policies is forbidden, although some criticism of policy implementation may be permitted if stated within a general expression of loyalty to the government. Specifically, the commission will reject material which discredits the state, government officials, the armed forces, the courts, or other government bodies, which is considered prejudicial to public order, or which mentions unlawful social or political organizations and causes. News about local discontent is usually

prohibited. Censorship of nonpolitical material is often erratic and inconsistent, causing dissatisfaction in press circles. For the most part, however, editors and publishers know what to expect from the commission and have developed their own precensorship.

Another government agency, the Commission for the Examination and Classification of Public Events, censors all motion pictures. Politically sensitive films are generally not released at all, while others are censored primarily for moral content. Approved films are classified according to age groups, that is, those considered suitable for ages 6 to 12, 12 to 17, and 17 and above.

In 1959 the Mozambique Center of Information and Tourism (CITM) was established as a supervisory and public relations body with the primary function of forming and directing public opinion. Given responsibility to coordinate and improve the distribution of news, it acts as the government news agency, prepares special programs for radio stations, and oversees the training of radio and newspaper personnel. In addition, it issues permits for travel within Mozambique which at times restrict the movement of both local and foreign representatives of the press, radio, and cinema.

1. Printed matter

The daily press is primarily directed toward the European sector of the population, all papers being published in Portuguese. In recent years the dailies have decreased in number and circulation as their independence and influence have waned. In early 1972 only four dailies were being published, with a combined circulation estimated at 39,000 (47,700 on Sunday). All were conservative and progovernment. Content emphasizes metropole and local news, while international coverage is determined largely by its interest to the government. There is no news analysis, and journalistic standards are low.

Three of the four dailies are published in Lourenco Marques: *Noticias*, the largest daily, with a circulation of 13,000 (19,000 on Sunday); *Diario*, a Catholic paper with a circulation of 11,000; and *A Tribuna*, a conservative afternoon tabloid with a circulation of 9,000. The fourth daily, *Noticias da Beira*, distributes about 6,000 copies. *Noticias* and *A Tribuna* were controlled by independent interests prior to 1964 when both papers were taken over by the Overseas National Bank (BNU) in a government move to bring them under stricter control. The BNU also has an interest in *Noticias da Beira*, established in 1966, but the paper is controlled by private persons. *Diario* is issued by the Archdiocese of Lourenco Marques. With the demise of

the much-censored *Diario de Mocambique*, published by the Diocese of Beira as a voice of liberal and progressive Catholicism, enlightened daily journalism has all but disappeared.

Among the more important weekly newspapers are *Voz Africana*, published by the African Center of Manica e Sofala in Beira, and *O Brado Africano*. *Voz Africana*, formerly published by the late liberal Bishop of Beira, was once superior to any publication of the local Portuguese press. When in 1964, its editor was among those intellectuals imprisoned in the wave of arrests that followed the takeover of *Noticias* and *A Tribuna*, its reputation declined. It was revitalized in 1972, however, under a new editor, and has a countrywide circulation of about 10,000. *Voz Africana*, which provides wide coverage of African news and firm editorial support for multiracialism and the concept of Mozambican nationality, is printed by *Noticias da Beira*. *O Brado Africano* features news of art and culture and carries a few columns in the Bonga language. Another journal, *Voz de Mocambique*, once more liberal than it is permitted to be today, is the biweekly organ of the Association of Native Born, an organization of whites and mulattoes. *O Seculo de Juanesburgo* and *A Voz de Zambesia* are small weeklies published respectively by the Archdiocese of Lourenco Marques and the Diocese of Quelimane. *A Voz do Norte* was launched in Nampula in early 1973.

As Mozambique has no domestic news service, the CITM distributes news items and government releases to all newspapers. The major papers also subscribe to the wire services of the Portuguese news agencies, *Lusitania* and the News and Information Agency, and receive limited material from *Agence France-Presse*, Reuters, and the Associated Press.

In early 1971, according to official statistics, 26 periodicals and bulletins were being published, 11 of which dealt with pure and applied science; 7 were classified as general, and the remainder were devoted to the social sciences, religion, linguistics, sports, or entertainment. Since most are of a specialized nature, their influence and circulation are limited. An exception, however, is the Lourenco Marques newsweekly magazine *Tempo*, one of the most outspoken publications in Mozambique. Founded in 1970 by long-time journalist Rui Cartaxana, *Tempo* was printing 21,000 copies early in 1972 and claimed a readership of 100,000. Despite frequent brushes with the censors, *Tempo* advocates political democracy, exposes inefficiency in government, features stories on social injustice, and carries numerous human interest articles. Another publication, the *Boletim Oficial da Provincia de Mocambique*, as the official journal of

the government, prints only laws and decrees and commercial notices. A few journals published abroad also circulate.

The book publishing industry is handicapped by many of the same problems that plague the state's newspapers and periodicals. Low literacy rates and censorship limit demand, while antiquated equipment and high production costs adversely affect the quantity and quality of books published. As of 1970, there were five publishers, all located in Lourenço Marques.

In 1970 Mozambique had 33 libraries (29 in Lourenço Marques) with collections totaling 328,000 volumes. Most were archival or specialized, and only 10 were open to the public. Circulation figures indicated 56,900 readers.

2. Radio and motion pictures

Although radio has the largest audience of any of the media and can be heard throughout the state, only a small proportion of the population own or have access to receivers. In 1970 about 125,000 were registered (roughly 15 sets per 1,000 population) although the actual number in use was probably larger; the total audience was estimated at 1 million. An annual license tax amounting to the equivalent of \$4.20 per set is levied but is frequently evaded. Proceeds from the tax go to support broadcasting in Mozambique.

Mozambique's most important station, the Radio Club of Mozambique (RCM) located in Lourenço Marques, operates on both mediumwave and shortwave. The network, which includes regional stations in Vila do Dondo, Nampula, Porto Amelia, Quelimane, Vila Cabral, and Tete, broadcasts five programs, three in Portuguese, one in the major African dialects, and one in English and Afrikaans which is audible throughout southern Africa and as far north as the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal. Produced by the CFTM, the African program is broadcast over *A Voz de Mocambique* in a number of indigenous African tongues and in Swahili. Although privately owned, the RCM serves as an official arm of the government and depends for its existence on both government subsidies and commercial advertising.

Two stations in Beira, *Radio Pax*, owned and operated by the Franciscan Fathers of the Diocese of Beira, and *Emissora do Aero Clube da Beira*, belonging to the Beira Aero Club, broadcast on mediumwave and shortwave transmitters. Both stations carry programs in Portuguese and in African vernaculars. Smaller stations include *Radio Mocidade*, run by the official youth movement in Lourenço

Marques, and *Radio Universidade de Mocambique*, operated by a student group using the RCM network. The latter station, however, has recently been closed by the government. In addition, newscasts are beamed into Mozambique—in Portuguese and Nyanja—from the Dar es Salaam radio in neighboring Tanzania. Until early 1973, Dar es Salaam radio also broadcast daily programs sponsored by FRELIMO into the area. It is not definitely known, however, whether these broadcasts are continuing.

Motion pictures are a popular form of entertainment. In 1969, the latest date for which information is available, there were 26 theaters, plus a number of mobile units, with an annual attendance of 2.9 million. Productions from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy predominate, although a few originate in Portugal. Most are imported through South African film distributors.

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