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Towards a History of the National Liberation Struggle
in Mozambique: Problematics, methodologies, analyses.

by

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This Paper represents the views and the contribution to discussion of the author/s indicated. It is in no way intended to convey the position of any body or institution with which the author/s may be connected, but is placed before the Experts' Meeting in order to stimulate discussion and analysis.

1. 1990 年 12 月 31 日以前竣工的已完工程；
 2. 1991 年 1 月 1 日以后竣工的工程。

Beginning in 1979 under the initiative and supervision of Aquino de Bragança, the study of the history of the Liberated Zones has now reached the point where it is necessary to reflect on the impact of that history as well as on the lessons to be drawn from it on how it should be researched and disseminated.

Our investigation in the field last year and this year was carried out in the former liberated Zones of Cabo Delgado Province. It seeks to study, through the collection of life histories, written documents and analysis of some communal villages and cooperatives, the origins of the implantation of FRELIMO, the beginnings of the Armed Struggle and its transformation into a popular based war of liberation.

This paper is an attempt to systematize, however schematically, some of the questions that should be raised: issues that should be considered, reflected upon and debated in an undertaking of this kind. For, seven years after independence, the context of the study can no longer be limited to the period of the Armed Struggle itself. It has to be enlarged without, in the process, blurring the specific historical lessons of the Armed Struggle.

Because this is an initial attempt at systematization, gaps, omissions and a certain lack of rigour will probably mark this effort. It is therefore presented in the spirit of stimulating and encouraging the expression of divergent opinions.

For the sake of clearer presentation, the paper will deal successively with the following points: problematics, methodologies and analyses. It must be noted that, at times, it will be difficult to determine the borderline between these three spheres of discussion for the simple reason that more often than not there exists a close dialectical relationship between the formulation of a problematic, the derived analyses and the sources used.

I. Problematization

Before attempting to formulate a problematic, it might be helpful to consider some of those one should guard against. The issue at stake here is one of deciding what will be the determining elements in the constitution of a general problematic.

With its institutionalization (at the 3rd Congress 1977) as a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, FRELIMO began to be identified with a well-defined group of communist parties. Such identification has, consciously or unconsciously, immediately provoked implicit or explicit comparisons with other communist parties. Such comparisons while possibly enlightening for the abstract and/or ideological construction of international communist history could prejudice an ad hoc understanding of specific local or regional parties' histories. This could be even more so in the case of a party like FRELIMO, completely new in its genesis and development in a continent stamped by slavery and colonialism. Such prejudice may lead to

seeing the history of a particular, specific party or country like FRELIMO or Mozambique through approximations and associations but not by directly focusing on it, thereby committing the typical error of ideological historians who still think in terms of the problematics that dominated during the colonial times: the history of the colonized was either non-existent or only seen through the history of the colonizers.

Similarly, one encounters on the left (joining hands here with the right) tendencies to categorize new parties like FRELIMO on the basis of their alliances with this or that socialist country. More specifically still, during the Armed Struggle it was thought more convenient to characterize FRELIMO as a movement following this or that socialist "model". Such characterizations should not be seen as mere ideological statements without consequences or without a concrete social base. They are the result of theoretical frameworks closely linked to the use of given methodological and analytical tools.

The starting premise is therefore that theoretical frameworks or problematics are shaped and determined by the class relations prevailing within the space or time context chosen for study. The importance of this point cannot be overstressed in view of the distance that has grown since the early 1960's between the ideological projects for the decolonization of African history and the consolidation in power of African bourgeoisies whose objective interests required a de facto opposition to such projects.

The historiography of the continent in the past 20 years proves that the dominant theoretical and ideological framework - Afrocentrist vs. Eurocentrist history; African initiative vs. European initiative; African Collaboration vs. African resistance; Modern African vs. Traditional African; balance sheet approaches on various periods or processes (e.g. slavery, colonial rule), etc. - did not constitute radical breaks from that which predominated during colonial rule. They were mere counter-reactions to the negation of African history. They did not give way to the elaboration of a framework containing its own tools of research able to liberate African history from its dependence and subjugation. This was evident not only in cultural terms, but even more so in politics. Indeed it reflected the class base and interests of those in power.

What should be the major points to be considered in the elaboration of such a framework?

1- The development of a historical consciousness going hand in hand with the production of a historical knowledge which squarely focuses on the centrality of the role played by the productive classes. In Mozambique the productive classes must be understood not only as productive of material wealth, but more importantly as productive of the Liberated Zones, that is to say productive of a counter state, which in the context of the Armed Struggle grew out of a conscientious effort by the leadership to create a democratic, popular and revolutionary alternative to the colonial state. Thus the centrality of the productive classes in Mozambique is a political reality resulting from a concrete historical phase and not only a project for the future in which independence was merely a first step.

2- However, this centrality will not necessarily reproduce itself. Whether it does will depend on the creation of appropriate conditions both on the sites of production and in the state apparatus.

3- Focusing on the productive classes means rejecting their anthropologization - not a minor danger in a continent which was and still is the favourite ground for anthropology. Such rejection must be as unambiguous as possible because of the tendency of the discipline to relegate the peasants to their tribal fold, thereby preventing an assessment of their role and position in the ongoing historical process.

4- Once the objectives of constructing what one could call a class based people's history is accepted, it remains to be put into practice. This step would require careful study of the methodology and analysis to be used. For as in the case of the theoretical frameworks here too, there have tended to dominate methodological and analytical practices which, however fine and sophisticated in terms of collecting, processing and disseminating, could run contrary to the objectives cited under 1-.

5- As the title suggests, the centrality of the productive classes must not lead to an exclusive approach. A history of the Armed Struggle which solely focused on the Liberated Zones or solely on the period of the Armed Struggle would run the risk of transforming both histories into museum pieces. One of the ways of guarding against such fossilization of history is by a problematization of the sources which goes beyond the well known criteria of reliability, truth, primary, secondary, oral, written, etc. Such criteria usually leave unposed, or worse, posed and resolved the question of what could be called the class imprint or class mark of the sources.

It ought to be remembered that respecting such objectives or guidelines in the problematization of a history of National Liberation will not necessarily ensure the production of a history which is at the same time an assessment of a historical process, a question posed by the current situation and a schematic perspective for future struggles. In short, the production of a creative living history which would contain within itself the problematic, methods and analytical tools to ensure that changing revolutionary responses will be given to changing concrete situations. Fortunately, such an ultimate guarantee does not rest with historians, but with the direct producers of history. Nevertheless, this does not preclude efforts on the part of historians to contribute toward the concretization of such histories.

This history workshop project of centering its initial efforts on the history of the Liberated Zones stems from the obvious fact that the Armed Struggle, which from 1964 to 1974 affected the northern and western parts of the country, was and remains a central episode in the history of National Liberation Struggle. The importance of the role of the Armed Struggle further rests on 2 main premises:

1- It is crucial to accept from the start that the test of an adequate problematic must come from what was achieved during the Armed Struggle;

2- The Armed Struggle must be studied in terms of its own dynamics and not in terms of outside referential comparisons. Only by respecting such dynamics will the production of historical knowledge avoid both the trap of "models" and be able to constantly reinvent its problematics for renewing its analysis.

II. METHODS: Toward democratization and popularization

Oral history

By practice, tradition and ideological commitment, academic (bourgeois) historical research has been dominated by methods which have been, in part, the by product of the dominance of the bourgeoisies. The keeping of written records, the mastering of research techniques and writing skills; and the application of laws which keep such records out of reach of researchers for a given number of years are only some among many of the most visible undemocratic practices. The increasing popularity of oral history is, however, undermining these practices. With regard to African history or, in Europe, to workers', peasants' and women's histories, the partial breaking of these practices has been brought about by the fact that oral history has given more weight to the testimonies of the productive and/or oppressed classes. Partial because in all of these cases - African history, histories of workers, peasants, women, - the dominant context is indeed one in which the ruling classes have constantly sought to combine the expropriation of the material wealth with the appropriation of the histories of those who produced that wealth.

To democratize and popularize the history of national liberation in Mozambique is not an abstract project, but something which had been achieved historically by the creation of the Liberated Zones (itself the result of a long process). The consciousness of this achievement in the Liberated Zones comes across in many of the interviews. In these interviews there is a noticeable pattern in the structure of recollections. The experiences such as the one that cemented the soldiers to the people; the fact that the people without voice, the "non existent" of the colonial times, could not only express themselves in assemblies and comites, but also take part in the decisions affecting their own lives, are far from being forgotten.

Those struggles have become a yardstick with which to reflect on the present. Because of the initiatives seized by those who carried on the struggle to transform their own lives, the recording of it will be difficult to keep within the bounds of merely registering. Given that the Armed Struggle had the objective of transforming the then prevailing relations, the collective memory has grown accustomed to remembering the past as well as to finding out whether that past has served the present, and to what extent, or whether, the present has betrayed the past. In one sense, this particular form of conceptualizing the Armed Struggle can be

one of the most severe - even if at times unjust - judges and critics of the present.

The constant reminder of the past Armed Struggle by the people who fought in it could be seen as a narcissistic exercise in self-glorification, or as an arrogant stance towards all of those who did not participate.

Even if this were to be the case, which it is not, it would still have the crucial and outstanding virtue of raising the question of how the situation in the Liberated Zones today compares with the situation before 1975. This kind of historical vision can be most unsettling because it tends to go against a ritualized recording of the struggle.

Moreover, the ideology conveyed through such recollections is decidedly different from that of the petty bourgeois ideology encountered in the cities. Whereas in the latter the comparison is often made between the colonial times ('when there was everything') and the present, in the former it is between the Armed Struggle (spoken of with pride) and the present.

Interestingly, many of the participants in the Armed Struggle will remember it as a period of great suffering, possibly even greater (however difficult it may be to measure such things) than that borne during the colonial times, but with the important difference that the suffering under colonial rule was brutally imposed in order to repress, humiliate and exploit, whereas the suffering endured during the Armed Struggle was accepted as being part of the price to be paid in order to bring about the end of repression humiliation and exploitation.

Sources: Global context and colonial sources

As already pointed out, within the perspective of seeking to reproduce a history of national liberation struggle in its diversity, it is essential not to focus only on what happened in the Liberated Zones. As is well known, even in the non-liberated Zones - Lourenço Marques, for example - a great number of Mozambicans sought by various means to combat Portuguese colonialism. For example, the period preceding the founding of FRELIMO saw the emergence of various clandestine, semi-clandestine and non-clandestine organizations which had been formed to directly or indirectly confront the Portuguese colonial system.

A full understanding of this period would also require an analysis of the general context of the struggle in the Continent. In a series of reports, dating from 1954, one finds a number of colonial administrators from Cabo Delgado province worrying about the 'influence' of the situation in Africa: from the Mau-Mau emergency in Kenya to the constitution of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, from Nasser's Egypt to Ghana's independence, from Lumumba in the Congo to the Tanzanian independence.

More specifically from the majority of interviews it is clear that the history of the political struggle for independence in Tanzania and in particular the creation of trade unions and of TANU in 1954, inspired both ideologically (the necessity of unity for Uhuru) and organizationally, the formation of nationalist movements out of the Associations and Unions

that already existed among the different groups (class and tribal wise) of Mozambicans, both inside and outside the country. In particular President Nyerere seems to emerge in this phase as a charismatic leader, as the inspirer of the necessity for Unity, and as the symbolic enemy of the Portuguese colonial administration.

The colonial state failed to understand on the whole that it was not external influence that was the fundamental cause of increased political consciousness, but rather the internal forms of oppression and exploitation. One example may be cited from the research being carried out in the Mueda Plateau on the period immediately preceding the formation of FRELIMO. In the middle of the 1950's the constitution of indigenous co-operatives in Zavala and generally in the Southern part of the country had given 'good results', so much so that the Governor General started to investigate whether such policy could be extended to other districts of Mozambique.

The cooperatives were considered a success because they gave to the colonial State such advantages as in the words of the administrator of Zavala:

prevenir e encaminhar o surto de novas condições sociais resultantes de expansão económica dos agricultores em regime individual que, em Zavala, obtinham já rendimentos apreciáveis. *

and on the other hand,

criar novos laços sociais que se harmonizam com a nossa política de assimilação e sirvam para substituir os vínculos tribais em vias de desaparecimento. **

The cooperatives were thus permitted to produce more for the consolidation of the colonial economy! to better control the population when tribal ties were deteriorating, and to promote a sort of peasant middle class loyal to the Portuguese administration.

This policy was not accepted by all the various components of the colonial administration with the same enthusiasm. SAGAL, the cotton concessionary company in the circunscrição dos Macondes was initially in favour while the Administrator repeatedly expressed various doubts; the regulos (chiefs) whose gratificações (bonuses) were derived in part from the number of recruits for the sisal plantations (Mpanga) were far from enthusiastic;

* to prepare and set on the right road the product of new social conditions resulting from the economic expansion of individual agriculturists, who had, in Zavala, already obtained substantial incomes.

** to create new social links that will harmonise with our policy of assimilation and will replace tribal bonds, which are in the process of disappearing.

strongly against were the Sisal Estates owners for whom the extension of cotton cultivation meant reduced availability of labour. In other words, it is important not to lose sight of internal differentiation and contradiction.

From 1957 to 1959 the cotton plots organized as a voluntary society (Sociedade Algodoeira Africana Voluntária de Moçambique) (Liguelanilo in Makonde) by a group led by Lazero Nkavandame existed de facto, but there was a certain reluctance on the part of the Administrator Soares to grant them the status of cooperatives. As he wrote to the governor:

Em minha opinião não julgo o indigene Lazero, nem tão pouco os possíveis associados com maturidade bastante para a constituição de uma cooperativa. (19 December 1959) *

The success in production and in keeping the population from emigrating to the "subversive" shores of Tanganyika then on the eve of independence seemed to convince the Central Administration that the enterprise had some advantages. From a document from the Distrito de Cabo Delgado, dated September 17, 1959, one reads:

O Governador Geral tem conhecimento da cooperativa (em organização) dos cultivadores de algodão dos Macondes que, por enquanto, deverá ser acompanhada e vigiada.**

On the other hand, by now, the economic success of the Liguelanilo had antagonized SAGAL, less and less able to impose its own discriminating prices on the local cooperativistas. However controversial the Administration considered the policy of favouring indigenous cooperatives as a means of strengthening its hold on the population in order to "fazer ver a massa indigene que estamos aqui para ficar", (make clear to the native masses that we are here to stay) the cooperatives on the Plateau were the way by which people started to work together and also to discuss unity and independence. After 1962, they provided the network for the expansion of FRELIMO membership cards.

What emerges in confronting colonial and oral sources is that on both sides, there was not total agreement among the actors. The colonial sources reproduce the internal contradictions of the system, and the oral sources in part reflect them. Colonial sources despite the formation of the cooperatives as a process decided upon commended and executed from above - a tactical move of the colonial state to preserve its power. Oral sources stress rather the initiative of the group of people - returnees from Tanganyika, teachers and catechists of the catholic mission schools

* In my opinion, I do not feel that the native Lazero, or any but a very few of the potential members, have sufficient maturity to set up a cooperative.

** The Governor General is aware of the co-operative (in the process of formation) of Makonde cotton growers which, for the time being, ought to be followed and watched.

and simple peasants - who in 1957 got together to start cotton cultivation. These sources stress that the inspiration came from the Tanganyika example; i.e. the necessity to unite at the beginning in simple and viable forms in order to organize the struggle for independence.

Needless to say, oral informants are also far from being in agreement, some stress the economic advantages that could come from the organized co-operatives, others their political meaning and goals. In other words, there comes into view a contradiction running along class lines and one which was to come out into the open in the first years of the Armed Struggle in 1965-1966.

Thus colonial documents - still largely unknown - far from being neglected, should be analyzed starting from the problematic posed by the liberation struggle. The colonial system was fought not only with arms, but through a difficult process of learning from and against the continuous reproduction of colonial ideology, practices and solutions under different forms. Only through a dialectical confrontation of sources can one successfully fight 1) the tendency of the written document to dominate and 2) more importantly, against the ideological framework which shapes such sources.

Front line sources

The discussion in this section as, in fact, in the whole paper will not touch on two sources without which any history of this scope would be more than incomplete: a systematic exploration among those who constituted the vanguard of the Armed Struggle - the politico-military leadership of FRELIMO, and the rank and file of the FPLM.

There is an obvious difficulty in the categorization adopted here, namely of determining where is the border between the front line and the rest. For the time being the front line would include all those who directly participated in the politico-military struggle against colonial rule.

It is logical to say that the historical process and their actors usually dictate the sources to be consulted. But colonial historiography, among others, has demonstrated many times over that such logic is usually determined by the class or classes in power. By enlarging the analytical context of the history of the Liberated Zones to a history of national liberation one immediately enriches the history of the former.

In the early stages of the research there was, for example, a tendency to seek the testimonies of those one could call the front line combatants: soldiers, militia, politico-military leaders, people who continued to live in Cabo Delgado, women of the Women's Detachment. In order to contrast their experience, interviews were sought with members of the group known as regressados, i.e. those who came back em masse from Tanzania in 1975, but who had not joined the ranks of FRELIMO. Such interviews never took place because no one wanted to be known as a regressado because of the negative connotation given to this group.

Yet, recently (Presidente da Aldeia Nameua, July 13 1982) it was found that the regressados included former workers in the Tanzania sisal plantations who had during the Armed Struggle paid a regular monthly contribution of 25 shillings to FRELIMO. This means that more careful attention should be paid when using the term regressados. This group certainly included elements who were not at all interested in the objectives of FRELIMO, but were ready to take advantage of the victory; but it also included thousands of sisal plantation workers who voluntarily supported the Armed Struggle through their financial contribution.

Likewise a history of the relationship between women and men should not solely concentrate on a study of the former members of the Women's Detachment. The role of women during the Armed Struggle has not been given the importance it should deserve. For over and above their usual responsibilities of caring for the children, preparing food for the family, many of these also carried out duties required by the Armed Struggle: transport of war material cooking for transport brigades, soldiers, etc. It is not uncommon to hear women recounting how they carried out both duties, and how difficult this was.

It would be dangerous to generalize from a single life story, but the following summarized excerpt provides a fairly accurate picture of the life of many women:

I was born in 1956 of Catholic parents. I went to school till my 3rd year. And it was after my 3rd year (more or less 10 years old) that we fled to Tenzania... At home I suffered a great deal. My mother used to hit me a lot. She often punished me by forcing me to sit in a corner cleaning sisal. In 1966 I went through three initiation rites, and in July 1967 I entered the D.F. (Women's Detachment or Destacamento Feminino set up by FRELIMO in 1967 in order to organize the participation of women in the Struggle on an equal basis with men). From that moment onwards, the suffering intensified. It was quite often that we would go one or two days without water. February 1969 was my first pregnancy in October the birth. The man responsible refused to acknowledge paternity. Two weeks went by and an uncle of his paid for a piece of cloth in which to carry the child. Upon learning of this, the father of the child came by to take away the piece of cloth saying that his uncle had no right to give me the capulana and that, in any case, the sons of daughters of FRELIMO did not survive long. Finally my own sister helped me get a piece of cloth.

"Our relationships with men were always difficult to figure out because many of them would promise marriage, but it rarely happened. Even when it happened it did not mean the end of problems. For example, I finally stayed with one man from whom I became pregnant, but then he refused to accept the child, saying that the child was not his. He even suggested that I take medication to induce abortion. I refused and I had the child. I realized then how difficult it was going to be with 2 children. How to work and take care of 2 children at the same time.

I was working at this time in the Zambezia Central Hospital. There I was put 3 times in a solitary confinement cell because I had refused to sleep with the chefe of the health post. I had always been based in the Zambezia hospital, but this hospital had to be moved all the time. In the period I worked there (1967-1975) it had to be moved ~~ten~~ times. The reasons for the various moves were mostly due to the necessity of protecting the sick against enemy attacks."

E.T.R., like other women who participated in the Armed Struggle summarized the experience by saying that there were good and bad things. Usually, a comparison with the present state of things is inescapable: The O.M.M. (Organização da Mulher Moçambicana Organization of Mozambican Women), the continuation of the D.F. is seen as a positive step, but at the same time the sabotage of the men continues. It is through the OMM that, for example, women have tried to combat polygamy. During the Armed Struggle, E.T.R. stresses that the incidence of polygamy had gone down, but now it has gone up again. "Men are opposing our initiatives. On the other hand, many women are interested in OMM, but as soon as they get married, they forget about it".

As already pointed out, historical sources are not always obvious. Their visibility or obviousness is most of the time determined by the prevailing class relations. This would help explain the relative neglect of women in reconstructing the history of National Liberation. Moreover, as in any historical process which culminated in victory there is a tendency to overlook the role played by individuals or groups of individuals because they happened to have been far from the front lines or played a role that seems to have been secondary. It is important to be aware of this in order to avoid undue appropriation by one or another group, which could later on generate chauvinistic history of one type or another.

Non front-line sources - The enemy's side

One of the most outstanding lessons of history in the post-independence period was probably given by President Samora Machel himself during the meeting held in May and June 1982 with former Mozambican collaborators of the colonial repressive apparatus. Those testimonies brought to light some of the most chilling aspects of colonial fascism. They are invaluable at at least 3 levels. Firstly in improving one's understanding of the colonial state's most infamous institutions during the period of the Armed Struggle: PIDE; secondly, in letting one see how Mozambicans had been led to torture, massacre and mutilate their own kind; thirdly, in enhancing the contrast between the colonial system and the one that FRELIMO was struggling to build.

The contrast brought out by the testimonies of the former collaborators demonstrated once more that the Armed Struggle was over and above all a class struggle between contradictory conceptions of history and ideology. And, as the President himself pointed out the colonial system, however hard it tried to win Mozambicans over to its side could not offer any more than that ~~which~~ its very nature could permit: further colonization resulting in yet further contempt and humiliation.

Finally, those testimonies demonstrated the importance of remaining as faithful as possible to what happened, how it happened and the context in which it happened. Only in this manner can one bring out all the asperities, and respect the contradictions for what they were. To do otherwise would lead to distortions.

Non front-line sources: solidarity with the struggle

The existence of organizations may sometimes mislead in the search for sources. There were individuals or groups of individuals who toward the end of the 50's were struggling against colonial rule. When FRELIMO was founded, it was not always possible for all Mozambicans who wished to join the front line, often for reasons beyond their control. For example, in spite of evidence of political consciousness among workers, the majority of these did not have the material means to leave their jobs and start the long journey toward Tanzania. Nevertheless, many workers were aware of FRELIMO and sought to follow the day to day events through the radio, through the press and through messages brought back from Tanzania. All of this was often done at great personal risk, as can be seen from the following statement (from a worker at the Companhia de Cimento in Maputo):

Ouvi falar da FRELIMO porque sempre abria a radio Dar-es-Salaam. Quando se formou em 1962 em 25 de Junho... foi porque eu ligara sempre a rádio Brazzaville... E para a noite era precisamente lá para um quarto para as vinte, assim ligava essa estação, ouvia essa notícia e ligava quase todos os dias a rádio do Ghana de Kwame Nkrumah. Sempre estava a acompanhar mas não podia falar, porque senão ficava preso... Da maneira como eu estive, tinha três PIDES atrás de mim, três PIDES que tinha que suportar. Quando estava em casa eu sempre ouvia a rádio. Mas sabia que queriam acabar comigo. Eu ia lá para dentro afinar o rádio. A luta da FRELIMO acompanhei sempre pela rádio.*

The preoccupation of the colonial state with Mozambicans who had a radio did not date from the period of the Armed Struggle as pointed out by Cornelio J. Mandanda (from Mueda). When he acquired a radio in the mid-fifties, he had to make sure that the fact did not get known by the

* I heard talk of FRELIMO because I always tuned in to Dar es Salaam radio. When FRELIMO was formed in 1962, on the 25th of June, I always tuned in my radio to Brazzaville.. And each night at precisely a quarter to eight, I tuned into that station, I heard that news, and also tuned in almost every day to the radio of Nkrumah's Ghana. I always followed the news but could not speak of it, because if I did I would be imprisoned... To the extent that there were always three PIDES (police agents) behind me, three PIDES that I had to endure. When I was at home I always listened to the radio. But I knew that it would have to end with me. I would go inside to tune in the radio. I followed the struggle of FRELIMO always by radio.

Moving onto another plane. Just as was the case of MANU (Maconde African Union and later Mozambique African National Union) in the north, the emergence of UDEMAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique which many Mozambicans from Tenga in Tanzania joined) gave rise to divergences and contradictions. While there was agreement on the necessity to get rid of the colonialists, this agreement immediately dissolved when the objectives and forms of the struggle had to be defined and put into practice.

With the passing of time, there is a tendency to re-work these differences. This tendency is reinforced because of the role played by President E. Mondlane in creating a single organization. This role makes it appear as if the unity that was achieved was predestined. The historical importance of the divergences, difficulties and obstacles encountered in the process should not be minimized especially for anyone familiar with the contradictions which later developed within FRELIMO and came to be known as the Struggle Between the Two Lines. That is to say the struggle between those who conceived of the Armed Struggle as a purely military operation to get rid of the whites in order to sit in their place, and those who saw in it a means of destroying the colonial system while at the same time constructing the foundations of new economic, social and political relations so as to eradicate the exploitation of man by man. For the latter, then, the Armed Struggle was not just a military struggle; it was an integral part of an ideological and political struggle whose objectives and style had to be formulated and carried out on the basis of a new morality! a new ethic of a socialist society to be built. It was therefore crucial that such objectives and style be defined not in terms of the Portuguese colonial system, but in terms of a system built upon entirely different premises: ending exploitation of man by man.

Concretely this can be found in the manner in which FRELIMO conceptualized and developed its anti-racist struggle, in its insistence on treating captured Portuguese soldiers as prisoners of war (as opposed to the practice of the Portuguese); in its overall insistence on the importance of the relationship between the manner of achieving goals and those goals themselves. At the core of this is the question of democratic practice.

It is clear that for a group that holds power the temptation is always latent to use undemocratic methods in order to achieve democratic objectives or the victory of a line which sees itself as the most democratic one. Yet, the contradiction is obvious. The goals of achieving a popular and democratic society cannot possibly be based on a course resting on the notion that if the goals are democratic, it is no longer necessary to be bothered with the means.

Indeed, the recent offensive against abuse of power (Presidential Speech in November 1981), the documentation of such abuses demonstrates both the current concretization of this temptation as well as the existence of an unequivocal commitment to constructing a popular and democratic state. The question is, of course, how does one test whether such an objective is or is not being accomplished.

The very history of the Liberated Zones constitutes the obvious referential point. It is not without reason that the Liberated Zones were called the laboratory of the revolution. However, being a laboratory does not necessarily mean that all the answers will come from there. The contest from which the Liberated Zones emerged was very specific, and losing sight of this specificity could lead to wrong conclusions with regard to the identification of the enemy in the current context.

As President Samora Machel himself once pointed out, the task at hand in 1975 was to extend as fast and as far as possible the Liberated Zones in order to avoid their asphyxiation by the non-liberated Zones. This task was complicated by several factors, some of which were:

- 1- The end of the Armed Struggle, on the one hand, but the continuation of another war outside its borders;
- 2- the taking over of a fascist state apparatus which had at the same time to be destroyed;
- 3- the sudden disproportionate growth of the geographical area and economic and political sectors to be controlled in comparison to the numbers of cadres available.

All of these factors combined to undermine the reproduction of practices developed during and from the Armed Struggle. This changing context meant that the analysis leading to the identification of the enemy in the non-liberated zones was going to be more difficult. Indeed, this was recognized by the President when he pointed out that the definition of the enemy after the war of liberation was going to be much more complex.

Therefore, the analysis of the colonial system provided during the Armed Struggle has to be deepened because the current enemy has emerged from that system. This implies a more profound understanding of the class relations both among the colonizers and the colonized as well as between the two sides of the system. It will involve more specific analyses of the nature and forms taken by the contradictions in the different parts of the country. For example, the colonial economy in the south was shaped in great part by the demands of the South African economy, and it saw the emergence of a process of social differentiations and class relations different from those predominating in Zambesia Province, where there prevailed a plantation economy that cannot be understood and studied in the same manner.

The history of the Liberated Zones makes the analytical task of the non-liberated zones at the same time easier and more difficult. Easier, because it obviously contains a number of concrete and practical lessons. More difficult, because the different contexts impede a simple and direct application of these lessons.

IV. CONCLUSION

Workers and peasants - in large part illiterate - learnt through the creation of the Liberated Zones the real depth of the system of exploitation. This was in the words of President Samora Machel a pedagogic experience both for the masses and the leadership.

Similarly this ongoing research is an integral part of the discussions in the History Workshop, and is part of this learning process while intending to be also a work of dissemination.

The importance given to the collection and analysis of oral sources goes beyond the mere concerns of information - gathering. It seeks to draw attention to the necessity of seeing how the pedagogy of the struggle led to a higher consciousness of the necessity to continue to struggle. This work, then, must be committed to a search for the form and style best suited to the dissemination of a better appreciation of the lessons contained in this cultural and political heritage.

This paper has been written on the basis of research conducted in Cabo Delgado (Mueda Plateau) in 1981 and 1982. Some of the ideas developed here are the result of discussions which have been taking place in the History Workshop. However, the responsibility for its elaboration rests with the following: Aquino de Bragança, Jacques Depelchin, AnnaMaria Gentili, Yussuf Adam, Valdemir Zamparoni. The material collected consists of taped life histories, interviews and written records. (Arquivo de Administração do Distrito de Mueda).

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