The Origins of War in Mozambique

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CHAPTER 3
Mozambique
Before the Liberation Struggle

Changes in the international environment and Portuguese colonial policy

_Liberation struggles in Asia and the intensification of colonial rule in Africa_

The Second World War impacted on every country, either directly or indirectly, leaving the world a different place once it ended. Colonial rule, previously thought to be unshakable, started to crumble. By battering the losers and exhausting the winners, the war in effect prepared the world for decolonisation. “It was a paradox of the postwar decolonization,” according to Fred Halliday, a Cold War academic. “The most tenacious were the colonists who had remained neutral in World War II and might by that token have appeared most vulnerable, the Portuguese.”

As examined in previous chapters, Portugal benefited from the war, as it was able to firmly establish colonial rule over its vast territory in Africa. However, as colonised people all over the world began to rise up against their colonisers, strengthening their solidarity with other colonised peoples and creating increased pressure for decolonisation, this presented a new challenge for Portugal.

Even before the Second World War, various movements existed in different parts of the world geared towards seeking liberation from colonisation and domination. Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, in particular, had a long history of liberation movements associated with nationalism or socialism. The war enhanced awareness in these regions and revitalised the movements. Moreover, the post-war vision of the Allied Powers based on the 1941 Atlantic Charter, which promoted the principle of no territorial gains against the wishes of the people and self-determination, raised the hopes of the oppressed.

However, the Allied Nations did not carry forward the project of decolonisation immediately after the Second World War. For example, France did not recognise the independence of Vietnam and its formation of a democratic republic in 1945. While many colonies gained independence where battles had taken place, the reality of decolonisation in Africa became even more remote due to developments in international relations after the war.
Far from the battlefields, Sub-Saharan Africa had flourished as a supplier of primary commodities, which increased its post-war importance. War-weary European nations tried to compete with the United States of America by strengthening economic ties with their colonies. They relied on their African colonies to help them downscale their imports from the dollar bloc, and began to draw on them more heavily in terms of food and raw materials. This is one of the reasons why the French government established its colonies as “overseas provinces” immediately after the war, despite the agreed upon principle of self-determination. Naturally, European nations were reluctant to decolonise their own territories. The Cold War only hardened this attitude.

There are different opinions and interpretations about the existence, starting time and origins of the Cold War. Halliday, who focused on relations with the Third World, defines the Cold War as, “a particular period of globalised conflict, namely one in which the emphasis is upon military and strategic confrontation and in which negotiation is minimal or non-existent.” Halliday cites three ways, in which the competition of the two social systems differed from previous conflicts among great powers: (1) the rivalry is globalised and “involves the whole world in its political and military dynamics”; (2) “the rivalry rests upon a bipolar conflict between the USA and the USSR, the two states which emerged as dominant forces in their respective domains at the end of World War II”; and (3) the conflict is “not just between rival states” but is systemic. A conflict between two systems sharing these characteristics causes both sides to intervene in every incident in every part of the world to some extent, especially in the Third World which was actively pursuing decolonisation. Above all, Western governments distrusted liberation movements in general, as they perceived them to be based on socialism.

Examples of how the globalised Cold War impacted on the Third World can be drawn from Korea and Vietnam. After Japan surrendered in August 1945, some Koreans enthusiastically demanded a fundamental transformation in politics, economy and society as a whole, while others were opposed to it. The intervention of the USA and the USSR in this conflict, each supporting opposing factions, developed into a large-scale war – the Korean War. While the seeds of conflict were sown as a result of Japanese colonial rule and the struggle against it, the Korean War was finally motivated by the interference of foreign powers due to the systemic conflict of the Cold War in the process of decolonisation. As a result, not only did complete liberation, eagerly hoped for by Korean people, recede into the distance, but the physical division of Korea became entrenched. As Cumings points out, “Korea was a minor backwater to Americans in 1945, yet it pointed the way to a future that other countries and regions would later traverse.”

Vietnam was one of these other countries. After declaring independence, Ho Chi Minh sent at least eight memorandums to President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes over four months from October 1945. Ho insisted that the USA should recognise Vietnam’s independence due to the principle of self-determination, stipulated in the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations. The Truman Administration, however, viewed Ho as a communist in terms of his relations with the USSR, and continued to approve France’s sovereignty even after the onset of the First Indochina War in December 1946.
This support began with military assistance to France in 1950 and later translated into the funding of a third of France’s military expenses in 1952. Subsequently, the Vietnamese people’s plea for liberation from colonial rule, as well as their claims based on international norms, was rejected.

Eastern Europeans similarly formed a united front and fought for liberation during the Second World War. After the German occupation, they demanded total liberation including land reform and searched, by trial and error, for a new kind of democracy, that is, “people’s democracy”. Yet people’s democracy, despite its manifold possibilities, did not materialise as the USSR changed its policy towards Eastern Europe and formed the Communist bloc under its control. Furthermore, in order to counter the stronger containment policy after the Truman Doctrine of March 1947, the USSR regarded Eastern European countries as the bulwark of its “Socialism in One Country” policy and endeavoured to construct communist governments, closely connected to the Soviet Communist Party, and Soviet-type socialism. Consequently, communist parties in Eastern European countries, backed by the USSR, eliminated opposing forces, and it became virtually impossible to seek diversified socialism. The liberation dream that colonised people in many places in the world had harboured during the Second World War was shattered in that the issue was no longer confined to relations between the ruler and the ruled but became tangled up in complicated international relations.

In the following chapter the decolonisation of Africa and the impact that post-war international politics had on this process is discussed in detail. This chapter focuses on how liberation movements in Africa came into being before the end of the Second World War.

Two nationalisms in Africa

Until the end of the Second World War, nationalism and anti-colonialist movements in Africa were not as active as those in Asia. African nationalism was in fact quite different from what it was in other parts of the world. Doudou Thiam, a Senegalese diplomat, politician and lawyer, identified two categories of nationalism found in Africa: micro-nationalism and macro-nationalism. In the former, the nation was “the old territory, with its boundaries settled by the metropolitan power, which wants to rise and become a nation, to form a state”, while the latter was identified as pan-Africanism, which sought to create and develop a nation, transcending artificially established boundaries. Thiam summed up the situation in Africa at the time of the publication of his book in 1965: “Although micro-nationalism is now dominant in black Africa, there are forces working in the opposite direction – towards pan-Africanism, or macro-nationalism.”

Pan-Africanism was, in the main, developed by intellectuals of African origin who were living in the West Indies – and it then spread to the USA, Europe and the African continent. It advocated racial equality, solidarity amongst native Africans and those of African heritage in the world, as well as the restoration of the identity of native Africans and those of African origin, in the framework of the existing power structure. Later, it
struck out strongly against colonialism as illustrated by the slogan “Africa for Africans” and played a major role in the decolonisation of Africa.

Micro-nationalism, on the other hand, was not as well developed in pre-WWII Africa as pan-Africanism because it was not based on a framework voluntarily developed in the region. For people living within the borders arbitrarily circumscribed by imperialist powers at the end of the nineteenth century, the “nation” existed only in name. In other words, micro-nationalism in Africa was “nationalism without nations”. Therefore, it was macro-nationalism, or pan-Africanism, that first played an important role in the formation of nationalist movements in Africa.

However, in reality, before the Second World War, pan-Africanism was mainly a movement comprising black people in the West and amounted to nothing more than a protest movement. This situation changed drastically after the war, however, when many young leaders from the African continent participated in the Fifth Pan-Africanist Congress in Manchester in October 1945. They discussed the situation in each colony and issued the following declaration:20

The delegates to the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace … Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom, even if force destroys them and the world … We are determined to be free … We demand for [sic] Black Africa autonomy and independence …21

The declaration signified the shift from being a mere petitioner to becoming a pro-active movement, which approved of armed struggle in order to achieve the decolonisation of Africa. The “reformist” way of thinking was rejected. With this as a turning point, young leaders from the African continent started their journey towards decolonisation.22 The key characteristic of the decolonisation movement in Africa became evident: the synergy between “micro-nationalism”, which aimed at the independence of a country, and “macro-nationalism”, which sought the independence and unity of Africa as a whole. This shift would greatly change Africa.23

Kwame Nkrumah, who was later to become the first prime minister of Ghana, and who had drafted the bulk of the declaration, reflected upon the congress in Manchester as follows:

We listed the report of conditions in the colonial territories and both capitalist and reformist solutions to the African colonial problems were rejected. Instead the Congress unanimously endorsed the doctrine of African socialism based upon the tactics of positive action without violence. It also endorsed the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Human Rights and advised Africans and those of African descent wherever they might be to organize themselves into political parties, trade unions, co-operative societies and farmers’ organizations in support of their struggle for political freedom and economic advancement.24
As Oda, a leading political scientist who studied Africa around the time of “the year of Africa”, points out, however, that the word “socialism” does not appear in the declaration. It may have been omitted purposefully, but it is clear from Nkrumah’s memoir that pan-Africanism in those days was closely linked to socialist thinking. As explained in the next chapter, this link would make liberation more difficult for some countries during the Cold War.

Decolonisation fever, spreading from Asia to Africa, and pan-Africanism, expanding from the USA to Europe, to Africa, began to influence Mozambican people living under the strict social control of the Estado Novo regime. Yet, this influence was not evenly spread over the country but was generally limited to the *mestiço* (people of mixed parentage) in urban areas, intellectuals such as the *assimilados*, those educated at missionary schools, teachers and migrant workers from surrounding regions (mostly men). These groups were later to become engaged in labour movements and political activity which would eventually evolve into FRELIMO.

**The Salazar administration under international pressure**

Despite its system being similar to the fascist Axis powers – the coalition headed by Germany, Italy and Japan in the Second World War – the Salazar administration in Portugal profited from the war by maintaining neutrality. However, at the end of the war it faced strong pressure for democratisation from both inside and outside of the country. To justify his system, Salazar announced in October 1945 that national elections would be held the following month. A faction calling for democratisation hastily formed the Movimiento Unión Democrático (MUD: United Democratic Movement). It started an election campaign but, after persistent sabotage by the government, withdrew from the election, complaining that the elections were illegitimate. The same pattern was to be repeated many times: an election was announced, the government would obstruct the election and the opposition would withdraw.

In the process of building his Estado Novo system, Salazar had established Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (PVDE: State Defence and Surveillance Police). Because the PVDE had become infamous worldwide as an oppressive secret police, the PIDE was created instead after the Second World War with the purpose of cracking down on “movements against national security”. However, the PIDE was even more oppressive than the PVDE. A new law established in 1946 enabled it to legally exercise the kind of brutal measures that its predecessor was required to do secretly and illegally. As a result, any call for democratisation was clamped down as a threat to “national security”. The PIDE slipped its spies into every social network, including into the places of work, schools, communities, churches and even families, thereby targeting anyone suspected of threatening national security, many of whom were participants in the democratisation movement. The lives of Portuguese people were placed under various forms of surveillance, and it became impossible to openly campaign for democratisation in Portugal.
In addition to dealing with the internal call for democratisation, the Salazar administration had to respond to increasing international criticism of its colonial policy. The re-establishment of international institutions, such as the formation of the United Nations in April 1945, signified the re-emergence of regulation by international law. This was particularly feared by the Mozambican Governor-General Bettencourt, the implementer of the high-handed policy of forced cotton growing. Almost as if he had been anticipating this moment, Captain Henrique Calvão, a Portuguese parliamentarian, submitted a report disclosing the situation of forced labour in Portuguese colonies in Africa to parliament. Although the report was never made public, it was published secretly and served to raise international condemnation against the cruelty of Portuguese colonialism.

As outlined in Chapter 1, Portuguese colonial rule had faced political, economic and military challenges from European powers since the nineteenth century. Above all, the slave trade provided the United Kingdom with a perfect excuse to interfere in Portuguese colonial policy. However, after the slave trade ended in the Portuguese colonies at the end of the nineteenth century, international rules such as “effective rule” and the abolition of forced labour were used as justification for further interference. Since Portuguese colonial rule depended on the exploitation of local labour, the modernisation of the colonies was not promoted. This delay in modernisation and the exploitation of local labour formed the basis of much of the criticism levelled at Portuguese colonial rule in the twentieth century. Salazar responded by promoting “Luso-tropicalismo”, Portugal’s notion of multicultural-multiracialism, and argued that colonial rule had introduced the concept of racial equality to Africa. However, the report by Calvão revealed the true condition of forced labour in Portugal’s African colonies.

The Cold War in many ways rescued Salazar from this predicament. Portugal was allowed to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949 as one of the Western nations which shared an anti-communist strategy. As the military rivalry between the two sides in the Cold War expanded to a global scale, the strategic importance of Portuguese colonies in Africa and the Atlantic Ocean increased, enhancing the desirability of Portugal as a member of NATO. The Archipelago of the Açores, in particular, was ideally located as a logistical base for US aeroplanes en route to the Middle East and was essential for US global military strategy. Consequently, Portugal’s colonial rule was tacitly approved of, with NATO valuing the geopolitical importance of Portugal’s colonies above the country’s anti-communist stance. This is noteworthy by the exclusion from NATO of Spain, which also took an anti-communist stance but did not have overseas territories.

Portugal did not, in fact, immediately agree to join NATO as Salazar had a long-standing mistrust of the USA. But, as it turned out, NATO membership prolonged the life of the Salazar administration and the maintenance of its colonies.

While the global pressure for self-determination and decolonisation after the Second World War encouraged people in Portuguese colonies and in southern Africa, the Cold War linked their liberation closely to international politics. In addition, the decolonisation of Mozambique was greatly influenced by the situation in southern Africa.
Change of economic structure in southern Africa

Economic development in southern Africa

Portugal’s national policy supported the nationalisation of the economy, as is evidenced in the self-sufficient cotton-growing policy initiated by the Salazar administration. From about 1930, the country attempted to form exclusive economic relations with its colonies, which was partially attained through the participation of other world powers in the Second World War and the exploitation of its people in the colonies. However, Portugal’s effort did not affect Mozambique as its foreign reserves were mainly derived from surrounding British territories. Its relations with them even strengthened after the war because the economies of these countries had developed during the war, and because Portugal could not pursue its nationalisation policy when other world powers resumed their normal economic activities.

The Second World War had economic benefit for the southern African region as a whole, but especially for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Due to abundant mineral resources in South Africa, exports continually exceeded imports. Both exports and imports rapidly increased after 1938, though imports declined after 1945, indicating that growing industrialisation supplanting the need for foreign imports was completed during the war.

The same trend was apparent in Southern Rhodesia, which had relied mainly on mining. Production in manufacturing exceeded that of mining in 1943, resulting in manufacturing becoming the largest industry. The agricultural sector also changed during the Second World War due to land expropriation by the colonial authority. Whites owned increasingly large tracts of land and successfully managed plantations – this phenomenon was recorded as “European agriculture” in statistics. Whereas “European agriculture” produced about half the revenue of mining before the war, by 1945 it slightly exceeded that of mining production, becoming the second largest industry after manufacturing.

Mozambique’s dual roles

The economic development in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia further strengthened economic relations with Mozambique since they needed the excellent Mozambique ports in order to export their products, as outlined in Figure 1. In addition, by this stage Mozambique had become a supplier of cheap labour to offset its lack of natural resources and Portugal’s weak financial position. In other words, Mozambique played a dual role in the economic development of the southern African region: as a supplier of distribution routes and as a supplier of labour.

The historical origin of these dual roles lay in the 1901 provisional agreement between the Transvaal government in South Africa and the Portuguese government. The agreement required that Portugal allow South Africa’s Transvaal Chamber of Mines to import mine workers from Mozambique while the Transvaal Chamber of Mines was allowed the use of the Lourenço Marques port. Article 32 of the intergovernmental agreement between
South Africa and Portugal in 1928 stipulated that the government of South Africa “ensures that 50–55% of the total tonnage of goods imported via sea destined for the territory pass through the Port and Railways of Lourenço Marques facilities.” Bundling up the use of railways and port, customs and labour supply in the agreement was, as the Japanese historian Akiyo Aminaka pointed out, “repeatedly renewed until 1963 with minor changes and became the fundamentals of the economic relations between Mozambique and South Africa.”

The role that Mozambique played in the Southern Rhodesian economy was greater than that in South Africa’s, as the Mozambican railroads and ports were much more critical to landlocked Southern Rhodesia. Consequently, the private British South Africa Company (BSAC) took on a traditionally governmental role and constructed a railway connecting Southern Rhodesia to the Beira port in middle Mozambique.

Mozambique was also an important supplier of labour to Southern Rhodesia. The 1901 provisional agreement between the BSAC and Rand Mines, Ltd. provided that: (1) the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) would not procure labour in Southern Rhodesia, Ngamiland or Zambézia and (2) the WNLA would have an exclusive right to procure labourers in Mozambique, which would in turn supply 12.5 per cent of the labourers to Southern Rhodesia. Despite this agreement, however, not a single worker was sent to Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia then negotiated directly with Portugal and in 1913 it concluded a labour agreement which allowed Southern Rhodesia to recruit up to 15,000 labourers in a one-year contract from Mozambique.

In reality, even prior to this agreement, many migrants from Mozambique were already working illegally in plantations in Southern Rhodesia, with the blessing of and encouragement from Southern Rhodesia. In the 1930s and 1940s, Southern Rhodesia set up a free transport system for illegal migrant workers from Mozambique, commonly known as ulere, near the borders. Bus stops, mission schools, health centres and shops were established along the borders. By the 1950s there were as many as 200,000 Mozambican migrant workers in Southern Rhodesia.

The economic development in the southern African region after the Second World War, which strengthened Mozambique’s economic and personal ties with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, had two contradictory effects on Mozambique’s decolonisation: South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were both formidable opponents of decolonisation while the economic relations with the two countries (ports, migrant workers, etc.) played an important role in fomenting the anti-colonial movement and nationalism.

Africans in Mozambique were restricted from freely organising any sort of movement or receiving a formal education under Portugal’s Estado Novo regime of political oppression. Therefore, the residents of Mozambique were slow to learn about developments in the international political environment after the Second World War. They gradually got to learn of these developments through migrants working in neighbouring countries. Moreover, economic development in the surrounding areas helped cities in Mozambique to develop, which in turn introduced various job opportunities and new political trends to the residents of Mozambique.
Education and urbanisation of Africans

Development of Mozambican cities

In addition to producing primary commodities to supply the manufacturing industry in Portugal, Mozambique expanded its service sector during the Second World War, linked to the economic development in the surrounding areas. In particular, the harbours in Lourenço Marques and Beira experienced remarkable development. They not only offered job opportunities for Africans but also transformed the two urban areas into international cities. However, their economic development was limited, as it was solely based on the service industry. The populations of the two cities increased during the war, although by 1952 grew to no more than 93,303 in Lourenço Marques and 42,530 in Beira.

Moreover, as examined previously in Chapter 1, the influx of people into the urban areas was strictly regulated by the colonial administration of Mozambique so as to allow for the exploitation of African labourers. The majority of Africans were classified as “indígena” (native) and had to carry identity papers. The indígenas who could not identify their employers were immediately detained and made to undertake chibalo (forced labour). It was vitally important for the colonial authority to retain Africans in the rural communities where their cheap labour was needed. While Africans were confined within their circumscriptions, only a small number of assimilados, mestiços and non-Africans such as whites and Asians were allowed to live in conselhos, or towns.

In the 1952 census, 99 per cent of the population in Mozambique was deemed to be “non-civilizado” (uncivilised persons), but they constituted only 60 per cent of the population in Lourenço Marques and 72 per cent in Beira. Apart from these cities, very little urbanisation was apparent in Mozambique. According to the same census, the population of all the conselhos combined was 783,502, or 13.6 per cent of the total population (5,732,317). Hence, 87.2 per cent of non-civilizados (99 per cent of the total population) lived in the regedoria in rural areas while more than half (57.9 per cent) of the assimilado lived in urban areas. In other words, Africans in Mozambique were divided into two distinctive groups: a small number of the assimilados, who lived in urban environments, received Portuguese education and engaged themselves in supplementary jobs under the colonial authority, and the majority of the population, who cultivated land in rural areas under the regedoria system that took advantage of traditional authority.

This division presented Africans in Mozambique, especially those in rural areas, with fewer opportunities to prepare effectively for international developments. At the same time, it prevented the mestiços and the assimilados from recognising the indígenas as equal or from considering rural affairs as part of their problem. The same happened in other Portuguese colonies such as Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. In February 1970, at a memorial service for Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the first president of FRELIMO, and the “father” of the Mozambican liberation struggle, Amilcar Cabral, the “father” of the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau, discussed this division as follows:
The experience of colonial domination shows that, in the effort to perpetuate exploitation, the colonisers not only create a system to repress the cultural life of the colonised people; he also provokes and develops the cultural alienation of a part of the population, either by so-called assimilation of indigenous people, or by creating a social gap between the indigenous elites and the popular masses. As a result of this process of dividing or of deepening the divisions in the society, it happens that a considerable part of the population, notably the urban or peasant petit bourgeoisie, assimilates the coloniser’s mentality, considers itself culturally superior to its own people and ignores or looks down upon their cultural values … A reconversion of mind – of mental set – is thus indispensable to the true integration of people into the liberation movement. Such reconversion – re-Africanisation, in our case – may take place before the struggle, through daily contact with the popular masses in the communion of sacrifice required by the struggle.56

By the time Salazar publicly declared in 1951 that Portugal’s overseas provinces were not colonies and that residents in these provinces were all Portuguese citizens, the social hierarchy in the colonies had created a definitive gap amongst people in Mozambique, with whites at the top, followed by non-Africans such as Asians below them, the mestiço, then the assimilado and the indígena at the bottom. The hierarchy was defined in terms of place of residence, the legal system and education. The gap between different groups was only to widen over time.

**Disparity in educational opportunities**

Due to the above-mentioned conditions, the foundational organisations of anti-colonialism which Mondlane referred to in the context of “early nationalism”,57 were formed among the mestiço and the assimilado in urban areas, mostly in Lourenço Marques and in a more limited fashion in Beira. The movement did not spread to rural areas where the social hierarchy isolated the mestiço and the assimilado not only from the indígena but also from whites. A growing sense of isolation fuelled dissatisfaction among the mestiço and the assimilado and nurtured political dissention. This feeling is clearly illustrated in the poetry of intellectuals engaged in cultural resistance in the 1940s and 1950s when political movement was repressed. For instance, Noémia de Sousa, a mestiço poet, published the following poem:

> He was taught when he was small, “we are all the children of God, and each human is a brother of another human” … Once, seeing a man, he said innocently, “Brother”. But the pale man fulminated with the eyes filled with hatred and replied to him, “Negro”. (From “Sangue Negro”)58

The “indigenous intellectuals”, the mestiço and the assimilado who were isolated from both Africans and whites, turned to what Cabral called “re-Africanisation”. Realising this, the
colonial authority tried to stop the influx of Africans into urban areas while refusing to educate more Africans than was required.59

In 1929 there were only 11 government-run schools for ensino primário (primary education) in the whole of Mozambique and half of them were in the south. There were 1,184 Africans registered as students, not many more than the number of registered Europeans (1,064), though there was a far smaller European population.60 The increasingly low enrolment rate of Africans partially is as a result of the introduction of the three-year compulsory “ensino primário rudimentar” (rudimentary primary education), which meant that Africans, who did not speak Portuguese, attended these schools rather than primary schools. Taking into account this change in the education system, Africans’ enrolment in primary education became increasingly diminished to 410 in 1938.61 Clearly the intentional division between whites and Africans in education was successful.

In 1940 primary education, including rudimentary primary education, for the indígena children officially fell under the responsibility of the Catholic Church. The number of Africans enrolled in public primary schools further decreased to 76 in the 1942/43 year. Church schools, on the other hand, doubled from 296 in 1940 to 542 in 1944. Students enrolled in church schools increased from 52,238 in 1940 (one per cent of the total African population) to 94,494 in 1944,62 although this still amounted to less than two per cent of the total African population.

The increase in the number of Africans enrolled in schools after 1940 signified an increase in the number of Christians, albeit temporarily. The rudimentary primary schools run by the Catholic Church mainly taught the words and knowledge necessary to understand the Bible. If children wished to pursue their education at primary schools, they were required to be baptised. It is noteworthy that the Catholic Church had already made significant inroads into Mozambique before, or at the same time as, they were charged with the responsibility of primary education. More schools meant more Christians. However, the propagation of primary education in Mozambique was more than the dissemination of knowledge, the modernisation of education or the conversion to Catholicism: its ultimate objective was to produce “obedient and exemplary workers”.63 The Catholic Church was actively involved in the promotion of cotton, with the belief that the activity was good for moral education, as seen in Chapters 1 and 2.

Spiritual suppression through the Catholic Church occurred not only in Portuguese colonies but also in Portugal itself. The 1940 agreement between the Salazar administration and the Vatican made Catholicism a national religion and bestowed the responsibility for primary education in colonies on the Catholic Church. In Portugal, too, many did not complete primary schooling. Some writers assert that the support of the Catholic Church and the low level of education of Portuguese citizens enabled Salazar to maintain his political power for as long as he did.64

In Mozambique, even young whites did not have sufficient educational opportunities. In 1952, there were only six secondary schools (one public and five private) in the whole country – all of them were for whites, and all of them in Lourenço Marques. It was virtually impossible for Africans to obtain secondary education.
It was at about this time that a small group of young Africans emerged who tried to pave their own way, despite facing multiple impediments. It was these young men and women who sowed the seeds of the anti-colonialist and nationalist movements and later came to form the core of FRELIMO. They were largely drawn from a minority that had experienced slightly better opportunities than most Africans in Mozambique. As seen in Chapter 1, some of them were wealthy African farmers in southern Mozambique, like the father of Samora Moisés Machel. Others had benefited from secondary school education. There was an enormous economic, political and social gap between the south and the rest of Mozambique, with the south of the country being far better resourced, housing the capital and being closer to South Africa.

As mentioned previously, it was in the interests of the colonial authority to maintain different educational systems for Africans and non-Africans, and these young pioneers were deprived of educational opportunities. Hence, any young person from the south who wanted to study further and had the wherewithal to do so, tried to get to South Africa, following the information and networks that their families and relatives had established through many years of migrant work. One of these young people was Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane who became the first African from Mozambique to obtain a Ph.D. and later became the first president of FRELIMO.

**Germination of the anti-colonial movement in urban areas**

**New movements after the Second World War**

In 1949 educated young Africans in Mozambique formed the Núcleo dos Estudantes Africanos Secundários de Moçambique (NESAM: Nucleus of African Secondary Students of Mozambique) as a subordinate body of the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (CAN: Association Centre of Mozambican Blacks). The majority of them had received secondary education in South Africa at the time when the political organisation, the African National Congress (ANC), was actively expanding. Young members of the ANC formed a youth league in 1943, listing armed struggle as an option in their fight for liberation from the apartheid regime. This made a great impact on young activists from Mozambique. NESAM’s activities soon attracted the attention of the colonial authority. Many members were interrogated by the PIDE and imprisoned, forcing the organisation to the brink of dissolution; however, the organisation went underground where it continued to operate until 1964. NESAM later contributed greatly to the FRELIMO liberation movement through sharing its human resources and its networks, developed through many years of continuous activity in Mozambique. NESAM’s formation was like a breath of fresh air for the youth under the oppressive Estado Novo regime and brought with it a taste of freedom from oppressive decolonisation. Perhaps one of NESAM’s greatest contributions to the nationalist movement was Mondlane’s position as one of its founders, which created...
a network of African and mestiço “intellectuals” who were loyal to him.

Even though the colonial authority recognised NESAM and its leading members as a potential threat to the colonial system, it attempted, in the early 1950s, to placate competent Africans like Mondlane by educating them in Portugal – with the hope of creating a group of Africans who would cooperate with the system. Since this was 10 years before the formation of the first liberation movement in the Lusophone African colonies, the colonisers still perceived Africans as controllable subjects.

Ironically, it was this misperception and strategy by the colonial authority in the early 1950s that produced the leaders of various liberation movements, notably, Mondlane (the first president of FRELIMO), Marcelino dos Santos (one of the founders of CONCP [Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas: Conference of Nationalist Organisations of Portuguese Colonies] and the vice president of FRELIMO), Amílcar Cabral of PAIGC, Agostinho Neto and Mario Pinto de Andrade of MPLA. These men were sent to Lisbon as promising candidates for later collaboration with the colonial authority. However, amongst themselves, the young men came to realise that the problems of each colony could not be solved without freedom from colonial rule.

Nativismo and the Association Movements

The roots of the nationalist movements and anti-colonial movements by “intellectuals” from Portuguese African colonies after the Second World War lay in the nativismo (nativism) among the mestiço which had long influenced Mozambican politics.

At the end of the eighteenth century, political refugees and deportees arrived in Mozambique from Portugal and Brazil. Among them were liberals, republicans and revolutionaries. Whites living in the coastal urban areas were politically diversified. As described by António Figueiredo, a Portuguese citizen who participated in the oposicionista (opposition) movement in Mozambique in the 1950s, “Mozambique was farther and freer” from Portugal.73

The social status of the mestiço was relatively high in Mozambique at the end of the nineteenth century. They were called filho da terra (the sons of the land) and expressed their political views through writing in publications, including the Clamor Africano (African Clamour) and the Revista África (Africa Magazine). The filho da terra were critical of Portugal’s colonial policies which they argued would not bring progress to Mozambique and they demanded the autonomy of each colony. Their opinion was rooted in the resentment and rivalry that they felt towards the government and people of Portugal, who they felt did not properly understand the colonies. Some Portuguese, such as António José Enes, a Mozambican governor-general in the late nineteenth century, sympathised with their cause and insisted on the decentralisation of the colonies, citing the “diversity of the colonies” as his reason. The filho da terra argued that Mozambique should not be treated in the same way as other colonies because of its “special situation”, that is, the necessity of maintaining a large population of labourers, and therefore that it was not desirable to pursue universal assimilationism.
Having seen that RAU (Colonial Administration Act introduced in 1907 for the effective exploitation of the labour force) had the effect of leading to the impoverishment of Africans in rural areas, nativistas began to criticise the colonial authority in Mozambique, instead of Portugal. The front-runner of this criticism was the Grémio Africano (African Guild), organised in 1906. It started a newspaper called O Africano (The African) in 1908, which voiced its disapproval of a “new” trend of discrimination against Africans. The main members of the guild were mestiço and assimilado “intellectuals”. In the newspaper they called for the “protection of the rights of the indigenous population”.

Once republicans had established the Portuguese government in 1910, various associations and sócio-partidária (social partisan) organisations were born in the metropole and its colonies including Mozambique. In Mozambique these were largely organised by whites from Portugal to protect their own rights and interests, and they took after the increasingly active labour movement in their home country.

Several of these organisations accepted members of all races, including the Centro Socialista de Moçambique (Socialist Centre of Mozambique) of the Partido Socialista Português (Portuguese Socialist Party), the Associação do Pessoal do Porto e dos Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques (APPCFML: Port and Railway Workers’ Association of Lourenço Marques) and Associação das Artes Gráficas (AAG: Printers’ Association). They helped to raise the political awareness of the mestiço and the assimilado and facilitated their political organisation. The AAG was the most “militant” of all. The personnel of the Imprensa Nacional (National Printing) office was said to be “composed of three races living indiscriminately, but in the best harmony and comradeship.” Also in 1911, with the support of the white members of the AAG, African members formed the União dos Trabalhadores Africanos (African Workers’ Union), although it had a limited life span.

The members of the African Guild, AAG and the Socialist Centre of Mozambique had socialist ties. A few of the editors of O Africano actively made socialist assertions. In particular, João Albasini, one of O Africano’s founders and a well-known intellectual in Portugal, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, used several pen names to express his opinions, such as the following passage: “It would be communism, the only idea that a black can conceive, assimilate and tolerate regarding ownership, because he is a born socialist.”

Albasini believed that African society was traditionally of a collectivist nature and he saw an affinity between this and socialism. Similar arguments were put forward by two prominent African leaders – Leopold Senghor and Sékou Touré, the first presidents of Senegal and Guinea respectively.

We discovered that we had already achieved socialism before European presence. We would conclude that we have a vocation to renew it by helping him [the native African] restore his spiritual dimensions.

African society is essentially communal. Collective living and social solidarity gives it an underlying tone of humanism, envied by many peoples.
It is worth noting that Albasini, being familiar with the work of Marx and Hegel, pointed out the importance of labour union struggle and expressed his solidarity with the 1917 APPCFLM strikers. However, nativists around that time should not be regarded as socialists or pan-Africanists because the African Guild was driven in the main by nostalgia for “Mother Africa”, compassion for their “brothers” as forced labourers and, above all, anger at having to accept their lowly position in the social hierarchy. Equally, “solidarity with white workers” should not be over emphasised as the majority of the white workers became more racist in the economic crisis following the First World War, when the colonial government intentionally attempted to widen the gap between whites and other races. As a result, the social status of the *mestiço* and the *assimilado* was lowered and they were given fewer employment and promotion opportunities than whites.

The value of the British pound, the main currency in Lourenço Marques, fell after the First World War. Prices soared and many urban dwellers became impoverished. Consequently, the African Guild placed priority on protecting the rights of Africans. In 1918 it changed the newspaper’s name from *O Africano* (The African) to *O Brado Africano* (The African Cry). Rocha, a Mozambican professor at UEM and an expert on association movements in Mozambique, argues that the guild represented “all Mozambicans” and that its newspaper was “the leader of the indigenous race”, but the actual readership or geographical distribution is unknown. Although it was read by migrant workers on the South African mines and sections of it were written in local languages (Tsonga), its readership was limited due to the comparatively very small number of literate people.

Economic chaos after the First World War plunged Portugal into crisis. Its deficit from 1919 to 1920 grew to 12 times as much as the average deficit during the last years of imperial rule. Trade unions responded by escalating their activities. The Confederação Geral do Trabalho (CGT: General Confederation of Labour) and other unions demanded improved treatment for workers and took to holding strikes and other industrial action. In Mozambique, the Centro de Esquerda Democrática (Democratic Left Centre) was set up and a newspaper called *O Emancipador* (The Liberator) was published in 1925. However, this was the last socialist organisation to be set up for many years in Mozambique as the 1926 military coup put an end to political freedom.

The Colonial Act of 1930, targeted at economic nationalism, killed off the relatively free political atmosphere in Mozambique. The Estado Novo regime, which started around this time, legalised political oppression throughout Mozambique. The Censorship Act of 1933 brought the labour movement under the Estatuto do Trabalho Nacional (National Work Act). Any association activities which insisted on a class-based argument were prohibited and the newspapers published by various associations and nativist organisations were banned. Indeed, although there were 97 newspapers in 1926, this number was halved within four years. In 1937 *O Brado Africano* was put under the direct control of the colonial administration. The African Guild was restructured as a semi-governmental organisation called the Associação Africana da Colónia de Moçambique (AACM: African Association of Mozambican Colony) in the late 1930s.
Pan-Africanism in Mozambique

There are various opinions regarding the assessment of the nativismo and the association movements between 1910 and 1926 during the republican administration. Although these cannot strictly be called anti-colonialist or nationalism movements, they did provide the basis for the future anti-colonialist or nationalist movements. Mario de Andrade, a founding member of the Angolan Communist Party and MPLA, refers to them as “movimento unitário” (unitary movements) or “protonacionalista” (proto-nationalist) and emphasises the continuity between them and the later liberation movements of the 1960s. In Rocha’s view, these movements expanded the social basis of “modern nationalism in Mozambique”. As Andrade points out, however, one should take not only their continuity but also their “discontinuation” into consideration.

Pan-Africanism in Mozambique has not been explored comprehensively by researchers, with the notable exception of Rocha, who listed three routes of pan-Africanism into Mozambique: (1) the association activities in other Portuguese colonies; (2) South Africa; and (3) Portugal. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a well-established interchange of information and publications between other Portuguese colonies. Therefore, Portugal’s tightening of its colonial administration impacted not only Mozambique but also other colonies such as Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe. Just like the African “intellectuals” in Mozambique, people in other African colonies had increased awareness of the need to protect the causa Africana (the interest of Africans). The forming of the African Guild and the publication of newspapers in Mozambique was, therefore, welcomed by nativistas in other colonies, and they influenced each other.

In South Africa, the pan-Africanist movement started at the beginning of the twentieth century. The South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was formed in 1912, and was renamed as the African National Congress (ANC) the following year. Due to the two countries’ geographical proximity, this initiative strongly influenced nativistas in Mozambique. The April 1919 issue of O Brado Africano expressed sympathy with the slogan of African workers in the Transvaal, “Africa for Africans”. Also, several seitas messianico-profeitas (messianic-prophet sects), which were igrejas separatistas (separatist churches) from South Africa, rapidly and widely spread throughout southern Mozambique. These were the so-called independent churches which refused to be subordinate to traditional European Christian churches and split from them. Pan-Africanism spread through these religious activities as well as through migrant labourers, and greatly influenced peasants in southern and central Mozambique.

Nativistas in Portuguese colonies advocated the protection of the rights of Africans in the colonies. The Junta de Defesa dos Direitos d’Africa (JDDA: Council for Defence of the African Rights), set up in Lisbon in 1912, aimed at organising all of the groups in Portugal’s African colonies by establishing a central committee in each colony, like a confederaç. Albasini became the director of the Mozambican committee. The objective of its newsletter, A Voz d’Africa (The Voice of Africa), was to encourage people of various classes and races to compromise their individual interests and to work instead towards
achieving the prosperity of their common nation. The spirit was clearly demonstrated in
the name of a new newsletter, *Portugal Novo* (New Portugal), published in 1915.105

In the wake of the Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919, some of the JDDA founders
formed the Liga Africana (African League). The objectives of the league were: (1) to
promote the moral and social progress of the African race and to protect the legitimate
interest and rights of Africans in Portuguese colonies; (2) to confederate the existing
groups of Africans in the Portuguese colonies; (3) to have the Portuguese government invite a
certain number of people from each colony to study in Portugal; and (4) to maintain
contact and cooperate with similar groups in other countries.106

Around this time, Albasini wrote from Lisbon to the African Guild: “Mozambique
must have a direct and undivided link with the African League. Here in Lisbon is the
headquarters of the delegations in Africa.”107

According to researchers such as Rocha and others, the pan-Africanism adopted by the
Liga Africana was reformist in nature and kept a certain distance from Marcus Garvey’s
“Africa for the Africans”.108 The following is a contributed article by the chairperson of the
league published in *O Brado Africano* in 1921:

> The African regionalists do not proclaim, as some scatter-brained people do,
> “Africa for Africans”. Neither can they accept “Africa only for Europeans”,
> as many think but do not say. What regionalists want is firm cooperation
> between whites and natives on the basis of equality, in a word, “Africa also for
> Africans!”109 *(Underlined by the author)*

Also in 1921, the JDDA formed the Partido Nacional Africano (PNA: African National
Party). Its objective was to lobby for more rights for Africans within the colonial framework
in a similar way to its rival, the Liga Africana. During this period, nativist organisations
in Portugal and its colonies were strengthening ties with international movements. The
Liga Africana sent two members to the Pan-African Congress in 1921 and it became one
of the founding members of the Associação Pan Africana (Pan African Association).110
It requested the third Pan-Africanist Congress in 1923 to be held in Lisbon. The 1923
congress took place in London and Portugal.

For the first time people in Portuguese colonies were able to link directly with pan-
Africanism internationally. However, the stance of the members of the Liga Africana was
sometimes unclear, and at times they appeared to be actively defending Portugal’s colonial
policies.111 This attitude was not necessarily peculiar to pan-Africanists in Portuguese
colonies since pan-Africanism before the Second World War was generally reformist rather
than anti-colonialist.

Although these developments should be considered, it is not particularly useful or
appropriate to divide nationalism in Portuguese colonies in Africa into two kinds, as
elaborated on in Chapter 2. As people involved in the Liga Africana advocated, it is
necessary to include “mezzo-nationalism” such as “regional nationalism”.112 Political
opinions in Portuguese Africa need to be analysed at three levels: macro-nationalism (pan-
Africanism), micro-nationalism (independent nations) and mezzo-nationalism (regional Africanism).

Among African “intellectuals” in Portugal before the Second World War, mezzo-nationalism was favoured, while members of the African Guild in Mozambique were strongly attracted to the assertion of “Africa for Africans”. In general, the notion was most strongly accepted in Mozambique, which was of course furthest from Portugal and closer to South Africa. African “intellectuals” in Mozambique at that time attached much importance to regional Africanism due to the commonalities between “intellectuals” in the region, such as the fact that Portuguese was a common language. They were also beginning to pay attention to pan-Africanism. However, micro-nationalism was yet to come into its own.

In summary, many contradictions existed among nativist movements during this period, and furthermore, activities were significantly curtailed on the establishment of the Estado Novo regime. However, they did influence the liberation struggle in Mozambique in three important ways. Firstly, they laid the foundation of the thinking that later unified Mozambican “intellectuals” in the area. Secondly, they fostered solidarity, albeit partial and temporary, with international movements and especially with those in Portugal and other Portuguese colonies. Thirdly, they experienced a joint struggle with white movements (especially socialist parties and trade unions), which was to be the foundation of the solidarity between anti-establishment whites and FRELIMO.

Social expansion and the limitations of various movements

The extent to which the above-mentioned movements influenced Mozambique’s trajectory remains unclear, even today. As outlined earlier, certainly it would be accurate to say that southern Mozambique was more strongly influenced than other areas. This being due to its proximity to the capital, Lourenço Marques, which was the axis of new thought. Educational and media organisations were also concentrated in this area, and it had many migrants working or living in South Africa, where pan-Africanism and trade union movements were thriving. It was also this area that had experienced the collapse of the traditional social system, and was therefore more open to the influx of new thoughts and religions.

Jeanne Marie Penvenne, who meticulously followed the daily lives of African workers in Lourenço Marques, points out that, “the Grêmio membership was hardly representative of the urban population as a whole”. The leaders of these movements were exceptional, even for urban residents. According to the 1940 census, the literacy rate in Lourenço Marques was 1.78 per cent and only 11,320 people could read Portuguese. These figures illustrate the limitations of the African Guild whose main activity was the publication of newspapers in Portuguese.

Much research has been conducted on the proletarianisation of African workers. The current prevailing understanding is that the capitalist world economy and colonial rule intentionally prevented workers in remote areas from becoming proletarianised. In other words, rural villages where workers originated from were forced to cut production costs.
The colonial government in Mozambique implemented labour exploitation by forcing male “natives” to become engaged in legally forced labour or to sell their labour in order to pay taxes, while at the same time the traditional social structure was maintained in these rural areas. Therefore, because Africans in Mozambique provided the cheapest labour, they in effect contributed to the formation of a capitalist economy. These factors not only prevented Mozambique and its people from developing at their own pace and of their own free will, but also prevented workers from becoming proletarianised.

In the 1930s nativists and the association movements led by the *mestiço* and the *assimilado* experienced radical changes. The Estado Novo regime banned socialist parties. Also, the increased influx of Portuguese immigrants from 1931 lowered the social status of the *mestiço* and the *assimilado*, which had already been slipping following the First World War. It became impossible for the different races to fight together in the workplace.117 Penvenne’s work, mentioned earlier, demonstrates that African workers in urban areas, including the *mestiço*, developed a class consciousness as “Africans under the exploitation system”, which was more closely related to a sense of racial discrimination rather than an understanding of themselves as a class of workers.118 It was a common belief at the time for people living in Lourenço Marques, from the educated *mestiço* lawyers to the uneducated African lower-ranking municipality employees, that the white men “ate the blood of other people [Africans]”.119

This impacted on the development of political movements in Mozambique in two ostensibly contradictory ways: firstly, it led to the stagnation of the joint struggle with white inhabitants, and, secondly, it led to a shift towards a new movement. The intensification of colonial rule (white rule in urban areas), and repulsion against it; the increase of migrant workers due to the economic development in southern Africa as a whole; the vitalisation of the labour movement in neighbouring regions and the surge of liberation movements in the world – were all factors which had a strong influence on the political consciousness of the people of Mozambique. The movements developed quietly and only began to surface after the Second World War. One of these was a labour movement of unskilled port workers, which was active from 1947 to 1949.120

The workers organised a succession of protest actions. They, for instance, went on strike in July 1947 protesting against the imposition of overtime work. Later that year they also caused a riot protesting against poor meals, and in April 1949 they went on strike again. About 300 forced labourers, considered to be the lowest among all the port workers, participated in the first strike. Six of the seven leaders were former migrant workers from South African mines.121 Possibly, the labour movement of Mozambican port workers was prompted by the large-scale strike in South African mines in 1946. In turn, the industrial action of the port workers encouraged plantation workers near Lourenço Marques to take action.122

These efforts temporarily improved the treatment of workers, but relatively soon the movement was forced to a standstill due to blanket arrests of the protestors, the exile and penal labour imposed on the leaders and strikebreaking.123 As a result, no other labour movement confronted the colonial authority from 1949 until the late 1950s.
Nevertheless, the labour movements in urban areas, mainly in Lourenço Marques, from about 1910 to the end of the 1920s and just after the Second World War, played a significant role in the formation of the nationalist and the anti-colonial movements by nurturing its identity, consolidating thinking, accumulating knowledge and experience, building a network and creating a legacy. However, there was very little link to the rural areas. The leaders of the movements had more in common with the political consciousness of “intellectuals” in Lisbon and other Portuguese colonies, pan-Africanists in other parts of the world and movement leaders in the neighbouring countries, than with the rural deprived of Mozambique.

**The intensification of colonial rule and the germination of the anti-colonial movement in rural areas**

Chapter 1 looked at how African peasants resisted forced cotton growing using every possible means. It was highlighted that the resistance took the form of fleeing from, rather than confronting, the colonial authority, as well continual small daily resistances once the uprisings by local chiefs had failed.

The worldwide waves of anti-colonisation and the winds of pan-Africanism reached rural areas only fragmentally. This was partly due to the vast distances between the urban areas (especially Lourenço Marques), which were the centres of various pioneering movements, and the rural areas, specifically in central and northern Mozambique. It was only those rural people working in the urban areas who were likely to learn of the changes, and this varied according to where they worked and the type of work they did.

Forced cotton growing had been successfully introduced in Mozambique just after the Second World War, and colonial rule was established to a greater or lesser degree in every rural corner of the country. As seen in Chapter 2, the administrator and agents of the cotton companies moved communities into remote areas where they could be easily administered. The régulos and the sipaios were so highly valued as assistants of the colonial administration that they rode about in palanquins during this time. The number of sipaios increased to as many as 18,333 in 1951.124

Many people in rural areas became increasingly discontented with the ever-growing power of colonial rule. However, their unhappiness could not find expression in anti-colonial movements, let alone nationalism, yet it was unsafe to live grudgingly in rural areas for fear that ill feeling would be reported to the authorities, resulting in harsh punishment. Since Africans could no longer escape colonial rule and regulate themselves within the country, many were forced to move out of the Portuguese colonial territory. In the main, the only way for rural Mozambicans to escape their dissatisfaction and to come into contact with the latest movements, such as the anti-colonial and early nationalist movements, was to become migrant workers.
The experience of migrant workers

Graphs 6 and 7 illustrate the change in the number of Mozambicans working in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia respectively. The influx of migrant workers from Mozambique to neighbouring countries was confirmed by a 1958 report by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which noted that, “[a]ccording to the available statistical data, Mozambique is the African territory where migration abroad attains the highest proportions.”

The report listed two factors related to the increase in labour migration: “push” factors and “pull” factors. Push factors included the increase in the population, the collapse of traditionally self-sufficient agriculture and Africans’ new lifestyle obtained through the new monetary economy. Pull factors were the development of production activities such as plantations and mines and the worldwide economic boom following the First World War. The report did not, however, examine structural issues, such as the influence of the states, colonial governments and businesses. Nor did it sufficiently explain why Mozambique was the largest provider of migrant workers. Moreover, the report ignored the effect of the world capitalist economy (as suggested by the dependency theory and the theory of the world-system, the relations with the apartheid system (as pointed out by Ruth First and Mitsuo Ogura) and the state of Portuguese colonial rule.

An analysis of labour migration which focuses on formal agreements between governments, or between a government and a mining company or a private corporation, inevitably excludes illegal or informal migration, as well as migration to areas that are not included in the agreements. Consequently, little light has been shed on the true situation of the labour migration of Africans in Mozambique after the late 1930s, the overwhelming majority of which was illegal. On the other hand, an interpretation of the relocation or labour migration of colonised people as “escape” or “resistance” has also been common, and not only among researchers. The testimony of migrant workers, as well as reports by the administrators of the places where migrants settled seems to confirm this perspective.

The report of a provincial governor of southern Tanganyika in 1933, after the introduction of the Estado Novo in Portugal and its colonies, illustrates this:

“… oppressive measures adopted by neighbouring Authorities”, … was causing “considerable movement of Natives across the Rovuma into the Tunduru District [southern Tanganyika]”. … “[O]ppression by the Portuguese and seizure of their women-folk” was forcing the migration of a prominent Matengo headman and his followers in Tanganyika … “[T]he oppression must have been very severe to make him move, as he is a very old man …”.

Similar movements took place all over Mozambique, perhaps with regional variations in severity and timing. Many Africans left Mozambique for neighbouring British territories.

It is interesting to look at how Africans fleeing from Mozambique themselves saw the situation. An escapee from central Mozambique to Southern Rhodesia is quoted in the
Graph 6 Mozambican mine workers in South Africa (1901–1973)

Source: CEA, 1998:204; author’s calculations.
Ph.D. dissertation of Joel Maurício das Neves, a Mozambican professor in the History Department of UEM and a director of Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM), who conducted research on regional relations between Zimbabwe and central Mozambique:

Young boys were often caught on the roads or local paths by sipaios on their way to school. One day, on the way to Jecua Mission School, fifteen boys were caught by sipaios. Five of them, myself included, ran away. A big rope was tied around the waists of those who could not run. Then they were taken to the local administration and road construction sites. [...] During the colonial period we did not have peace. We were always threatened by the Portuguese authorities who forced us to work on white farms. Although we had our fathers, we were frightened and always hiding in the bush. Because of this situation, we preferred to go to Zimbabwe and to work there.

Edward Alpers, an expert on south-eastern African history, points out that the traditional research that focuses on push and pull factors, structural factors or the “escape” factor cannot sufficiently explain the more sophisticated strategies and active decision-making employed by escapees. In addition to higher wages and higher standards of living, Neves points out that reasons for migration included opportunities for education, welfare, entertainment such as soccer and cinemas and political freedom. Stephen Christian Lubkemann, who studies diaspora in Portuguese-speaking southern African countries, asserts that we should recognise the proactive and reactive aspects of migration. In addition, he argues that not everybody participated equally in migration, citing gender and age factors.

In connection with the liberation struggle, Alpers notes that, “while these Mozambicans rejected Portuguese colonial rule, they did not necessarily reject the capitalist regime with which they had become familiar in Tanganyika.” This was true especially with the Makonde (MANU) leaders, such as Nkavandame, whose aspiration was to become “a small capitalist farmer and trader” and ultimately “a local petty bourgeoisie.”

There are two important points to be kept in mind. First, labour migration after the Second World War significantly affected rural residents all over Mozambique. Second, without understanding this phenomenon and situation, one cannot understand the transformation of rural society in Mozambique, let alone the liberation movement. In 1948, for example, 61 per cent of the male work force in Mossurize, 31 per cent in Manica and 19 per cent in Chimoio left for Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, leaving a labour shortage in Manica-Sofala District of as many as 45,000 people. In 1940, 23,000 (26 per cent of the male labour force) left from the Inhambane District in the south to find work in South Africa. Similarly, in 1953 between 15 per cent and 17 per cent of Makonde males in Cabo Delgado District in the north worked in Tanganyika. Even from the official data, which has a tendency to under-record the true figures, it is evident that there was large-scale migration (especially males) from all over Mozambique.

Concerning the role that the experience of migrant labour played in the liberation struggle in Mozambique, many researchers have cited the acceptance of new ideas
(nationalism and decolonisation) and the formation of class-consciousness. This process and the actual situation of Mozambican migrants has not been studied sufficiently however, in the same way that the *nativismo* and the association movements in urban areas have been under-researched. The importance of examining migration and migrant workers in relation to the formation of the liberation movement is highlighted by the fact that all three liberation organisations out of which FRELIMO was formed were established towards the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s by Mozambican migrants who had lived in neighbouring regions, such as in Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Nyasaland. These three organisations were born in these countries, later relocated to Tanganyika and were eventually absorbed into FRELIMO.

**The experience of Mozambican migrants in South Africa**

From the end of the nineteenth century, African males from the southern part of Mozambique, the economic and political hub of the colony, systematically went to South Africa as migrant labourers. There they encountered new political ideas, foreign to Mozambican Africans from other regions, and became aware of the political movement among South African blacks. These were the men who, prompted by the mining strike in South Africa in 1946, organised a port strike in Mozambique. Moreover, as a new church movement (independent churches) prevailed among southerners, pan-Africanism began to blossom. As Luis António Covane, who conducted research on migrants from southern Mozambique points out, many migrant workers learned how to write through their participation in church activities in South Africa. This is illustrated by the letters that they wrote in their mother tongue (of Tsonga or Chopi), to their families back home in Mozambique. Upon returning to their hometowns, they then taught others how to write. This was regarded as a threat by the colonial government and often resulted in arrests.

Many leaders and supporters of FRELIMO during the liberation struggle were from the south, undoubtedly influenced by the educated migrants. However, researchers did not pay much attention to FRELIMO’s influence on southern rural residents as the armed struggle of 1964 had not yet reached the rural south and also because its attempt at fomenting an uprising in the urban south had failed. To shed light on FRELIMO’s impact on the south, the CEA (Centro de Estudos Africanos of Universidade de Eduardo Mondlane) conducted research between 1984 and 1986. Teresa Cruz e Silva, the report’s author, refers to southern Mozambique as, “the fourth region of FRELIMO” and describes its “illegal” activities there in detail.

It is still unclear, however, how Mozambicans from the south lived in South Africa; to what extent they participated in the labour movement and political activities there; what sort of networks they developed; what type of ideas and movement they encountered and brought back home; how their new ideas influenced struggle politics in Mozambique and how they became engaged in the liberation movement from 1960 onward. Not only those who studied abroad, like Mondlane, but other migrant workers must have been influenced by liberation movements such as the ANC. Further research is needed to
shed light on how they participated in these movements or how they took forward these activities once they returned home.

In South Africa, the Union parliament passed the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, and the Public Safety Act and Criminal Law Amendment Act were promulgated in 1953. This legislation made it impossible for Mozambicans to organise anything of a political nature in South Africa. Mozambican migrants working in South Africa, especially on the mines, were restricted from participating in the South African labour movements because they were under the control of various South African or Portuguese institutions. Although they might have been able to gather information about new movements, they would not have easily been able to form their own movements in South Africa or even in their hometowns.

Social changes in southern Mozambique resulted in migrant labour becoming the main form of economic activity for African males. Many men chose to return to urban areas in Mozambique or stayed in South Africa, but others did return to the rural areas. Here, some men used their savings to establish themselves as successful farmers. Over the years, money earned in South Africa filtered into the local economy and into local communities, transforming the traditional way of life.

As an example, whereas young men used to have to rely on their fathers to pay lobolo (bridewealth), they could now earn money to pay it themselves. As a result, the number of polygamous marriages, early marriages and divorces increased. Because of long absences when men went away to work, more and more families were headed up by women. Women were therefore required to shoulder a much heavier burden than before. In addition, the position of the chiefs, who formerly had played a major role in the distribution of land and wealth, and who had dealt with any crisis in the community, weakened. While it is true that the traditional authority in communities played a significant role as régulo, and acting as subordinate assistants of the colonial administration allowed them to accumulate wealth, the traditional social structure in the south was already starting to crumble when the colonial power tried to incorporate it into the colonial administrative structure. In this way, the situation was very different from that in the north, as discussed in Chapter 2. These factors made it difficult for southerners to organise a movement based on communal relations or kinship.

On the other hand, the monetary economy enabled individuals to earn a living in diverse ways and to pursue different ways of life. Consequently, a large number of men from the south went to Tanganyika on hearing that FRELIMO was formed in early 1960s. The weakening of traditional social systems is one of the reasons that southerners, including women, responded positively to FRELIMO’s stance on anti-tribalism. In summary, migrant labour transformed the perception and lifestyle of the working men, as well as the social structures in the rural areas where they originated, impacting also on the perceptions of the women who stayed behind. However, although this formed the foundation for the understanding of new ideas and movements, it did not lead immediately to the engagement of Africans from Mozambique in the wider political movement due to the factors outlined above.
The experience of Mozambican migrants in Southern Rhodesia

The União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO) was formed in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, in 1960. Despite the historical significance of the organisation in Mozambique’s liberation struggle, its background was virtually unknown until Neves’s 1998 Ph.D. dissertation. This was because: (1) the UDENAMO headquarters relocated to Tanganyika in 1961; (2) many UDENAMO members, including Adelino Gwambe, its first leader, and Uria Simango, a future deputy secretary-general of FRELIMO, later formed a splinter group and were engaged in anti-FRELIMO activities; and (3) research on Mozambicans in Southern Rhodesia has tended to focus on them as “migrants” or “workers”.

Many researchers have suggested that the formation of Zimbabwean nationalism in Southern Rhodesia was closely related to the labour movement. Unionism, in particular, is said to have been against ethnic divisions in urban African communities. This socio-political environment encouraged Mozambican migrant workers to become more politically aware, and hence they often joined workers from Southern Rhodesia and other British territories in the labour movement, while also nurturing their own “(micro) national” consciousness.

Neves points out that until the Great Depression of 1929 the majority of workers in mining towns in Southern Rhodesia were not in fact from Southern Rhodesia. The number of migrants from Mozambique working in Southern Rhodesian mines continued to increase, almost doubling from 4,658 in 1933 to 9,534 in 1937. During the Second World War the numbers remained relatively stable at 11,000–12,000. Graph 8 illustrates that Mozambican migrants formed the majority of workers in Umtali (current Mutare) and Salisbury (current Harare) in 1945.

Yet, only 12 per cent of the 93,977 Mozambican migrants in Southern Rhodesia in 1945 worked on the mines; the majority worked in various industries, such as on the railways and in agriculture.

Forced cotton growing, introduced after the Second World War, was the major cause of the influx of Mozambicans to Southern Rhodesia. Many people left central Mozambique once Portugal started to exercise direct control of the colony after the last concession to Mozambican companies expired in 1942 and the work imposed by the colonial government was unattractive to them. When it became urgent for the colonial government to develop infrastructure in central Mozambique whose modernisation was substantially delayed due to company monopoly, Africans were drafted into public works. To do this, the administration imposed six-month-long stints of forced labour per year on all men in central Mozambique who were not engaged in growing cash crops or stock farming. When the cotton companies had been active, there were some years when not a single man had been drafted. Now, in Mossurize Circumscription in central Mozambique, for example, nearly 1,000 men were forced to provide labour every year. To avoid this, many men and boys crossed the borders to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa.
Graph 7  Workers in Southern Rhodesia (1930–1952)


Graph 8  Origins of mine workers in Southern Rhodesian cities (1945)

Sources: Southern Rhodesia Statistical Year Book, 1947:98; author’s calculations.
In addition, the economic boom in Mozambique around this time required a large number of workers, and labour was actively recruited near the borders. However, more people probably moved to Southern Rhodesia to avoid forced labour, as in 1939 the number of Mozambican workers surpassed that of Nyasaland, which had been the largest supplier of workers since 1933, as seen in Graph 7. As in South Africa, the migrants from Mozambique were influenced by their experiences in Southern Rhodesia.

The labour movement in Southern Rhodesia became active just after the First World War. The first strike was at the Bulawayo Railways, thereafter industrial action spread throughout Southern Rhodesia. Between July 1919 and January 1920, Africans from a wide range of industries took part in country-wide mass-action labour-related activities which were successful in halting the decline in wages that had been accelerating since the First World War. It is not clear how many Mozambican workers were involved, though many of the miners in Bulawayo – the centre of Southern Rhodesia’s labour movement – were from Mozambique.

The period just after the First World War is considered to have been important for the formation of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. Also formed in this period were labour movements, self-help groups and political organisations such as the Rhodesia Native Association (RNA) and the Rhodesia Bantu Voters’ Association (RBVA). Among self-help groups, the Tete Burial Society was the most significant.

The *African Weekly* newspaper reported in 1955 that the first burial society in Salisbury was formed in 1918 by people from Tete in Mozambique, which led to the formation of other “tribe”-based burial societies. The fact that Mozambican migrants established one of the first self-help groups, if not the very first, may reflect that it was more difficult for them to receive public or private support than Africans from Southern Rhodesia or other British colonies. The burial societies were especially significant during the influenza epidemic, which raged in the latter half of the First World War in eastern and southern Africa, and claimed the lives of three million people in Southern Rhodesia. A further 2,000 were kept in isolation. Mutual support among immigrants became essential. Members of support groups could expect that coffins, burials and communication to their families would be organised in the case of their deaths. Self-help groups also helped those disabled by illness or injury to go back to their home-towns.

Following the formation of the Tete Burial Society, many self-help groups for Mozambican Africans were formed. In the mid-1920s, the Mozambique Native Association was founded in Salisbury. The association became prominent in mines and industrial centres all over Southern Rhodesia and established branches in various locations. In addition, many more burial societies were formed.

Motoji Matsuda, a social anthropologist, illustrates how ethnicity was reinforced through self-help groups such as burial societies among urban residents in Kenya which adopted names that suggested their ethnic identity or region of origin. However, the formation of organisations based on ethnic groups or regions of origin did not always translate into strict ethnic divisions between locals and Africans from Mozambique, or among Africans from Mozambique. In many cases, the burial societies based on ethnicity
or region of origin were too small, so people had to join those of other ethnic groups or regions. It was also important to obtain a wider support base which the increasingly active labour movement provided. Therefore on the whole, “boundaries” of each support group were not exclusive. For instance, the Mozambique Native Association in Gwelo incorporated members who were not from Mozambique, and conversely the majority of the members of the Port Herald Burial Society in Shamva, formed by people from Nyasaland, were from Mozambique. All the workers at the Umtali mine belonged to the Nyasaland Beni Society, irrespective of where they were actually from.\footnote{166}

Self-help groups created social networks among Southern Rhodesian workers which played a significant role in the formation of the labour union movement.\footnote{167} In the 1940s, the labour movement was stronger than any ethnically based self-help group.\footnote{168} The manufacturing industry in Southern Rhodesia flourished thanks to the outbreak of the Second World War and required many more African workers. In Bulawayo, for example, the number of African workers rose from 18,211 in 1941 to 52,553 in 1946. It increased by 96 per cent in the manufacturing sector and 113 per cent in municipal public works.\footnote{169} During the same period, between 30,000 and 40,000 Africans travelled from Mozambique to Southern Rhodesia every year for work. Many of them found work on construction sites, textile factories, flour mills, mines, farms and in white households.

The sudden influx of people from within and outside Southern Rhodesia into industrial centres accelerated urbanisation, but also resulted in lower wages and a reduced standard of living. At the same time, in rural areas the land of many Africans was expropriated by whites. Droughts and soil erosion led to further deterioration of the situation.\footnote{170} There were food shortages among urban workers who had relied on the food produced by their families and relatives in rural areas. This led to the intensification of industrial disputes.\footnote{171} Strikes, which has been frequent after the First World War and then waned, became common once more. The first was again led by Bulawayo Railway workers in 1942, which sparked repercussions throughout the country. A general strike went ahead in 1948. In Umtali, a workers’ committee was formed, consisting of 12 members – each representing a different sector. António Rapozo from Zambézia, Mozambique, was selected as the factory workers’ representative.\footnote{172}

From this it can be inferred that many factory workers in Umtali at the end of the 1940s were from Mozambique, and that they also took part in the labour movement, together with workers from other areas. In 1952, 80.74 per cent of African workers in Salisbury were from Nyasaland and Mozambique. In 1956, 40 per cent came from Mozambique.\footnote{173} Six hundred workers went on a strike in a large-scale industrial dispute at a factory in Umtali in February 1954. They threw stones and demanded better working conditions. Many of them were from Mozambique.\footnote{174}

However, Mozambican migrants could not freely participate in the labour movement due to the oversight of the curadors,\footnote{175} the Portuguese “curators” sent to Southern Rhodesia by the Mozambican colonial government in order to keep an eye on African migrants from Mozambique. Some strikers were repatriated back to Mozambique, and some were later exiled to São Tomé. Interviews conducted and perusal of administrative
documents by Neves reveal that the *curadors* established an intelligence network which enabled them to intervene frequently in the lives of those from Mozambique in Southern Rhodesia. The intelligence network took advantage of various associations of Mozambican migrants.

By the early 1950s, most Mozambican migrants belonged to one of the two main associations, namely the Mozambique Club in Bulawayo and the *Tete Burial Society* in Salisbury. Often, members of these associations participated in meetings and cultural events organised by other associations and political organisations where they became strongly affected by Southern Rhodesian politics. These associations were not yet operating as “national” organisations. The *Tete Burial Society*, for instance, used Nyanja (or Chewa) as its main language of communication and had stronger links with people from Nyasaland than those from other regions in Mozambique. The Mozambique Club consisted of members who spoke various languages, but until the 1950s, the members came from only a select number of areas, as illustrated in a statement by a Mozambican member: “Our notion of Mozambique was very limited to our region [Tete, Zambézia and Manica-Sofala] of provenance.”

The opening of a railway connecting southern Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia in 1956, allowed a greater number of migrant workers to travel from southern Mozambique to Southern Rhodesia. In the late 1950s, Southern Rhodesia was a more popular destination for migrant workers as it provided greater political freedom than South Africa. Perhaps in response to the high number of foreigners working in Southern Rhodesia, an anti-foreign worker campaign started in 1958. These activities led to the development of a broader “solidarity among Mozambicans” which transcended regional differences.

Alarmed, the colonial government in Mozambique established the Associação dos Indígenas Portugueses de Sena (Shona Portuguese Native Association) in Salisbury and the Clube dos Indígenas do Império Português (the Portuguese Imperial Native Club) in Bulawayo in the hope of attracting Mozambican migrants away from the more independent and voluntary Mozambique Club and *Tete Burial Society*. In addition, the colonial administration clamped down on returnees from Southern Rhodesia from the mid-1950s. Migrant workers were detained by the local police at a railroad station on their return. The police showed them a photograph of Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who was active in the liberation movement in Nyasaland, and who was later to become the first President of Malawi. Depending on their reaction to the photograph, returnees might be arrested. Many similar types of incidents were recorded. The Foreign Migrant Act of 1958 caused cracks to form in the solidarity established between Mozambican workers and workers from other regions. Foreign workers were not allowed to enter Southern Rhodesia, let alone purchase houses in Salisbury. The leaders of the Southern Rhodesian labour movement welcomed the Act, complaining in the *African Daily News* that Mozambican workers “were the present cause of low wages in this colony”. João da Chunga, who came to Southern Rhodesia as a young boy in 1927, became an active trade-unionist and, in the mid-1950s, was an important figure in the Portuguese African Society, collaborating with the Portuguese *curadors* to monitor migrants. He was then appointed as the president...
of both the Associação dos Indígenas Portugueses de Sena in Salisbury and the Clube dos Indígenas do Império Português. Chunga had a contrary view:

I strongly disagree that we P.E.A. [Portuguese East African] aliens [depress] wages and undercut local Africans in the matter of housing … I am still in the same battle … Does Mr Maluleke think that I and many more thousands working in the colony do not want money and are in fact undermining the battle for improved salaries?  

This contention suggests that nationalists in Southern Rhodesia perceived not only whites, but also Mozambican migrants, as enemies. Mozambicans started to recognise differences (and social ranking) between themselves and those from the British colonies, including Southern Rhodesians. They saw themselves as “outsiders” from a Portuguese colony and keenly felt the need to organise themselves and protect their rights. Portuguese curadors exploited the opportunity by presenting themselves as the “guardians” of Africans from Portuguese colonies and taking the initiative to organise Mozambican migrants.

Under these circumstances, Mozambican migrants were confronted with two options: to go back to Mozambique or to remain in Southern Rhodesia. Because of the harsh political environment and forced labour regime in Mozambique, many still chose to remain.

A national identity as “Mozambicans” became increasingly attractive to migrant workers because of three factors which emerged in the late 1950s: (1) the oppressive colonial rule in Mozambique; (2) the social exclusion experienced in migrant destinations and (3) the nationalist fever spreading throughout Africa. Around the same time, “intellectuals” belonging to independent churches in central Mozambique, crossed the borders to southern Mozambique in order to escape from the ever-increasing political oppression. One of them was Uria Simango who later joined UDENAMO and became the deputy president of FRELIMO. In the late 1950s, these exiled “intellectuals” and migrant workers joined forces to form the Associação Moçambicana da África Oriental (Mozambique East African Association) in Bulawayo and the Tete East Africa National Globe Society, or Tete Portuguese East Africa National Globe Society (hereafter referred to as the Tete Globe Society).

Although ostensibly these were social organisations, in reality they were created for political purposes. They attempted to ally with nationalist organisations in Southern Rhodesia, and encouraged Mozambican migrants to join local political organisations such as the City Youth League and the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC). This had a positive effect in that SRANC leaders now rejected the expulsion of foreign workers and adopted pan-African solidarity in their labour movement. The security police in Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, were wary of organisations formed by Mozambican migrants, resulting in organisations using the word “Portuguese” in the name of their organisation (“Portuguese East African Society”) in order to elude the vigilance of the police.

At this time Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia formed a federation together with Southern Rhodesia, but their independence remained under discussion. Nationalist
movements in Southern Rhodesia were as active as ever. The SRANC rapidly increased its influence in rural areas. Responding to a sense of impending crisis, the white government of Southern Rhodesia banned the SRANC in February 1959, and enacted one law after another clamping down on Africans. The legislation relating to “native” affairs was amended. The Unlawful Organisations Act was introduced after the government declared a state of emergency in 1959, followed by the Law and Order Maintenance Act and Emergency Power Act in the next year. The National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in January 1960, following the banning of SRANC. Although it was not permitted to operate in rural areas, it gained as many as 250,000 members in 1961. The circle of political activity in Southern Rhodesia was expanding at tremendous speed.

Seeing the resultant oppressive measures enacted against Southern Rhodesian Africans by the white government, Mozambican migrants had to consider their own political activity. In 1960 the Mozambique African National Congress (MANC) was formed in Salisbury and the UDENAMO in Bulawayo. Both included the words “Mozambique” and “national” in their names. This was the moment that micro-nationalism surpassed mezzo-nationalism.

Mozambican nationalism was nurtured by Mozambican migrants from diverse backgrounds who enjoyed political freedom in Southern Rhodesia. Their experience in a British colony helped them to look beyond mezzo-nationalism, which was the traditional approach of Mozambican “intellectuals” to emphasise their position as Africans in Portuguese colonies. Mozambican nationalism combined macro-nationalism in the form of pan-Africanism together with micro-nationalism, which aimed at the independence of colonies. This point should be noted in relation to the FRELIMO liberation struggle.

To what extent did the situation in Southern Rhodesia influence rural communities in Mozambique? Clearly, there would have been a lot of movement between Southern Rhodesia and central Mozambique due to geographical proximity and the railroad between them. Although there is still little research on this issue, it would seem possible that there was a connection between the protests in various places in central Mozambique in 1956 and the energetic trade unionist activities of Mozambican workers in Southern Rhodesia in the mid-1950s. Similarly, the events in Mozambique also had significant impact on Southern Rhodesia. For instance, when the Núcleo Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala (Negrophile Nucleus of Manica and Sofala), which had its base in independent churches, became involved in protests in central Mozambique, its leaders fled from the resultant crackdown by the colonial government to Southern Rhodesia, and later formed the Mozambique East African Association.

Further research is needed to determine how much these activities actively influenced rural areas in Mozambique. Undoubtedly, the collective experience of working in Southern Rhodesia for many years changed life in central Mozambican communities, but it is unclear to what extent it changed political awareness and the society itself. One notable impact on migrant workers in Southern Rhodesia is that many of them established lives there and did not return to Mozambique, unlike migrants who went to South Africa. The men sent from southern Mozambique to the South African mines were obliged to return home.
once their contract ended as the intergovernmental agreement did not permit long-term employment. Migrant workers in Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, often remained there for a long time, because: (1) many were not bound by a contract; (2) the majority of residents in Southern Rhodesian cities were from other areas; and (3) their language and culture was similar to that of Shonas who formed the majority of the population in urban Southern Rhodesia. In addition, it was less attractive for “illegal” migrant workers to return because of forced labour, prevalent from 1942 to 1961, and political oppression in Mozambique in the 1950s. Moreover, many migrant workers obtained an education in Southern Rhodesia. Neves points out that many former migrant workers cited educational opportunities as a reason for going to Southern Rhodesia. Clearly then, money was not the sole reason that Mozambicans chose to find work in Southern Rhodesia – as many of those from central Mozambique were able to obtain an education in English. It is likely, therefore, that many of those remaining in Southern Rhodesia lost ties with their home communities in rural Mozambique.

Because of these factors, the liberation movement formed in Southern Rhodesia by people from central Mozambique was characterised as a movement of exiles. Later, the “revolutionary lines” of FRELIMO criticised them for being “elitists”. This is discussed in the following chapter, but for now it should be noted that the liberation movement formed in Southern Rhodesia was very different from the regional Africanism advocated by “intellectuals” in Portugal’s African colonies. Also important to note here is that in the same way that Chunga of the Portuguese African Society was seen as a “servant” of the colonial authority, so too was the newly formed UDENAMO infiltrated by the PIDE. Adelino Gwambe, the first representative of UDENAMO, was previously a PIDE informant in Mozambique. He began to work for a railway company in Southern Rhodesia in 1952 and joined UDENAMO after confessing to his past. In addition, the MANC was also suspicious about the PIDE’s involvement in UDENAMO, and vice versa. Their mutual suspicion not only prevented them from joining hands but also caused chaos during the liberation struggle period.

The experience of Mozambican migrants in Tanganyika

Researchers have paid the most attention to migrant workers who went to Tanganyika and their role in the liberation struggle. Literature dealing with Mozambique’s contemporary history frequently refers to the Makonde African National Union (MANU), formed by Makondes, as one of the earliest anti-colonial organisations. It later changed its name to the Mozambique African National Union (MANU) and became a parent body of FRELIMO. The organisation is considered important because of its success at the large-scale mobilisation of rural residents in Mozambique.

Mozambican migrants crossed the Rovuma River and settled in Tanganyika from as early as the seventeenth century. As seen in Chapter 2, there were long-established relations between inland Mozambican residents in the north and trade centres such as Kilwa and Zanzibar. Crossing the river was something of a “familiar option” for people facing serious
However, large-scale migration to the north of the Rovuma River was a more recent phenomenon – closely related to Portugal’s colonial rule in Mozambique.

The population influx from northern Mozambique to Tanganyika took place in several waves. The first wave occurred just after the last armed resistance of Yaos and Makondes was crushed and they were brought under the control of the Nyassa Company. Tanganyika’s colonial administrator stationed in Songea listed heavy taxes, forced labour, low wages and the sexual abuse of women by African policemen as the reason for the 1922 migration.

The second wave took place around 1933 when several thousand people moved to Tanganyika. The Tanganyika colonial administrator reported that they had relocated because they were unable to pay the exorbitant taxes. In the first two waves, people migrated in units of families and kinship groups. The purpose of these migrations was to flee rather than to seek work. By 1940, however, the Tanganyika colonial government reported that many migrated for work purposes.

[Migrants from Mozambique] … enter the Territory in large numbers each year, often with their wives, and work for varying period[s] from six months upwards … Those who could not find work … found their way north … A certain percentage become [sic] semi-permanent squatters but the large majority work for a definite period and then return home.

According to the 1942 census in southern Tanganyika, out of 12,901 male workers on sisal plantations, 6,348 (nearly 50 per cent) were from Mozambique. Work on sisal plantations was considered to be work of the lowest form in Tanganyika – unbearable for Tanganyikans. Wages for unskilled labourers were, in real terms, lower in 1940 than those in 1927, while prices shot up during the world war. The colonial government in Tanganyika needed to recruit workers, even using forced labour, since the demand for sisal was high due to the lack of primary commodities during the war. The working conditions on sisal plantations were wretched. Sixty per cent of the draftees ran away in their first week. In spite of the poor conditions, workers from northern Mozambique continued to seek out work at sisal plantations as they were escaping forced cotton growing at home which had intensified around this time.

The 1948 census recorded that there were 27,489 Makondes from Mozambique, the majority of whom lived permanently in Tanganyika. The records show that only 1,390 worked on sisal plantations. This number seems too low, and probably does not include short-term migrant workers. Taking into consideration that the total number of Makondes in Mozambique was less than 200,000, it is apparent that a significant portion of them had migrated to Tanganyika. The census also reports that the number of Makhuwa taxpayers in the Masasi District in Tanganyika doubled from that of 1930. Although the population migration from northern Mozambique to Tanganyika cannot be adequately followed from these fragmented statistics, it can be assumed that a large proportion of people living in the most northern part of Mozambique left for Tanganyika by the end of the Second World War.
As discussed in Chapter 2, when the colonial authority reviewed the forced cotton growing policy after the Second World War, some migrants from Mozambique returned home.

There is now a tendency for these people to return to Portuguese East Africa and it is believed that this has been caused by relaxation in the labour laws there and by the fact that Portugal has ample supplies of dollar currency. Particularly the latter means that those consumer goods desired by the Africans are in much freer supply, though more expensive than in Tanganyika.205

In the 1950s, the planting of cash crops such as coffee, cotton, sisal and cashew nuts became a boom industry in Tanganyika. Plantations were severely short-staffed. Consequently, working conditions were improved to some extent in order to attract workers.206 Sisal was particularly important. Tanganyika produced 47 per cent of sisal in the world. Sisal constituted 55 per cent of Tanganyika’s total exports. The price of sisal increased from 55 pounds per ton in 1947 to 164 pounds in 1951.207 In this climate, northern Mozambican residents flowed into Tanganyika again. The lack of manpower was less severe in the south, so many Mozambican migrants who went to the south were taken to other regions. This was confirmed in the 1957 census of the labour force. The census reported that Makondes from Mozambique were spread all over: 644 in Northern Province, 10,222 in Southern Province and 6,315 in Tanga Province. Interestingly, the ratio of women was very high, constituting 36.6 per cent in Northern Province and 47.7 per cent in Southern Province, indicating that migrant work in Tanganyika was a family affair. Of course as Harry West, who wrote a Ph.D. dissertation...
on the transformation of the Makonde society points out, many men were engaged in short-
term migrant labour, whereas the high ratio of women was probably calculated based on the
number of long-term residents, excluding short-term migrant workers.208

Graph 9 illustrates the change in the number of Mozambican employees from 1951 to
1963. Africans from Mozambique’s other ethnic groups (e.g. Makhuwas,209 Yaos, Nyanjas)
may not have been counted as foreigners. Therefore, it is possible that more Mozambican
migrants may have worked in Tanganyika than is reflected by historical statistics.

The influx of Makondes from northern Mozambique was particularly conspicuous.
According to a census, 12.7 to 14.5 per cent of 136,079 (or 155,939)210 Makondes from
northern Mozambique were in Tanganyika in 1957. The percentage rises to 14.8 to 17 per
cent if only males are included, though the real figure was probably even higher.

Having investigated the action of Africans from northern Mozambique, who seemed to
respond so quickly to changes in the political and economic environments in Tanganyika
and Mozambique, Alpers concludes that migrant work, which was traditionally perceived
as the “refuge from Portuguese oppression”, was actually “a more positive assertion of their
own class interests”.211 He adds that Makondes from Mozambique were becoming “small
capitalist farmers” and merchants, taking advantage of the boom in cash crop growing
in the 1950s.212 Alpers gives a related example of Lázaro Nkvandame, a future MANU
leader, who became a “small capitalist trader” after having obtained his wealth working as
a labour broker for sisal plantations.213 Furthermore, Jorge Dias and his team reported in
their anthropological research conducted at the request of the Portuguese government on
Makondes, that returnees from Tanganyika faced land shortages in the Mueda Highland
and were obliged to buy land from local chiefs.214

However, penetration of the capitalist economy cannot alone explain the formation
of political consciousness. It is essential to look at other historical factors. Peasants in
Tanganyika organised themselves quite early. They established their first organisation, the
Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association, in January 1925.215 In 1936 the Ngoni-Matengo
Cooperative Union was set up in Songea, near the Mozambican border, where many
Africans originally from Mozambique lived.216 Also, sisal plantation workers had organised
sabotage actions in various regions from 1932 to 1938. Tanga Province, which was the
centre of sisal plantations, experienced 32 strikes and three revolts in eight months from
January 1938.217

As Masahisa Kawabata points out, “it was always sisal plantation workers and port
workers that led labour movements in Tanganyika.” It should be noted that the industrial
action of labour by both sisal plantation workers and port workers started in Tanga Province,
where the early nationalist movement of Makondes was later formed. Industrial action by
sisal plantation workers took place frequently even after 1949. The first labour union of
sisal plantation workers in Eastern Province was formed in 1956. It developed into the
Tanganyika Sisal Growers’ Association in 1958. Strikes on sisal plantations grew in intensity.

It is unclear, however, to what extent Mozambican migrants participated in labour
movements in Tanganyika. Kawabata asserts that the employment of foreign workers
decreased during this period. It is not clear whether there was an anti-foreigner movement
by local workers in Tanganyika, similar to the one in Southern Rhodesia around this time; or whether Mozambican migrants went home because they could not make a living in the chaotic situation.\textsuperscript{218} Whichever was the case, fierce and frequent strikes in Tanganyika must have been refreshing for those from Mozambique, who were not used to being allowed the freedom to express their complaints.

The labour movement, as well as the change in political climate in Tanganyika, greatly impacted on migrants from Mozambique. The African Association was formed in the late 1920s and played an important role in organising people politically and forming nationalism. Its manifesto was based on the Constitution of the Convention of the People's Party of the Gold Cost, quoted in \textit{The Gold Coast Revolution} by George Padmore from the Caribbean, the “father” of pan-Africanism.\textsuperscript{219} The manifesto, adopted in July 1954, must have left a strong impression on Mozambican migrants in Tanganyika in a number of important ways.

1. To prepare the people of Tanganyika for self Government and Independence, and to fight relentlessly until Tanganyika is self-governing and independent.
2. To fight against tribalism and all isolationist tendencies amongst the Africans and to build up a united nationalism.\textsuperscript{220}

Upon the adoption of the manifesto, the organisation renamed itself as the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) to demonstrate its further emphasis on political activities.\textsuperscript{221} The birth of TANU also greatly influenced Mozambicans living in Mozambique. The Sociedade Algodoeira Africana Voluntária de Moçambique (SAAVM: Voluntary African Cotton Society of Mozambique), the first peasant association in Mozambique, was formed in 1957.

The formation of the SAAVM was led by employees and merchants from the Mueda Highland who were members of the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{222} These included Nkavandame, a merchant; Cornélio Mandanda, a former teacher; João Namimba, a church cook; Alberto Chipande, a young teacher and Raimundo Pachinuapa, a catholic teacher.\textsuperscript{223} Yussufo Adam, who conducted an historical study of Makondes in Cabo Delgado District, draws attention to the fact that all of these individuals were relatives of local heavyweights like régulos, and were not peasants themselves.\textsuperscript{224} Among them, Mandanda, Namimba and Nkavandame had remained in Tanganyika as migrant workers.\textsuperscript{225} The SAAVM was called linguilanilu (mutual assistance) in the Makonde language. In its second year, the SAAVM already had about 3,000 cotton growers as members in the Mueda Highland and surrounding areas. Peasants willingly joined the SAAVM because membership entitled them to certain privileges: members could excuse themselves from forced labour in sisal plantations; and membership helped them to solve land-related problems. Yet, as Adam points out, the membership did not require cooperative activities whatsoever, and each member still had to plant cotton on his designated four-hectare piece of land.\textsuperscript{226}

The colonial government under the Estado Novo regime allowed Africans to form a cooperative association because of the policy changes in 1955. As discussed in Chapter 2,
it became clear by this time that forced labour by licensed cotton companies had its limitations. International pressure against forced labour was also increasing. Instead, the colonial government took the approach of encouraging Africans to form cooperatives and to plant cotton voluntarily. Thus, cotton growers’ associations were introduced as “a vehicle of civilisation and a useful method for collaboration of indigenous productive activities in their regions”. A further pressure on the authority was the need to provide peasants with a means of income in order to prevent their outflow to Tanganyika. As the cotton production from 1955 to 1956 was especially low, many had gone to Tanganyika which required an urgent response from the colonial government.

Added to this the Catholic Church believed it essential to dispel the discontent of Africans in order to counter the increasing trend of Islamisation in Tanganyika. After his field study, Dias expressed surprise at the number of Makondes who converted to Islam and who were traditionally thought to be resistant to it. Makondes of all ages were being converted. The rapid Islamisation among northern Mozambicans should be examined not only in the cultural context but also in the political context. Although it is dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5 in detail, it should be noted here that the Islamisation of Makondes was partially characterised as an “anti-Portugal movement”. The Dutch Catholic Church had probably realised this and thought it was not possible to counter the movement towards Islam without the decolonisation of Mozambique. Consequently, the Dutch Catholic Church supported the formation of the SAAVM.

The formation of the SAAVM was also convenient for SAGAL, a private cotton company, which was enabled to save the management costs of forced labour (travel expenses of the foremen and auditors) and administrative costs. Since the interests of various stakeholders coincided, the SAAVM functioned smoothly, and more and more people became voluntarily involved in the formerly hated cotton growing: their numbers growing from 4,262 in 1958 to 4,979 in 1959 and to 5,104 in 1960.

The TANU won overwhelmingly in the first election held in Tanganyika during September 1958. The independence of Tanganyika was now just a matter of time, and it became a realistic possibility for Mozambique as well. In anticipation of this eventuality, it became essential for the colonial authority to govern without force and to reduce wage differentials. The colonial authority had high expectations of the SAAVM.

Africans in Maconde District earned 452 escudos per head from cotton growing in 1957, 497 escudos in 1958 and 520 escudos in 1959, doubling their previous wages by about 200 escudos. This could not be attributed solely to the SAAVM since the average income of cotton growers outside Maconde District also shot up during the same period. The price of cotton (the lowest price for second-rate cotton) increased from 1.90 dollars per ton (1951–1955) to 2.20 dollars (1956–1960) as a result of the new incentive-based policy. It is not clear, however, how much the SAAVM actually benefited ordinary members. Some left the organisation feeling that they did not derive any economic benefit from it, complaining that, “it only made the wealthy even wealthier.”

Ordinary members of the SAAVM harvested four to five bags of cotton. In contrast, Nkavandame, the head of the SAAVM, netted 150 bags and Mandanda, the deputy-
head, 30 bags. Alpers concludes that former migrant workers in Tanganyika, including Nkavandame, learned the capitalist way of running farms and shops and, after coming home, became the “local petit bourgeoisie”. Adam emphasises a gap between ordinary peasants and the SAAVM leaders, who were not peasants but church employees and merchants, as well as relatives of local chiefs.

Mondlane, the first FRELIMO secretary-general, valued the SAAVM to some degree, particularly for its role as pioneering political organiser of rural Africans in Mozambique. There are no other examples, either before or after the SAAVM, in which as many as 5,000 African peasants organised themselves in this way. Moreover, even if the SAAVM pursued a capitalist economy that might have created an income gap among peasants, it had a political significance since it followed the example of peasant cooperative movements in Tanganyika. The SAAVM was not formed just with the intention of being a self-help organisation or to enrich a small number of the leaders, but in order to bring about the same political change that took place in Tanganyika, that is, eventual independence. This objective was illustrated when, just after its establishment, the SAAVM sent Namimba to Tanganyika and told him to contact the TANU leaders. They told him: “It is necessary to create a sort of association of peasants in order to have them organised and to develop political discussions.”

Only the TANU leaders, who had over the years built up a rural cooperative association movement and a political movement, could give this kind of advice. It also suggests that the SAAVM leaders were not motivated by personal enrichment alone. In order for the SAAVM to transform itself from an organisation for Makondes into an anti-colonial movement or nationalist movement, it needed to generate more political thoughts and activities. This was not easy inside Mozambique under the strict surveillance of the colonial authority. Ultimately, the political basis of the movement was driven by the Makondes living in Kenya and Tanganyika.

As the political environment changed in the mid-1950s in Tanganyika, Makonde youths born or raised in Tanganyika became involved in political activity and set up many organisations in 1957. Although many were short-lived, the Associação Maconde para Libertar os Macondes de Moçambique e Tanganica (Makonde Association for the Liberation of Makondes of Mozambique and Tanganyika), formed by Faustino Vanomba in Tanga (also known as the Tanganyika-Mozambique Makonde Union), became the basis of the Makonde African National Union (MANU). These organisations were initially formed as an alliance of Makondes, including those from Mozambique. However, with the independence of Tanganyika close at hand, they started to emphasise the liberation of Makondes in Mozambique. Moreover, influenced by the climate of anti-tribalism among pan-Africanists and in Taganyikan politics, the MANU changed its name to the more inclusive Mozambique African National Union. Importantly, their initial objective was not the liberation of Mozambique but the liberation of Makondes, including those in Mozambique, and they did not embrace a comprehensive notion of “Mozambican nationalism”. In other words, the MANU founders did not stress “macro”, “mezzo”, or “micro” nationalism, but rather “ethnic” nationalism.
Probably influenced by the independence of Tanganyika, the MANU believed that the independence of Mozambique could be achieved through negotiation. It is likely that this would not have been deemed possible if its members had grown up in Mozambique, especially in the urban areas in the south and central parts of the country where political oppression was most severe, or had they gone to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia as migrant workers. In other words the MANU leaders started the organisation after having experienced a peaceful transition of power in Tanganyika. It is not clear whether they understood how different relations were between the United Kingdom and its trust territory of Tanganyika, and those between autocratic Portugal and Mozambique. Nor is it clear whether they understood the unique geopolitical position facing Mozambique. Nevertheless, MANU members visited Maconde District in Mozambique several times between 1959 and 1960. Helped by the SAAVM, they carried out political propaganda activities. They also requested a meeting with the colonial administrator, but were told to come back in six months. When they returned to the colonial administrative office in high spirits, they were detained. Several hundred people gathered to protest against the arrests, and the Portuguese army opened fire on them. This came to be known as the Massacre of Mueda – the most infamous incident in the history of Mozambique.

Nkavandame and others who survived the massacre and became the leaders of MANU, later joined FRELIMO when it was formed in 1962. They played an important role in FRELIMO’s armed struggle from 1964 onwards. However, later Nkavandame had a confrontation with the FRELIMO leadership over the management of the liberated areas. He surrendered to the PIDE and was expelled from FRELIMO in 1969. Nkavandame then formed a splinter group to seek the independence of Cabo Delgado District – it also took part in anti-FRELIMO activity. He was captured by FRELIMO during the transition period and died in the re-education camp, as did Uria Simango, a former UDENAMO leader. Because of these events, both the MANU and the SAAVM have been poorly regarded since independence. Despite this, the role they played in keeping daily contact with rural residents in Mozambique and trying to organise them cannot be ignored. In this regard, they were quite different from other organisations which were formed by migrant workers and exiles in surrounding regions, and which were eventually consolidated into FRELIMO, without ever managing to establish ties with communities in Mozambique, especially with rural communities. They also differed from the movement of urban “intellectuals” in Mozambique, who also did not attempt to work with rural communities.

The Makondes’ movement was able to play a different role from other movements, not because of the quality of its leaders or their ideology, but mainly because of geographical circumstances. The Makonde habitations were situated adjacent to the borders of Tanganyika. Tanganyika had been placed under the control of Germany until the end of the First World War and was made a trust territory of the United Kingdom in 1920. Africans in Tanganyika enjoyed greater political freedom than those in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, where white settlers had political control. The Makondes who stayed in Tanganyika and witnessed its decolonisation process perceived decolonisation and independence as a viable future. Moreover, unlike in central Mozambique, the colonial
control was insufficient in the area, due to its remoteness from the centre of the colonial economy, and the residents were able to cross the borders freely. These circumstances helped to quickly relay the news of what happened in Tanganyika to the north end of Mozambique, and to exert a strong influence in the region. The following words by Dias vividly describe the social and political atmosphere in Mueda Highland in 1957.

All of these actions [2000 indígenas carried out public demonstrations in Dar es Salaam] impacted on the north of Mozambique although nobody mentioned them because the natives knew perfectly that for the time being they could not make any protest.  

The “north of Mozambique” here refers to the area relatively close to Tanganyika. The Makhuwa habitations, which were located in the south of these northern districts, were not impacted on with the same speed or to the same extent. This will be further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The role of religion

The Portuguese Catholic Church, which was active throughout Mozambique, did not introduce the international trend of decolonisation as the church was part of the Estado Novo regime. Although the bishops of Porto and Beira criticised the Salazar administration in writing in 1958 demonstrating that the church was not monolithic, this was to no avail as both bishops were deported, and the Portuguese Catholic Church as an entity continued to support the Estado Novo regime.  

Nevertheless, the young Africans who attended the church schools were exposed to new ideas and potentialities, although theirs was, strictly speaking, a religious education. They started to question the status quo. Thousands of Mozambican youth questioned the contradictions they saw between the reality of living under colonial rule and the teachings of the church, expressed in Sausa’s poem as, “we are all the children of God, and each human is a brother of another human.” Young Africans educated in the church schools were quick to respond to the trend of decolonisation. As Mondlane writes, many members of the FRELIMO Central Committee were Catholic. Of course, not all Catholics were FRELIMO supporters.

Moreover, one can hypothesise that some orders and priests of non-Portuguese Catholic Churches may well have taught about decolonisation – as was the case with the Dutch Catholic Church in the Makonde habitations. However, it was the Protestant Churches that primarily spread pan-Africanism or anti-colonialism among Mozambican peasants. As illustrated above, the movement of independent churches spread in the south via returnees from South Africa. In central Mozambique, too, people accepted Protestant Churches which they had became accustomed to in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. In this sense, the case of Kamba Simango (the father of Uria Simango who joined the UDENAMO in Southern Rhodesia) is interesting.
Kamba was born in Chiloane, a village in Sofala Province, at the end of the nineteenth century. While working as a waiter, he attended a night school run by a Protestant church in Beira. He was awarded a scholarship from the church that allowed him to major in education at Colombia University in New York. After obtaining a degree, the first African from Mozambique to do so, he married a woman from the Gold Coast (today Ghana) whom he met in the United States of America. They lived in her homeland before settling at the American Board Mission School in Southern Rhodesia, near the Mozambican border. He moved back to Mozambique in the 1920s and opened a hotel and a coffee shop for Africans. While assisting the Mozambique Company, which controlled central Mozambique, he helped to set up an American Board Mission School in Mozambique. Kamba experienced racial discrimination in the church, and so attempted to spread a new type of education and religion, that is, schools and a religion for Africans that taught the Bible in Ndau, and which broke away from the church of the whites.

During the 1920s, when the association movements by the *mestiços* became active, a Muslim association was established by some *mestiços*. With the assistance of the association and the Mozambique Company, Kamba and his supporters set up a mission school called the Grémio Negrófilo (Negrophile Guild) on 7 March 1935. As the Mozambique Company did not consent to education in Ndau, Portuguese was used as the language of education. When the Mozambique Company was reintegrated into the colonial government in 1943, the guild was made illegal. Kamba tried to re-register the school under the name of the Núcleo Negrófilo (Negrophile Nucleus), a forerunner of the Núcleo Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala (Negrophile Nucleus of Manica and Sofala), recognised by a decree-law of the colonial governor-general in 1947. The colonial authority suspected that the Núcleo Negrófilo was involved in the revolt in Machanga in 1953 and started to interrogate and crack down on its participants. Permission for its establishment was cancelled on 24 March 1956 and its leaders fled to Rhodesia.

Even before the 1950s, the activities of the Protestant churches in central Mozambique had been a source of concern for the colonial administrator and the Catholic Church. Even Sebastião Soares de Resende, the Bishop of Beira who was deported because of his criticism of the Salazar administration, was critical of the formation of the Núcleo Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala:

> This Protestant group obtained the privilege of the town with a large response…They will not accept Catholics in the Núcleo. Its doors will remain closed to the Catholics like a sort of fifth column.

It is well known that Nyanjas, who lived along Lake Nyasa in the north, were influenced by the Anglican Church which was based in the British territory of Nyasaland. Ever since the race for securing territories at the end of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese government had been suspicious of the Anglican Church. The church headquarters in west Niassa District and the local colonial administration had frequent clashes. The Anglican Church members became anti-Portuguese colonialists because of the oppressive measures.
they experienced under colonial rule. Upon hearing of the formation of FRELIMO, many
students from the Anglican Church school rushed to Tanzania to become its first guerrillas.
Islam also contributed to spreading the idea of decolonisation amongst rural residents in
northern Mozambique. As Muslim leaders in northern Mozambique traditionally perceived
Imams in Zanzibar as mentors, they were influenced by the movement in Zanzibar to
challenge its status as a protectorate. The previous section has already outlined the relationship
between the rapid Islamisation of Makondes and the anti-colonialist movement.

In the 1950s, the worldwide trend of decolonisation was so widespread that even people
living in the frontier regions came into contact with it through various intermediaries. The
intermediaries, methods, extent, speed and content of these messages varied according
to location and actors involved. Migrant workers to the neighbouring countries were most
influenced and were best able to organise their own movement. Yet, they were not that successful
or fast in changing the “consciousness” of people in the rural areas that they came from. It is
worth noting that, on experiencing the colonial authority’s labour exploitation, rural Africans in
Mozambique responded by becoming migrant workers while Africans in Zimbabwe adopted
instead the “peasant option” and raised the “peasant consciousness”. Although sporadic
“rebel” activities were recorded in Mozambique in the mid-1950s, Mozambique did not have
the right conditions to unite these scattered activities. On the contrary, the colonial authority
was able to confront the challenge and became even more cohesive.

The 1950s and Salazar’s determination to retain the colonies

The previous sections of this chapter have examined the experience of Mozambican
Africans inside and outside of the colony from the Second World War to the end of the
1950s. This has included looking at how and what kind of awareness they developed,
and the networks they established in various locations, as well as how this related to the
worldwide trend of decolonisation.

The following sections look at the policies and measures the colonial authority took in
order to counter decolonisation. This next section focuses on the period before the 1960s,
which was a big turning point, both domestically and internationally.

Change in international environments – the decolonisation of Africa and the Cold War

As covered in Chapter 1, the Cold War began just after the Second World War. By 1950
it affected most parts of the world. The US policy of “containing” Soviet expansion was
continued by President Henry S. Truman; the so-called Truman Doctrine of 1947 which
occupied an important position in US foreign policy. The National Security Council
(NSC) statements 48 (30 December 1949), 64 (27 February 1950) and 68 (14 April
1950) formed the basis of US foreign strategy. The NSC 48 concluded:

Our basic security objectives with respect to Asia are … [d]evelopment
of sufficient military power in selected non-Communist nations of Asia
to maintain internal security and to prevent further encroachment by communism. It symbolised the US military and foreign policy thereafter, which provided military assistance even to autocratic regimes as long as they maintained an anti-communist stance.\textsuperscript{263}

The NSC 64 “[o]n the Position of the US with Respect to Indochina”, concluded that, “it is important to United States security interests that all practicable measures be taken to prevent further communist expansion in Southeast Asia. Indochina is a key area of Southeast Asia and is under immediate threat.”\textsuperscript{264} The NSC action essentially authorised the USA to reply favourably to France’s request for military assistance and led to its intervention in Vietnam. NSC 68 analysed the crisis as follows: “The Soviet Union, unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become endemic and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent or non-violent methods in accordance with the dictates of expediency. With the development of increasingly terrifying weapons of mass destruction, every individual faces the ever-present possibility of annihilation should the conflict enter the phase of total war.” It then defined the role of the United States of America as “the centre of power in the free world [which] places a heavy responsibility upon the US for leadership.”\textsuperscript{265}

Finally, it concluded that the USA needed to develop sufficient military power to stop the expansion of communism in certain non-communist areas in Asia, and that it should provide military assistance to any anti-communist government, even to despotic states. This decision of the NSC demonstrated a change in their policy from mere “containment” to a “rollback policy”, which advocated active counterattacks against communism. Hence, the US world policy was established. It would embroil the rest of the world in fierce confrontation in bipolar politics, including Africa.

John Foster Dulles, the father of the containment policy and the then Secretary of State, summed up the basis of the US foreign policy in the 1950s in a letter, stating:

\begin{quote}
[I]t is necessary as a practical matter to choose the lesser of two evils [Communism and Colonialism] because the theoretically ideal solution is not possible for many reasons – the French policy being only one.\textsuperscript{266}
\end{quote}

Colonised people who were struggling against colonialism were deemed “the lesser of the two evils”. However, the USA perceived that their strong desire for liberation was inspired by communist motivations and saw them as joining hands with Soviet expansionism and therefore endangering US security through causing a domino effect.\textsuperscript{267} The USA had already felt threatened by a series of events: the Soviet’s successful atomic bomb experiment in September 1949; the birth of the People’s Republic of China in October 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. The USA became even more suspicious of liberation movements in the colonies when the Soviet Union increased the number of its allied nations to 20. Feeling threatened Dulles announced, and implemented, the
rollback policy in 1953 as the Republican, Dwight Eisenhower, became president. The USA established military alliances all over the world, while the CIA started operations with the aim of overthrowing governments that were unfriendly to it.268

In this international context, Portugal joined NATO in 1949. Consequently, the liberation of people in the Portuguese colonies became even more difficult. In 1955, the CIA began to send trainers to the PIDE.269 The Salazar administration interpreted this move as the USA's endorsement of its colonial rule, especially considering that the PIDE had opened branches in the colonies in the previous year even though, in reality, the US policy towards an autocratic Portugal since the 1930s had not always been coherent or firmly established.

In 1943 George F. Kennan, a US consul in Lisbon and the future father of the containment policy, proposed in his report to Washington two contradictory policies towards Portugal in order to secure access to the Açores after the Second World War: to overthrow the Salazar administration and to gain the trust and confidence of Salazar.270 Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the USA officially strengthened its bilateral relations with Portugal while at the same time covertly attempting to topple the Salazar regime. However, emphasis was increasingly placed on the former.

The NATO membership did not immediately secure Portugal’s international status and the country had to wait until 1955 before it was accepted by the United Nations. In 1952 the UN Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, an extraordinary committee, became a permanent one. Subsequently, Article 73(e) of the UN Charter was implemented, which obliged UN members to submit “statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions” in their colonies.271

Noting the change in the international climate regarding non-self-governing territories, the Salazar administration renamed the Império Colonial Português (Portuguese Colonial Empire) to Província Ultramarina (Overseas Provinces) in 1951 and amended the constitution accordingly.272 Of course, the renaming did not make the ex-colónias (ex-colonies) equal to the metropole, but rather reinforced their centralised control by Portugal. People in the colonies were not organised enough to be able to voice their dissatisfaction with this kind of superficial change. Salazar hoped that he could withstand the increasing international pressure by implementing cosmetic changes. In 1955 the Western bloc secured the UN membership of Portugal, in exchange for the memberships of countries in the Eastern bloc.

The integration of colonial administration into the home government led to the further subordination of the territories to Portugal and greater centralisation inside the territories themselves. As a result, the governor-general, the top post in the colonies, became even more subordinate to the Ministério de Ultramar (Ministry of Overseas Provinces). Indeed, the colonial system became firmly established throughout Mozambique during the 1950s and the 1960s.273 Mozambique’s subordination to Portugal, the centralisation and the control of rural areas by the colonial authority, were intensified once the liberation war started in 1962, reflecting Salazar’s determination to retain the colonies.
At the same time, a wave of decolonisation was moving from Asia towards Africa. In Asia, many populations rose up to overcome the various difficulties brought about by colonialism. The victory of the Vietnamese Communist Party against the French forces at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, in particular, became the torch of hope for Africans suffering under colonial rule. It was no coincidence that the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN: National Liberation Front) was formed in Algeria in November in the same year and armed uprisings broke out all over the colony.

The deepening of the Cold War, however, impacted not only on Europe and its surrounding areas, but also on Asia, Africa and Latin America. The outbreak of the Korean War prompted a handful of leaders in Asia and Africa to take the third route – that of belonging to neither the Western bloc nor the Eastern bloc. In April 1955 the Asian-African Conference was held in Bandung, Indonesia, which adopted “the Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation”, including the principles of the United Nations Charter. A joint communiqué confirmed the key principles, including: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country; abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country; promotion of mutual interests and cooperation; the recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, both large and small and the promotion of peaceful coexistence and opposition to imperialism and colonialism.

The wave of decolonisation in Asia reached Africa through the Asian-African solidarity movement. There was an international trend against colonial powers. In the late 1950s, many newly independent countries joined the United Nations. With the backup of the Eastern bloc nations, they exerted strong pressure on Portugal to liberate its colonies. As a result, Portuguese foreign policy after 1956 was largely concerned with how to respond to criticism related to the colonial issues raised at the United Nations.

Yet, in southern Africa with its large population of white settlers, there was still a very long road to decolonisation, as the intensification of the Cold War had made the region strategically important for Western powers. The white governments in the region were placed in the role of serving as a bulwark against communism, and therefore white minority rule and colonial rule continued to be supported.

A turning point was reached in March 1957. The first independent nation in Africa, the Republic of Ghana, was born. This was the moment when micro-nationalism overtook macro-nationalism, although it did not result in the end of African nationalism such as pan-Africanism. Rather, the independence of Ghana became the first embodiment of “the total decolonisation of the African continent”, advocated at the Pan-African Conference in 1945. The following address by the first president, Kwame Nkrumah, in fact marked the beginning of the height of pan-Africanism, which lasted until 1963.

As far as Africa is concerned, I have long ago stated a postulate that Ghana's Independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa and with the projection of the African personality in the international
Newly independent African countries held the first Conference of Independent African States in the Ghanaian capital of Accra in April 1958. They declared the implementation of a Non-Aligned Movement policy and their stance of non-subordination. Moreover, they adopted a resolution which included support for the Algerian liberation war, the promotion of independence in non-liberated areas and the condemnation of racist policies. As Oda points out, it was "practically the first governmental-level pan-African conference and a monumental conference where 'the unity of Africa' was declared as a concrete objective." The conference was significant not only in the history of pan-Africanism but also in the Asian-African solidarity movement, with the Non-Aligned Movement as its axis. One of the participants, Frantz Fanon of the FLN, described the feverish atmosphere at the conference as follows:

After Asia, Africa. … That, which strikes the observer in Accra, is the existence at the level of a very spontaneous, organic, even biological, solidarity. But, above this sort of emotional communion, it was indeed determined to use all existing means to expel colonialism from the African continent. … The future of colonialism was never so dark as after the Accra Conference.

Around this time, even the colonial masters were domestically divided on issues related to colonies. The end of the Algerian War was in sight – the country had been in chaos since 1954. The birth of the enormous Non-Aligned group made Western colony-holders a minority. Demand for the decolonisation of Africa could no longer be suppressed in Africa or in the international arena.

When considering the relationship between the Cold War and Africa's decolonisation, Fanon points out that various objections to colonial rule resulted in the weakening of Western countries with colonies while strengthening the Communist bloc. This point will be further discussed in the next chapter. The following section looks at how changes in the international environment in the 1950s affected Portugal's colonial policy.

Portugal's determination to retain its colonies

Salazar could no longer fool the international community with a mere name change. Instead of a fundamental revision of colonial policies, however, he introduced makeover measures to improve the appearance of the colonies, such as providing a better education system, health facilities in rural areas and better work conditions. School education was considered most important, and the government desperately wanted to show an improvement in statistics. In 1951, 148,209 young Africans enrolled in rudimentary primary education. The figure represented 2 per cent of the total African population, which constituted the entire
“non-civilizados” (uncivilised persons). Even this small number was a great improvement from 1940. This was due to the rapid expansion of the Catholic Church, which ran most of the rudimentary primary schools (930 out of 998 schools). However, secondary education did not fare as well: there were only six schools and 467 African students in 1951. In addition, although the number of the *assimilado* increased 2.4 times, from 1,776 in 1940 to 4,349 in 1950, it still constituted 1.6 per cent of the African population. The rudimentary primary education provided by the Catholic Church failed to lead to an improvement of the social status of Africans.

The creation of Overseas Provinces in 1953 automatically made residents in the colonies “Portuguese”. However, this did not mean that they were given citizenship as demonstrated in the fact that there were only 156,537 Portuguese citizens with voting rights in Mozambique in the same year and most of them were whites or *mestiço*.

Since Mozambique lagged badly behind in social development, there was a pressing need for the Salazar administration to improve it in order to respond to international pressure. The cosmetic improvements did not lead to fundamental change. It was also geographically imbalanced. Still, its significance lay in the fact that the Portuguese government undertook the education of Africans in the colonies. Although it was not sufficient, rural Africans now had far more educational opportunities than previously. The number of students enrolled in the *ensino rudimentar de adaptação* (rudimentary adaptation education; the former rudimentary primary education), and in the *ensino primária comun* (common primary education; primary education for whites) exceeded 400,000 in 1957/58 and reached 430,000 in 1960/61. Of these, 346,506 Africans attended the rudimentary adaptation education and 17,642 Africans attended the common primary schools. Yet, this was still only 0.05 per cent of the total African population (estimated at 6.5 million). It was only towards the end of the 1960s that the number of students in primary schools exceeded half a million. By then, however, Africans who completed primary education were drafted into the Portuguese Armed Forces, and therefore the pro-liberation forces did not benefit from the fruits of education.

*Research on residents in the colonies and the search for a placation strategy*

As the independence of Tanganyika, Malawi and Zambia drew closer in the late 1950s, a sense of crisis grew among officials in Portugal and its colonies. As referred to earlier, by the mid-1950s, Africans from Mozambique residing in these surrounding areas became politically aware and were beginning to organise themselves. This awakened political awareness disconcerted the colonial rulers. In order to retain colonial rule, they had to create a system that would manage the colonies more efficiently while shielding the inhabitants from the world trend of decolonisation. Thus, the Salazar administration undertook to develop intelligence networks inside and outside the colonies and to conduct research on the culture and political awareness of Africans.

Portugal had already done some research. Upon the introduction of the cotton regime during the Second World War, it became essential to effectively control rural areas
and African peasants. To achieve this, the Inspeção Superior dos Negócios Indígenas (Superior Inspector of Native Affairs) was established in Lisbon in 1946. The office was renamed as the Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos (Political Affairs Office) in 1959. It analysed information gathered from diplomatic establishments abroad, the PIDE and the governments-general in the colonies. Also, the Escola Superior Colonial (Higher Colonial Academy) was established in Lisbon in 1946 to resolve the chronic shortage of administrators.

Various research facilities set up in the Ministry of Overseas Provinces conducted surveys and research on the colonies. For instance, the Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais (Centre for Social and Political Studies), attached to the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar (Overseas Provinces Research Council), undertook anthropological research on the social and political structures of African residents in the colonies. After Adriano Moreira, a founder and professor at the Escola Superior Colonial (Higher Overseas Academy), became the Minister of Overseas Provinces in 1961, the link among researchers, educators and working-level officials became even stronger.

The research on Africans and their society, which was actively conducted over 15 years from the end of the First World War to the birth of FRELIMO, was more than the mere accumulation of academic knowledge. Information derived from the studies was used in the administration of the colonies. Research on Makondes by Jorge Dias is especially important in relation to this book. Dias, the first Portuguese recipient of a doctorate in anthropology, became the head of the Missão de Estudos das Minórías Étnicas do Ultramar Português (Study Mission of Ethnic Minority of Portugal Overseas), which was established in the Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais in 1956. Dias conducted pioneering research on ethnic minorities. The main objective of his research was to conduct detailed studies on the ethnic groups which were likely to become major players in subversão (subversion) or liberation movements. His organisation carried out anthropological research in Angola and Mozambique in 1957.

Around this time, many Portuguese researchers attempted to analyse Africans in the colonies. They did not use the one-sided romantic approach of “primitiveness and savageness” but instead approached their studies from a “scientific” point of view in order to contribute towards the exercise of better political control. Although the researchers’ own beliefs are unclear, they expressed some doubt about the effectiveness of colonial control built on coercion. As Dias noted:

> We see in Africa today that the great bonfire of demands for, and aspirations to, autonomy is growing alarmingly. Severe and rigid discipline can keep these people quiet for a while, but we cannot ensure their future loyalty. As a simple ethnologist, I cannot say how they can be resolved, but it [their increasing dissatisfaction] is not just the consequence of ideologies spread by the subversive propaganda.

This suggests the delicate position of the researchers under the Estado Novo regime.
the one hand, there appears to be some sympathy for the colonised people. On the other hand, their work was used to help develop the anti-insurgency strategy used during the colonial war.

It was the PIDE that played an important role in the anti-insurgency strategy; such as suppressing the political awareness of colonised people, nipping new movements in the bud and intervening in emergent political movements. According to 1951 statistics, there were 46 PIDE employees in Mozambique in that year. Seventeen of them were “native” assistants. Its sole office was in Lourenço Marques. The Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP: Public Security Police) had 227 employees. In 1950, 2,761 Africans were arrested for disturbing “public order” (17 whites were arrested for the same reason) and 10,769 were arrested for violating labour regulations for “natives”. The majority of the reported arrests occurred in urban areas, suggesting that the local administration offices did not submit reports of their assigned police work to the headquarters. For rural Africans, “police” meant the sipaios. There were 1,833 sipaios in Mozambique, 15 to 30 assigned to each circumscription (one or two for each administrative post).

In 1954 the PIDE set up the Quadro Especial do Ultramar (Overseas Special Unit) in each overseas province, ordained by Decree-Law no. 39.749. The unit was merged with the PSP, bringing the total number of employees to 755.

Suppression of the democratisation movement and the secret police

The principles of democratisation and self-determination contained in the Pacific Charter aroused anger even amongst the Portuguese against the Estado Novo regime. People who were against the regime had no option other than exile. Some immigrated to the colonies, such as Mozambique, and many prominent members of the MUD and dissident groups had immigrated there by 1950. The Portuguese residents who fled to the colonies in the mid-1950s brought with them news of the political situation and trends in Portugal.

Bruno Oliveira Santos, who interviewed the prominent members of the PIDE, reports that 1958 was “one of the most unsettled years for the Estado Novo” because Humberto Delgado, a young and promising general, declared his candidacy in the presidential election in June 1958, and he was endorsed by the communist alliance. This electrified those citizens all over the country who demanded democratisation. However, due to various obstructive tactics by the PIDE and the government, the election was won by Rear Admiral Américo Tomás, Salazar’s chosen puppet. General Delgado was suspected of being close to the US government because he had coordinated the British and the Americans in the conclusion to the Açores agreement during his posting in Washington D.C. from 1952 to 1957. General Delgado contested his defeat. Although he had some supporters in the northern part of Portugal, he took refuge in Brazil and established an opposition movement in exile. He was eventually assassinated by the PIDE.

The PIDE’s sense of urgency grew in 1958. It intensified its censorship and surveillance of the democratisation movement. It also kept an eye on the activists who had fled the
country. Before the 1958 election, General Delgado had become a hero for white settlers in Mozambique. However, suppression by the PIDE intensified just before the election. Many involved in the MUD and the opposition movement were obliged to move to Brazil and Angola.

A dissident by the name of António Figueiredo pointed out that the South African secret police and the PIDE worked in close cooperation from as early as 1958. Though generally Portuguese dissidents in Mozambique did not support decolonisation, once mass arrests and political suppression brought the opposition movement in Portugal and the colonies under control, the PIDE shifted its attention to the decolonisation movement which had become increasingly threatening. In 1960 it set up branches in the border districts such as Tete, Niassa and Cabo Delgado, which were thought most likely to revolt. There were more Africans than whites in the branches, indicating that locals were co-opted for intelligence gathering and political oppression.

The Portuguese army’s preparation for the Colonial War

The army became actively involved in issues relating to decolonisation far later than other authorities. The Forças Ultramarinas (Overseas Forces), deployed in the colonies, had too many structural problems in order to effectively fight the Guerra Colonial (Colonial War). Hence, the Salazar administration undertook a radical reform of the military system in the colonies. The colonial forces were integrated into the Forças Armadas Portuguesas (Portuguese Armed Forces). From 1958 onwards, expeditionary forces were required to stay in a colony for three years. The forces no longer concentrated only on the city housing the government-general, but were also deployed in the countryside as well.

### Table 2: Portuguese Armed Forces personnel who received training with the support of the US government (1963–1971)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fiscal year</th>
<th>officers</th>
<th>enlistee</th>
<th>number of those who completed training</th>
<th>training cost (U.S. dollar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>army</td>
<td>navy</td>
<td>air force</td>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, from 1958, the officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces participated in counter-guerrilla training courses organised by NATO member countries. Every year nearly 100 officers were taught various counter-guerrilla tactics in different countries. The USA accepted 690 Portuguese officers for training between 1963 and 1971. With the help of these trained officers, the Instituto de Altos Estudos Militares (Institute of Higher Military Studies) set up the first training programme for counter-subversion strategy in Portugal.

The army officers and the officials at the Ministry of Overseas Provinces regarded the decolonisation movement by colonised peoples as “subversion” and defined it as “activity to destabilise the nation”. To help develop their anti-subversion strategy, they collected information, conducted research and offered opinions. In particular, they studied the strategies and tactics of the British forces in the Malay Peninsula, the French in Algeria and the American in Vietnam, and exchanged information and personnel with relevant forces. The works by Mao Zedong and Lenin were even examined.

The South African defence minister visited Lisbon in March 1959 and met relevant people in politics and the military in preparation for military activity. A sense of crisis was growing among existent power holders in southern Africa. Politicians, the military forces and the police forces started to prepare for changes in the domestic and international environments. At this point, colonised people in Portuguese territories had not yet begun armed struggle. The organisation of people in Mozambique had just begun. International pressure challenged the Salazar administration with burning issues.
Notes

2. As Youichi Kibata points out, the United Kingdom had no intention of parting with its colonies and wanted to stop the independence of India (Kibata, 1996:78-80).
4. The main exports were copper, chrome, iron, manganese, gold, radium, sisal, cotton, coffee and tea (Oda, 1996:244). As the demand for industrial diamonds and strategically important metals increased during the war, southern Africa became more significant (Kitagawa, 1999:76).
5. By 1948 the US took up half of the industrial production, a third of the export, 70 per cent of gold holdings and three quarters of overseas investment globally (Kitagawa, 1999:76-77).
6. The United Kingdom amended the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1945, and France set up the Fond d’Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social (FIDES: Socio-economic Development Investment Fund) in 1946 (Ibid.:78). In 1947, the United Kingdom was hit by the worst economic crisis in history (Kibata, 1996:96).
7. The impact of the Cold War is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
9. Ibid.:31-32. Halliday importantly pointed out that: “The fundamental nature of the conflict between the two social systems …” are “organised on the basis of contrasting social principles. This antagonism is, however, rooted not just in the contrast of social organisation but ultimately in the different social interests which they represent … This difference is reflected in a second distinction, that both systems stake an ideological claim to be world systems, ideal societies which others should aspire to follow … For the very social interests embodied in the leading capitalist and communist states are present, in a fluid and conflicting manner, in the third countries; the result is that the clash of the two blocs is constantly reanimated and sustained by developments in these other states that may be supporters or allies of one or other bloc.” (Ibid.:32-33)
11. Ibid.:xxvii. Cumings demonstrates that the same “reverse course” that took place in Japan happened in southern Korea within three months after the defeat of Japan and the liberation of the Korean Peninsula in August 1945. This suggests that the beginning of the Cold War may have been earlier.
14. The liberation was achieved mostly by the Soviet army, with a limited contribution by the local resistance movement (Shiba, 1996:47).
15. Ibid.:69. For information on the people’s democracy in Eastern Europe, see also Momose, 1979; and Minamizuka, 1990.
16. That Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) in June 1948 and later played an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement is not only interesting but demonstrates the globalisation of world politics in that period.
22. Many leaders accepted Padmore’s theory of African triple revolution – by first achieving independence in each country; second socialist revolution in each country and finally regional unity such as the United States of Africa (Ibid.:50).
The idea of pan-Africanism had already been accepted by Mozambicans of mixed parentage and assimilated intellectuals at an early stage.

There were also regional gaps.

It was renamed the Delegacia Geral de Segurança (General Security Directorate) or DGS in 1969 when a new government was formed.

The organisation had 1,000 full-time employees and 10,000 part-timers (Kinshichi, 2003:242).

Calvão arranged for the report to reach Basil Davidson, a British journalist and scholar of African history, who was leading the anti-colonial movement in the United Kingdom. The report was also handed to researchers such as James Duffy and Marvin Harris (Figueiredo, 1998:366). On the international condemnation against forced labour in Portuguese colonies, see also Shepherd 1962:110-112.

Many international conferences on slavery were held in the 1930s. First Belgium and then Portugal became the target of criticism (Madeira Santos, 2004:2-5).

Research on Luso-tropicalism has actively been conducted in recent years. For details see Castelo, 1998; Moreira and Venâncio, 2000.

The Cold War in Europe came to a head with the Berlin Blockade in June 1948.

Portugal insisted that Spain join NATO at the same time to maintain the solidarity of the fascist governments in the Iberian Peninsula (Teixeira, 1998:79). Portugal concluded military agreements with the US on: the mutual use of Mozambique in 1950; the use of air and naval facilities in the Açores and on military aid to Lisbon in 1951. The agreement on the use of the Açores was renewed in 1957. It concluded a military cooperation agreement with West Germany in 1952.

The establishment of British South Africa Company (BSAC) by Cecil Rhodes, after obtaining a charter from the British Government in 1889, marked the beginning of Rhodesia. For details, see Kitagawa, 1999. A "responsible Government" by immigrants was set up in Southern Rhodesia in 1923.


In 1945 mining produced 8.1 million pounds, “European agriculture” 9.8 million pounds and manufacturing 14.1 million pounds (Ibid.).

The total foreign investment by governments, listed corporations and unlisted corporations in Portuguese colonies in Africa between 1870 and 1936 was 66.73 million pounds (34.761 million pounds to Mozambique). This was only a tenth of the total foreign investment in British colonies in southern Africa, that is, 66.92 million pounds (Frankel, 1967:158-159).

The term “non-civilizado” was used only for Africans. All whites, even uneducated ones, were automatically classified as “whites” in the category “civilizado” (the civilised). Similarly, Asians
were classified as "Asians" or "amarelo" (yellow race) in the sub-category of "civilizado". In other words, Africans were registered as "non-civilizado" or "indígena", except for those "civilizado", who were classified "assimilado" in "civilizado".

54 Ibid.:19-22.
55 Living in cities did not automatically guarantee that Africans had access to information.
57 Mondlane, 1969:104.
59 The objective was to confine African labourers to the rural areas.
60 The population of whites was 17,842 in 1928, 5.9 per cent of whom were registered as primary school students. The population of Africans in 1930 was 3,849,977. Only 0.03 per cent of them were registered at primary schools (Anuário, 1972/73:141-143).
61 Almeida, 1940:59-76.
62 Departamento de História, 1987:70.
63 The agreement with the colonial authority entrusted the church with responsibility for the "moral improvement" of the indígena.
64 Birmingham, 1993:161.
65 Cruz e Silva, 2001:83.
66 The ANC formulated an action plan in 1949. It rolled out a civil disobedience movement and grew to be a large organisation involving many black people.
68 Ibid.
69 Some call them "African elites", as in "elites africanas" (Opello, 1973). However, it is not appropriate to call the Africans under colonial rule who were educated or had a job, "elites", because the word normally implies people on the side of authority. It is also problematic to call them "assimilados". The classification was the creation of the colonisers and included people of different social statuses from different parts of the colonies. Only a small number of them later became leaders of the anti-colonial movement. In colonial Mozambique where it was difficult to complete secondary education, so few Africans could be called "intellectuals" in the narrow, traditional sense. Yet, this book employs the word "intellectuals" with inverted commas because the educated Africans who became actively involved in the anti-colonial movements are close to the notion of "organic intellectuals" as coined by Antonio Gramsci. Hobsbawm states as follows: "In backward or underdeveloped countries this may include anyone with secondary or even in some areas, one with primary schooling; in developed countries it increasingly tends to mean anyone with a post-secondary education, but not necessarily those whose education, at whatever level, has been primarily vocational, such as accountants, engineers, business executives and artists" (Hobsbawm, 1973:245).
70 For example, Joaquim Chissano, who became the second president of Mozambique.
71 Cabral, 1974:62-63. Often they did not immediately form a liberation movement on returning to their respective regions, but only later after the changes in the international situation and according to their own personal growth.
74 Ibid.:129. The former was published in Quelimane in 1892 and the latter in Mozambique Island in 1881.
76 No membership data at its inception is available. As of May 1921, the guild had 150 investors. They were employees in the commercial sector, employees in the public sector, workers in the
machinery and printing sector, office workers, railroad workers, businessmen, merchants, agricultural businessmen, a journalist, and high-ranking officials at plantations (from Cabo Verde) (Andrade, 1990:16).

77 The movement was called associativismo. The first associations formed in Mozambique were the Workers’ Association of Commerce and Industry in 1901 and the Entrepreneurs’ Association in 1905, although the movement only became active after 1910 (Rocha, 2002:133).

78 The republican government permitted the right to strike. There were 162 strikes in the country in 1911 (Gouda 2000:438).

79 This was because: (1) the nature of their occupations presented them many opportunities to connect with foreign ideas and (2) many of its members were “exiles”. The organisation also had an international network which had contact with, for example, printers’ associations in South Africa and Portugal (Rocha, 2002:147).

80 Albasini was born in the outskirts of Lourenço Marques in 1876. His grandfather on his mother’s side was a king of Maxaquene (the centre of Lourenço Marques) while his grandfather on his father’s side was a Portuguese hunter and ivory merchant and later became Portuguese consul in the Transvaal. Albasini studied at a Catholic school and worked in the Lourenço Marques post office. In addition to O Africano, he wrote for Diário de Notícias and a party bulletin of the Socialist Party in Portugal (Ibid.:446-447).

81 O Africano, 30/04/1913, in Ibid.:196.

82 Yamaguchi (1991) presents an interesting argument about the affinity between African nationalism and socialism.


85 O Africano, 02/06/1917; 06/06/1917; 20/06/1917. Albasini paid attention not only to regional nationalism in other Portuguese colonies but also to the labour movements in South Africa, such as the series of strikes which took place in the Transvaal in 1914 (Rocha, 2002:197).

86 Departamento de História, 1993:12. For instance guards at washrooms were traditionally Africans but by 1920 most were replaced by whites.


88 Ibid.:199.

89 Gouda, 2000:441.

90 Ibid.:441-442.

91 O Emancipador was suppressed in 1937.


93 Detesting it, the assimilado set up the Instituto Negrófilo (Negro Institute) but were forced by the colonial government to change the name to the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (Association Centre of Mozambican Negroes).

94 After the independence of Angola, Andrade fell out with Neto, another leader, and lived his life in exile, living for a period of time in Mozambique.

95 Munslow uses the word “proto-nationalism movement” to describe various liberation organisations which developed into FRELIMO (Munslow, 1983:79).


99 Rocha criticised previous research for interpreting the influence of pan-Africanism in Portugal’s African colonies too simplistically (Rocha, 2002:344).

100 Ibid.:350.

101 Ibid.:351.

102 O Brado Africano, 26/04/1919.

103 Departamento de História, 1993:18. They included Watch Tower and the Zionist movement.
105 Ibid.:356.
106 Ibid.
107 *O Brado Africano*, 01/03/1957.
111 Because of the intervention of the Liga Africana, the second congress included, in the final declaration, a sentence stating that no different treatment was practiced between whites and blacks in Portugal and its colonies (Ibid.).
112 This book refers to nationalism situated between macro-nationalism and micro-nationalism as “mezzo-nationalism”.
113 The guild admitted 39 new members in 1922. Among them were 18 employees in the public sector, nine entrepreneurs, three employees in the commercial sector, two farmers, two employees in the agricultural sector, one public servant, one primary school teacher, one bookkeeper, one carpenter and one goldsmith (Andrade, 1990:16).
114 *O Brado Africano*, 12/09/1924.
115 Penvenne also mentions that many editors of *O Africano* and *O Brado Africano* were “gifted observers and compassionate allies of the urban labour force.” While pointing out the importance of analysing newspapers as a source of the social history, she emphasises the importance and difficulty of having access to the “voice of ordinary Africans” (Penvenne, 1995:12-13). However, when the author of this book interviewed her in September 2004, she agreed that it could not be denied that these newspapers might have been read more widely than she originally thought (Jeanne Marie Penvenne, Maputo City, September 2004).
116 Censo de População, 1940:IV. The literacy rate was that of Portuguese. It did not include the alphabetical notation of local languages, which was promoted by Protestant churches.
117 There were 199 Portuguese immigrants to Lourenço Marques in 1931. The number increased every year. The total amounted to 2,181 by 1938. In 1946, 198 Portuguese immigrants came to Lourenço Marques (Penvenne, 1995:99). The number of whites in Lourenço Marques was 14,316 in 1940 and 16,149 in 1945, which was 1.59 times and 1.79 times as much as that of 1928 respectively (Ibid.:101).
118 Penvenne herself emphasises racial discrimination and does not use the word “class”. However, there is evidence to suggest that a sense of class related to race was being formed.
119 Ibid.:158.
120 In 1946 the number of port and railway workers increased by 20 per cent from the previous year (276 assistants and 10,201 junior workers). African workers were unhappy about their wages, which remained the same from 1933 to 1957, especially in the face of high post-war inflation rates (Ibid.:120).
121 Ibid.:124.
123 Sixty-eight were arrested. The seven leaders were banished to Niassa for two years. The rest were sentenced to 60-day corrective labour (Penvenne, 1995:123). This indicates that the colonial administration considered Niassa as a fringe area.
124 There were 1,228 *sipaios* in each district capital and 605 in each administration post (Anuário, 1951-52:474).
125 It is generally difficult to obtain the correct basic data of foreign workers. The data of Mozambicans in neighbouring British territories is particularly inadequate. The only reliable data is that of organised mine workers from southern Mozambique in South African mines.
As for the migration from southern Mozambique, there is a debate between Harris (1959), who presents the traditional social system as a push factor, and Rita-Ferreira (1960), who searches for the reason in the policies of South African mines and the colonial government.

See, for example, Amin, 1972:518-524; Wallerstein, 1995.

See, for example, First, 1983; Ogura, 1992.


Departamento de História, 1993:19. Pioneering research on this argument, conducted by Asiwi (1976), sees the exodus of Ivoirians as “revolt”.

TNA, Sec 21484, Grierson, in Alpers, 1984:370-371.

He submitted his dissertation as “Joel Maurício das Neves” but currently calls himself “Joel Maurício das Neves Tembe”. This book uses the name that appeared in the dissertation since the citations come from it.

Neves pays special attention to the forced labour and migration of minors, which has been understudied despite the important role it played in Africa (Neves, 1998:196-232).


Alpers, 1984:379.


Lubkemann, 2000:24-30. Lubkemann is against the argument that perceives war refugees as a result of forced migration and emphasises the proactive nature of the phenomenon.


Ibid.

Without a noteworthy industry, Mossurize was a supplier of forced labourers and a location of forced cotton growing, which resulted in the high ratio (Neves, 1998:245).

The percentage was always twenty-something until the late 1950s (First, 1983:113).

Calculated using the data from the Tanganyika Labour Department, 1953:40, in Alpers, 1984:377 and Dias, 1998:19. The data in Dias was taken from the Mueda Administrative Post before 1957 but the exact year is unclear.

See, for example, Isaacman, 1983; Munslow, 1984; Mondlane, 1969. The AHM (Mozambican National Archive) also mentioned at the beginning of the 1993 special edition that, “[t]he migratory work provided refuge from oppressive colonial conditions and integrated the protagonists into the colonial economy and international economy … On the other hand … the migratory work was also one of the most significant factors responsible for introducing nationalist ideas to the region, in an identical process with other frontier regions of the country” (Arquivo, 1993:3).

This excludes Alpers (1984) and Neves (1998).


Reading and writing in African languages was allowed only in relation to Catechism (Ibid.:213-214).

Cruz e Silva, 1990:127.

Covane (1996 and 2001) mainly looks at how former migrant workers became engaged in agriculture after returning to Mozambique and how it influenced the transformation of rural areas. He does not discuss much about the transformation of political awareness.

For a discussion relating to “tribalism” and “anti-tribalism”, see Funada, 1997.

Like many other leaders of the splinter group, Simango was impounded in FRELIMO’s “re-education camp” (a facility to encourage anti-FRELIMO sympathisers to convert) during the transition period before independence. He was later executed.


Hyslop, 1986:35.

Unlike migrant workers, local Africans who worked in mines lived with their families in smaller mining towns in rural areas. In 1927 only 4.2 per cent of the workers at Shamva, one of the largest...
mines, were from Southern Rhodesia. Around this time it became impossible to earn enough money through planting cash crops and many local Africans got work at plantations owned by Europeans or went to South Africa to work (Neves, 1998:256-257).

157 The basic data is taken from the Southern Rhodesia Statistical Year Book, 1947:98.
158 Departamento de História, 1993:110.
159 Yoshikuni established, from the 1911 census in Southern Rhodesia, that Mozambicans constituted a significant labour force in urban workplaces such as railways, with white families and hotels (Yoshikuni, unpublished article “The 1911 Census and the African Workers of Harare: A Historical Demography”:7-19).
162 Neves, 1998:260-261. Similar societies were formed in urban areas in Tanganyika in the 1930s (Kawabata, 2002:71).
164 The Zumbo Burial Society, the Sena Burial Society, the Quelimane Burial Society and the Beira Burial Society, to name a few. Neves confirmed the list of burial societies in confidential documents of the Portuguese colonial administration (Neves, 1998:260).
165 For details, see Matsuda, 1983; 1995.
167 Van Onselen, 1973:237-255. Yoshikuni argues out that it was not the case that the latter developed when the former declined, stating, “We cannot explain as the development of one led to the development of the other. We should rather perceive both as a new cultural tendency of African workers” (Yoshikuni, 1989:451).
170 In reviewing urbanisation in Salisbury, the capital of Southern Rhodesia, Yushikuni divides the period from 1890 to independence into six historical stages. The first stage was from 1890 to 1898 when the city was formed. Many workers were from neighbouring areas such as South Africa and Mozambique, which were already a part of the southern African economic system. The second stage was from 1898 to 1918 when colonial rule was established. A large number of workers come from the north (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) and the east (Mozambique), 95 per cent of whom were males between the ages of 10 and 29 years old (Yoshikuni, 1989:2-3). The third stage was from the end of the First World War to the mid-1920s when the infrastructure was developed and the city was industrialised. It was during this period that the labour movement and welfare groups were born. The fourth stage was from 1925 to 1935 when Africans from Southern Rhodesia constituted half of the population. Shona overtook Nyanja (or Chewa) as the common language (Ibid.:4). The fifth stage was from 1935 to 1958 when the migrant worker system faced a crisis. Local peasants flooded into the city. People felt a sense of unrest. After 1945, strikes and riots frequently broke out. The last stage began in 1958. This was the period when the removal of foreign workers was active, having become official policy. In 1969, as many as 83 per cent of the workers were local (Ibid.:5). Ranger explains in detail the background to the locals leaving rural areas (Ranger, 1985:46;54-91). Previously, rural peasants could grow cash crops as a means of resistance to the pressure from the colonial government, white settlers and private corporations to turn them into industrial workers. However, following stronger pressure from the colonial government, they were forced to abandon this route.
174 Forty per cent of the workers were Southern Rhodesians while 20 per cent came from Nyasaland (Raftopoulos, 1995:82).
175 The curadores were sent to Southern Rhodesia as “guardians” of people from Portuguese colonies but their real role was more like that of inspectors.
176 Ibid.:275.
177 Ibid.:274.
178 The campaign for the expulsion of foreign workers intensified at the end of the 1950s.
179 Ibid.
181 Ibid.:278.
183 According to Neves’ interviews and the administrative documents, Chunga was a spy and a henchman of the colonial authority (Ibid.:287).
184 Ibid.:275.
187 Ibid.:284. The name is written as “Portuguese East African Association” in Departamento de História, 1993:240.
189 Ibid.:10.
190 Departamento de História, 1993:240.
191 Another reason was that they were fully paid only after they returned to Mozambique.
192 Gwambe was originally from Inhambane. After running away from a job in Lourenço Marques, he worked in Salisbury and Bulawayo (Neves, 1998:299).
195 Yussuf Adam, the authority in this area at the CEA, divides the migration into three periods: (1) after military conquest; (2) during colonial rule; and (3) after the Massacre of Mueda (Adam, 1993:16). This book uses the same classification.
197 TNA, Sec 21484, HMK, in Ibid.:373.
198 Alpers, 1984:374.
199 Kuczynski, 1949:344. n.2.
200 A monthly wage for an unskilled labourer in southern Tanganyika was 10 to 26 shillings in 1927 which decreased to 8 to 15 shillings in 1940 (Kawabata, 2002:73).
202 There is a strong possibility that this contributed to the lower wages of unskilled labourers.
203 Ibid.:375.
204 Ibid.
206 Wages became less after the price index conversion (Kawabata, 2002:264).
207 Ibid.:230. The reasons for the price hike were: (1) post-war recovery in developed countries; (2) the delay in the recovery of the sisal industry in Indonesia; and (3) special procurements due to the outbreak of the Korean War. Therefore, the boom died down when these conditions no longer existed (Ibid.:230-231).
208 Around this time numerous men from Mozambique went to Tanganyika as short-term migrant workers. The author agrees with West that the high ratio of women was quite unlikely and that the calculation did not include short-term migrant workers (West, 1997:105).
209 According to the Tanganyika Labour Department, the number of Makhuwa-Mettos increased from 1952 (Tanganyika Labour Department, 1953:40, in Alpers, 1984:377).
210 The former was the population of Makondes recorded by Jorge Dias in 1957 (Dias, 1998:19). This figure probably did not include those who were from the area but did not live there. The latter, in the parentheses, is the total number of Makondes in the labour force in Tanganyika according to the 1957 census.


212 Ibid.

213 Ibid.:381.


215 Kawabata, 2002:59. The Cooperative Societies Ordinance was enacted in 1932.

216 Ibid.:57.


219 Padmore, 1953:254-266.


221 Ibid.:350-352.

222 In 1924 in Nangololo, the Dutch Catholic Church built its first church in the Mueda Highland. More followed. All were situated some distance away from Porto Amélia, the centre of the colonial administration (Adam, 1993:15). This indicates a delicate relationship between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese colonial authority. According to Mandanda, a Dutch priest encouraged him to contact Mondlane (Ibid.:22). As seen in Chapter 2, the Catholic Church played an indispensable role in education in Mozambique where the public education system was not well developed. After conducting a field study, however, Dias lamented that the Church did not teach Portuguese, let alone train Portuguese interpreters (Dias and Guerreiro, 1959:12). The calculation, based on the population survey by Dias, shows that only 0.4 per cent of Makondes in Mozambique could speak Portuguese in the late 1950s (Dias, 1998:19).

223 Departamento de História, 1993:233.


226 Local residents said in the interviews, “it was similar to the relationship between SAGAL [a cotton company] and peasants” (Ibid.:20).


228 See Graph 9 which shows the population outflow. The average annual income of cotton growers from 1950 to 1955 was 240 escudos. It was only 96 escudos in years of 1955 to 1956 (Ibid.:233).


230 Chambino, 1968:449-450. However, not much is known about the role that the Catholic Church, other than the Portuguese Church, played in the decolonisation of Mozambique.

231 Bravo, 1963:145.

232 Ibid.:142-145.

233 Ibid.:179.

234 Adam, 1993:23.

235 Departamento de História, 1993:237.

236 Alpers, 1984:381.


238 Mondlane, 1969:104.

239 Interview by History Department of Eduardo Mondlane University (Departamento de História, 1993:234).

240 One of them was the Tanganyika-Mozambique Makonde Union (Ibid.:240).

241 Adam, 1993:26. According to Adam, it was based on a self-help group of Makondes though the
official name is unknown. A book edited by the Departamento de História refers to an ethnic but "progressive" self-help group which formed the basis of the MANU (Departamento de História, 1993:241). This is probably the same group. The former is based on the interviews of Vanomboma's relatives while the latter is based on colonial documents.

244 Dias and Guerreiro, 1959:10.
245 They criticised the rapidly growing Zionist Church as, "conducting a large-scale conversion, being our enemy, spreading the communist ideology from the revolutionary Russia via South Africa, and using a dangerous slogan, ‘Africa for Africans’” (AHM-FGG, no. 224: Annual report of the Diocese of Beira, 1947). The criticism of the regime by the bishop of Beira, as that of the Dutch Catholic Church, may have been the result of the trend among Africans who were converting to a "new religion", and avoiding the Catholic Church which was linked to colonial rule.

246 In 1967 Pope Johan Paul II visited Portugal and gave 150,000 dollars to the government for its "overseas provinces". The pope also commended the PIDE chief, Silva Pais (Mozambique Revolution, no. 44, 1970 Jul.–Sep.:25). The pope later changed his position and, on 1 July 1970, met the leaders of FRELIMO, the PAIGC and the MPLA, which were seeking the independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa.

248 The most influential among them were the Presbyterian Church in the south and the America Board Mission in central Mozambique. The Africa Methodist Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church also played an important role. For further details on the influence of Protestant churches in the south and central Mozambique, see Cruz e Silva, 2001.

250 Some say he was born in Machanga (Neves, 1998:291), but this book follows the report by a colonial administrator based on the interrogation of Sixpence Simango, an old friend and student of Kamba (AHM: Fundo da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, cx.21, no. 18, “Certidão, 30/11/1955”:75). Barnabé Lucas Ncomo wrote that he was born in Maropanhe Locality (Ncomo, 2003:55).

251 Although not recorded in the colonial documents, Kamba studied at this school before going to the USA (Neves, 1998:291).
252 Andrade, 1989:127; AHM: Fundo da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, cx.21, no. 18, “Certidão, 30/11/1955”:77. The colonial administrator pointed out the similarity between Kamba's movement and the church for Africans in South Africa that split from the American Board and used the slogan of "Africa for Africans”.

253 For instance, the Associação do Culto Mahometano e Beneficência (AHM: Fundo da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, cx.21, no. 18, “Certidão, 30/11/1955”:78).
254 The head of the Muslim Association came from the same area as Kamba.
255 Andrade, 1989:140; 142.
256 The establishment was approved by Decree-Law of 4 January 1947 (AHM: Fundo da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, cx.21, no. 18, “Portaria 11.404”). The Núcleo Negrófilo had nine branches in total, including one in the Transvaal in South African and another in Umtali in Southern Rhodesia.

257 The administrator reported: “Just like an instance in Machanga, the Núcleo Negrófilo encourages local residents to rebel against the legal authority … and conducts religious ceremony in a local language” (AHM: Fundo da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, cx.21, no. 296/1 Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil, em Lourenço Marques, 27/12/1955:1-2).
258 It probably means that the organisation attracted a lot of attention in the town.
Revolts broke out in Machanga, Mambone and Büzi in the central part of the country, and Manjacaze and Xinavane in the south. The detail of these uprisings are still unknown.

The containment strategy was presented by George F. Kenan, then acting ambassador in Moscow, in 1946. The Truman Doctrine was announced in the State of the Union Address on 12 March 1947.

NSC 48/2, on the position of the United States of America with respect to Asia, December 30, 1949.


The domino effect is a phenomenon where it is speculated that if one region comes under the influence of communism, the surrounding countries follow like a falling domino. It was the basis of US foreign policy from the 1950s to the 1980s.

See, for example, US Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, 1975.

Interview with Ahílio Pires, who was one of those interns, in Santos, 2000:41. Later, Pires became a liaison officer between the CIA and the PIDE.


Decree-Law no. 2066, 1953.

Consequently, the term “colony” is used here unless otherwise indicated, even when referring to the period after 1951.

The Bandung Conference was originally held as part of the Non-Aligned Movement. Representatives from Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and the Gold Coast (Ghana) attended.

After the Bandung Conference, the Asian-African solidarity movement became active at a civic level. The first Asia, Africa, Latin-America People’s Solidarity Movement was held in December 1957 (Nakamura, 1998:193).


Fanon, 1969:155-159.

Charles de Gaulle was inaugurated as the president of France at the end of 1958. The self-determination of Algeria was approved in a referendum in January 1960, although fierce battles continued until its independence on 1 July 1962.

Fanon, 1984:123. Fanon also made it clear that the decolonisation movement from the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1960s could not be separated from international politics.

According to the 1950/51 annual report, there were only eight hospitals in Mozambique. Rural villages had only primary health care centres. Also, regional disparity was significant. Of the 149 doctors, 52 were stationed in Lourenço Marques and 26 in Beira (Anuário, 1951-52:136-144).

Fanon, 1969:155-159. All in all, there were 902 secondary school students.
Women constituted 37 per cent (665 out of 1,776) in the 1940/41 report and 41 per cent (770 out of 1,788) in 1951/52 (Anuário, 1940-1941:21; Anuário, 1951-52 Ibid.:21). Many of the female assimilado lived in Lourenço Marques and Beira: 59 per cent in 1940 and 64 per cent in 1950 (Ibid.). Mozambique was allowed to send representatives to the Portuguese parliament, but it was allocated only three seats out of 120 (Shepherd, 1962:108).

Universal education had a greater social impact than education for a selected few.

In the 1950s, rudimentary primary education was renamed as “rudimentary education for adaptation” and was included in “primary education”.

The number of students at church schools was 385,304 in 1957/58 and 401,581 in 1960/61. Education offered by the church was still important for Africans (Anuário, 1962:160).

Gómez, 1999:68.

Decree-Law no. 35.962 of 20 November 1946.

It belonged to the Ministério de Ultramar.

Following the amendment of the Constitution, it was renamed as the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos (Higher Institute of Overseas Provinces Studies) in 1954.

In 1961, the academy was incorporated into the Universidade Técnica de Lisboa (Lisbon University of Technology) (Sousa, 2000:7-9).

CEA: pasta 9/c.

The resulting report was Dias and Guerreiro (1959). Dias also published the ethnography of Makondes as Os Macones de Moçambique in 1964, which was republished by the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (National Commission for Commemoration of the Portuguese Discovery) in 1998.

These include António Rita-Ferreira, who published Agrupamento (Ethnic Groupings) (Overseas Provinces Research Council) in 1958, and Alexandre Lobato, a historian and an MP from Mozambique.

Dias and Guerreiro, 1959:15-16.

For example, in April 1962 the historian Alexandre Lobato demanded further economic independence and the decentralisation of administration in the colonies (Garcia, 2003:95).


Ibid.:470-471.

Ibid.:220-221. Women numbered 237 and 450 respectively.

Ibid.:474.

The number of employees almost quintupled to 3,203 in 1968 and 3,580 in 1972 (Mateus, 2004:24; 34).


Figueiredo, 1998:357. Figueiredo himself was an activist and an emigrant to Mozambique.

According to a PIDE document, the Angolan PIDE discovered the pamphlets of an opposition group in cargo travelling from Lisbon to Mozambique and warned the Mozambican PIDE (IAN/TT.PIDE/DGS.Serviços Centrais, Eleições Presidenciais de 1958, proc.1546/57, vol 3, fés.589-592). The pamphlets were addressed to Santos, a Portuguese lawyer living in Mozambique (Ibid.:361-362).

Santos, 2000:53.

Soares and Cavaco pointed out that eligible voters (1,198,322) constituted only 14.6 per cent of the entire population (8,182,647) (Soares and Cavaco, 1998:497-498).

Antunes, 1994:76. PIDE Óscar Cardoso, a prominent PIDE member, denied the allegation in an interview (Santos, 2000:75). However, the author’s investigation of the diplomatic documents at the US National Archives II suggests that Delgado was not very popular in the Portuguese embassy in Washington D.C. or the foreign ministry in Lisbon. Therefore, it is unclear how close his relationship with the USA actually was (NAII, SDLF RG59, Entry 5296, EUR/SPP, Record.
3. Mozambique Before the Liberation Struggle

315 Soares and Cavaco, 1998:363. Residents in the colonies were allowed to vote, but there were only 133,665 eligible voters in all the colonies combined, which was only 9.5 per cent of the total eligible voters. General Delgado obtained 34.1 per cent of votes in Mozambique, higher than in any other colonies or islands. Moreira argues that the reasons for this lie in the distance from Portugal, the degree of urbanisation and industrialisation, the strength of external links and a campaign by Almeida Santos, a prominent lawyer (Moreira, 1998:498-505).
316 Ibid.:367-368.
317 The exception was the Movimento Democrático Popular (Popular Democratic Movement), formed by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and General Delgado, which advocated a united front with colonised people (Garcia, 2003:90-91).
318 Atunes, 1996:641-646. The headquarters were established in Lourenço Marques. A liaison office with the army was set up in 1972.
319 Decree-Laws, nos. 41.559 and 41.577.
320 In 1957/58, two were sent to Belgium, three to Spain and three to Algeria (a French anti-guerrilla school) (Afonso and Matos, 2000:32-33). In 1958/59, five officers went to the United Kingdom and learned about the experience in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus. In 1959, six officers received training with 200 French officers at an anti-guerrilla training centre in Alger (Cann, 1997:40-41).
323 As explained in the introduction, this book uses “subversion” and “counter-subversion” in inverted commas when describing the strategy adopted by the Portuguese colonial authority.
324 Between 1958 and 1960, they mainly studied the experience of the United Kingdom and France (Cann, 1997:40-47).
325 “Subversão e Contra-subversão” (1963).
326 According to Shepherd, the Portuguese minister of Overseas Provinces visited South Africa in 1959 and stated as follows: “We are accomplishing a parallel task in our territories and, if Western civilization is threatened on this continent, South Africa and Portugal now should work together” (Shepherd, 1962:115).
327 According to Nuno Severiano Teixiera, a historian on Portuguese external relations, the main problem for Portugal’s diplomacy between 1956 and 1961 was a “colonial issue” (Teixiera, 1998:81).